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Studies in Philology

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Studies in Philology

Volume XXII

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Number 1

THE LITERARY INFLUENCES OF PHILIP FRENEAU

BY HARRY HAYDEN CLARK

Inasmuch as Philip Freneau is commonly recognized as our first important American poet—as the first man in America to love beauty for beauty's sake—it becomes interesting to trace the influences which made him what he was. For the sake of convenience it may be well to divide this paper into two parts: one a search for external evidence of literary influence in his early education and in his reading; the other, a search for internal evidence in his most significant poems studied in relation to classical and contemporary literature.

I

It was by no mere coincidence that the poet should have been born in New York and that he should have passed his life in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Of New England and New England's ways he knew little; toward Puritanism—crushing as it did the beauty from life—he remained forever hostile. His family from time immemorial had belonged to the prosperous trading classes and were chiefly concerned with rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's without undue anxiety about the latter part of the injunction. If one may assert a polarity in American literature represented by Franklin and Edwards, Freneau may be described as a Franklin grown lyrical and divorced from utilitarian ethics. For Freneau as for Emerson, "beauty is its own excuse for being."

Philip Freneau was born in New York in 1752 of French-Huguenot parents. It appears that his grandfather, André Fresneau, had emigrated from France in 1707 on account of the insecurity of Protestants following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The family has been traced back for several generations; the mem-

bers are described as "sturdy, industrious tradesmen, who stood high in the esteem of their community,"—the little town of La Chapelle. The poet's grandfather soon possessed a thriving shipping business, dealing especially in imported wines; he purchased a large estate in New Jersey—Mount Pleasant—which later became the beloved home of Philip. The father of the poet, who had inherited the prosperous business of the founder of the family in America, decided to retire to this estate in 1762. Here they lived in luxury resembling that of a southern plantation; the estate contained nearly a thousand acres and was operated by slaves. Evidently the childhood of the poet was favorable to his literary tastes and dreamy Celtic temperament.

The home of the Freneaus was one of comfort and even refinement. There was a large and well selected library, the pride of its owner. . . . He delighted in men of refinement, and his home became a social center for the lovers of books and of culture. He looked carefully after the education of his children; and all of them early became omnivorous readers. In such an environment the young poet passed his first ten years.¹

This home was of course in New York. When the family moved to Mount Pleasant, N. J., the boy was placed under the care of a minister—Reverend William Tennant—to learn the rudiments of the Greek and Latin languages. After three years of study with this tutor, he entered the Penolopen Latin School, conducted by the Reverend Alexander Mitchell. Here he remained until 1768, when his preparation enabled him to enter Princeton as a sophomore. At the time of his entrance to college his latest biographer describes him as "a somewhat dreamy youth who had read very widely, especially in the English poets and Latin classics."² It would be interesting to speculate upon the influence upon his genius which his natural disposition and his love of nature must have exerted. Professor Pattee asserts that "He inherited with his French blood a passionate love of beauty, a sensuous, dreamy delight in the merely poetic, and in the weird and romantic."³ Miss Mary S. Austin describes the boy's habit of brooding upon the wide expanse of the sea and the beauties of nature so bountiful

¹ *Philip Freneau*, F. L. Pattee (Princeton, 1902-1907), Vol. I, pp. xiv-xv.

² Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

³ Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. xcvi.

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² Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

³ Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. xevi.

around Mount Pleasant; she concludes: "It is very probable that these early scenes made a lasting impression upon his youthful mind."⁴

While at Princeton we know that Freneau was prominent in the best literary circles, having for his friends such men as Hugh Henry Brackenridge and James Madison. Furthermore, we are fortunate in having a rather full account of the curriculum at Princeton in Freneau's time. The following relevant passage occurs in President Witherspoon's "Address to the Inhabitants of Jamaica," published in Philadelphia in 1772:

In the first year they read Latin and Greek, with the Roman and Grecian antiquities, and Rhetoric. In the second, continuing the study of the languages, they learn the first principles of Philosophy, and the elements of mathematical knowledge. The third, though the languages are not wholly omitted, is chiefly employed in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy and going through a course of Moral Philosophy. In addition to these, the President gives lectures to the juniors and seniors, which consequently every student hears twice over in his course, first, upon Chronology and History, and afterwards upon Composition and Criticism. He has also been taught the French language last winter, and it will continue to be taught to all who desire to learn it.

Thus we see that Freneau received a sound classical education and that he was widely read in the English poets.

For the purpose of discovering external literary influences it is unnecessary to review the remainder of his life in detail. He graduated from Princeton in 1771, after having written several noteworthy poems, and taught school for a while. But in 1775, school-teaching having become intolerable, he gained a sudden reputation as a political satirist. From late 1775 until 1779 he lived in Santa Cruz and Bermuda; this period of his life is of especial interest because it was here that he composed *The House of Night* and *The Beauties of Santa Cruz*. In 1779 he was engaged in a voyage to the Azores, and in 1780 his vessel was captured and he was detained over a month in the British prison ship,—an experience which called forth one of his most bitter poems. He was editor of the *Freeman's Journal* from 1781 to 1784, contributing a good deal of unsigned prose and verse. The next six years were occupied in the Atlantic coast trade. From 1790 to 1797 he

⁴ Mary S. Austin, *Philip Freneau*, N. Y., 1901, p. 70.

wrote for four successive papers,—*The Charlestown Daily Advertiser*, *The National Gazette* (Philadelphia), *The Jersey Chronicle*, and *The Time-Piece and Literary Companion* (N. Y.). He attempted farming from 1798 to 1803 without much success, and finally returned to the sea for the next five years. The rest of his life was spent in retirement at Mount Pleasant until his death in 1832. These are the bare facts of a life which for almost any other purpose than our present one would be well worth careful study. It is perhaps relevant to notice here that it was not without sadness and disillusionment.

Turning now to an attempt to trace his general reading, we are confronted with many difficulties. In the first place, "the poet's papers, manuscript poems, valuable letters, and books,—the collection of a life-time"—were destroyed when his Mount Pleasant home burned in 1815; thus the usual instruments for a study such as ours were made forever unavailable. In the second place, an inquiry as to records at Princeton which would indicate Freneau's reading brings the reply that "There are no records in existence of early reading done at Princeton, so far as we know."⁵ The librarian goes on to say that the library was dissipated by the British soldiers during the Revolution, and that what few books had accumulated from then until 1802 were destroyed by fire in that year.

However, through the courtesy of Mr. Gerould, Librarian of Princeton, I have had access to "certain information regarding books which belonged to Freneau, chiefly notices of sales and offers to our University." This consists of a detailed description of "Unique books offered from the library of Philip Freneau by Wilfred C. Keeson, 66-70 Beaver Street, New York." Mr. Gerould states that this has been in the files of the library for approximately ten years; or in other words, it is information which was unavailable to Professor Pattee when he edited Freneau's poems, and it has remained unpublished. In all there were twelve volumes, and the fact that, according to the record of booksellers for the last thirty years none of the books owned by Freneau occur at auction, would imply that these mentioned—said to have been picked out

⁵ Mr. J. T. Gerould, Librarian at Princeton, personal letter dated Oct. 20, 1923.

of the ruins directly after the fire—are the only ones of his personal books in existence.

Passing over books on navigation and physics, the first book on the list of interest for our purpose is *Ovidii Nasonia Operum* (Vol. 3, Lugd. Bol. 1661). On the fly-leaves Freneau kept a diary of his life from 1770 to 1804, and at the end of the book he wrote a poetical translation of the third *Elegy* of the first book of Ovid's *Tristia*. This is significant—as we shall see later—in relation to his choice of melancholy themes; for this passage in Ovid is one long series of laments over his exile. The dates indicate that the owner referred to this book for thirty-four years.

The next books on the list are volumes I and VIII of the *Spectator*. The description mentions "very early writing of Freneau" on the title-page, and "many critical notes on the text" indicating that the poet was thoroughly familiar with it. Volume VIII bears the words: "On Board the Continental Ship 'Ranger,' Nov. 8, 1778." The fact that Freneau was evidently well acquainted with the *Spectator* is significant because in many respects he shows Addison's equably ironic view of life. Important, also, is the fact that volume I contains an article upon the Indian—"The Four Indian Kings" from which Freneau derived some of his ideas on the "noble savage."

There are also the *London Magazine* (from January, 1732 to December, 1733), and the works of Alexander Pope (London, 1757). The latter is annotated, and bears his father's signature, 1761, showing that the poet must have been thoroughly familiar with Pope, as many of his satires suggest.

But perhaps the most significant of all is the volume of *The Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace*, London, 1760. On the fly-leaf he has written, "1768 Philip Freneau and his book, Nassau Hall, Nova Ceasarea." The dedication leaf bears the words "Philip Freneau, 1770" and again "Philip Freneau, 1795," thus proving that he had used and studied the volume for over twenty-five years, as the "immense number of his notes" would indicate. On one of the blank leaves he has transcribed in *English Ode 13*, "When Lydia praises Damon's charms." This proof that he was so much influenced by Horace is significant, although it is evident in much of his work. The *Pyramids of Egypt*, one of his early poems, bears the motto—so significant, again, in relation to his

choice of melancholy themes—"Debemur morti, nos nostraque." *The Rising Glory of America* shows the influence of Horace's sixteenth epode, the best of all his political poems; it is full of mourning for a lost cause, written at a time when Horace saw no prospect for Rome but dissolution by civil strife. The ode on *Arnold's Departure* is an acknowledged imitation of Horace's tenth epode, and *The Academy of Death* is practically a translation of Ode 15, Book I of Horace, where he describes Nereus's prophecy of the destruction of Troy. The choice of subjects is interesting.

Significant also in the 1809 edition of his poems is the translation of the passage of Lucretius's *De Natura Rerum* in the sixth book where he describes the great plague of Athens. This is one of the most horrid and gruesome descriptions in all literature, and Freneau's choice indicates the taste which conceived *The House of Night*. Doubtless he was strongly influenced by this passage, and doubtless it was not uninfluential in the horror of certain stanzas of his poem. The first lines of *The Hurricane* (1784)—

Happy the man who, safe on shore,
Now trims, at home, his evening fire;
Unmoved, he hears the tempests roar,
That on the tufted groves expire.—

suggest the first lines of Lucretius's Book II which have precisely the same image of a man who enjoys looking out to sea and viewing in safety the havoc of the storm.

Suave, mari magno turbantibus aequore ventis,
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem;
Non quia vexari quemquamst iucunda voluptas,
Sed quibus ipsa malis careas quia cernere suave est.

Another interesting source of Freneau's pensive melancholy is found in Edward Young. That he was familiar with Young is evident from the fact that his translation of the *New Travels through North America* in 1783 bore the following characteristic lines from Young as a motto on the title-page:

From such events, let boastful nations know,
Jove lays the pride of haughtiest monarchs low,
And they, who kindled with ambitious fire,
In arts, and arms, with most success aspire,
When turn'd to tyrants, but provoke their doom,
Grasp at their fate, and build themselves a tomb. (*Busiris*)

This is deeply significant, for Young is everywhere ruminating on the transitory character of life, and his work forms an important transition to the later sentimentalism of his friend Richardson.

There are several quotations from Shakespeare, and several from Milton. From the *Il Penseroso* quality of Milton may be traced much of Freneau's sweet pensiveness. His poem on *The Bermuda Islands*, 1778, bears an apt quotation from Waller's *Battle of the Summer Islands*. We shall see later that he may have been influenced by Blair's *Grave* and by Sackville's *The Induction*. He translated Gray's *Ode Written at Grande Chartreuse*, and every critic has stressed his debt to Gray, and very justly; it may be of interest, however, to notice that he does not once mention or quote from this poet to whom he owed so much.

That Freneau knew his Virgil well, and selected several mottos from his work, has been pointed out many times. It is significant that he selects romantic qualities, qualities which suited his own peculiar temperament, and which he turned to an altogether unclassical use.

Another striking source of Freneau's conceptions is found in his knowledge of Seneca, whose *Medea* and *Hercules Furens*, from which he quoted respectively mottos for *The Rising Glory of America* and *The Progress of Balloons*, are among the most weird and ghastly poems in any literature. Seneca was an important influence upon the sensational melodrama of early Elizabethan days. He must have furnished images, or at least prepared Freneau's mind, for *The House of Night*. He was attracted, too, by the romantic note of prophecy found in the "ultima Thule" of Seneca.

That he knew and admired the poet Darwin may be inferred from his statement in a letter to Dr. J. W. Francis of New York, dated May 15, 1819.⁶ He writes: "I feel a strong inclination to write four or five hundred flowing lines in the poetical style of Darwin, on the Elgin Garden, as soon as I can get the materials." Darwin, it will be recalled, was the author of *The Botanic Garden* (1789), and *The Loves of the Plants*, an allegory in which he attempted to enlist the imagination under the banner of science;

⁶ Found in *Unpublished Freneauana*, N. Y., 1918; one of twenty copies published by Mr. C. F. Heartman is to be found in the Yale University Library.

he is remembered for his strong arc-light effects and his too vivid colour in nature description. But it was probably his allegorical, moralizing tendency which attracted Freneau.

It has often been pointed out that Freneau knew the French language well, as is proved by his translation of the work of Abbé Robin and his position as clerk of the foreign office in 1790. It is interesting to find that he must have been acquainted with the indomitable Jean Jacques from a note at the foot of page 159 in the first (1786) edition of his works by Bailey. He has a little sketch entitled *St. Preux to Eloisa* and in the note he writes: "In J. J. Rousseau's letters, St. Preux is supposed to make a voyage around the world, etc." A knowledge of Rousseau,—the father of romanticism — could easily have furthered his love of nature and his tendency to melancholy, as well as his love of the simple, the lowly, the naïve.

There is, then, considerable external evidence that Freneau was a widely read man in literature both ancient and modern. Thus he possessed a well-stocked mine whence he was able to quarry much of his material, as may be apparent later.

II

Before coming to a search for internal evidence of the sources of Freneau's most important characteristics, let us examine *The Power of Fancy*, certainly one of the most significant poems of his college days. If Professor Babbitt is right in assigning to imagination the supreme rôle in life, surely it is worthwhile to ascertain the quality and derivation of the poet's theory of imagination, or "fancy," as he calls it.

That his conception of the imagination is eccentric rather than concentric, idyllic rather than concerned with normal human conduct is at once obvious.

Wakeful, vagrant, restless thing,
Ever wandering on the wing . . .
Lo! she leads me wide and far,
Sense can never follow her . . .

The question is, What is the *source* of this conception? Nearly every critic has said that in this poem Freneau was mainly influenced by Milton's shorter poems, probably because he himself acknowledged (in a note) borrowing his line

Sees this earth a distant star

from Milton. But as a matter of fact, even this was not borrowed from the shorter poems but from *Paradise Lost* (Bk. II, v. 1052). A much more probable source, it seems to me, is Joseph Warton's *Ode to Fancy* (1746); so far as I have been able to discover no critic has even suggested the similarity.

A comparison shows that the plan of the two poems is almost identical: in each, Fancy is personified as a nymph who leads the author through wild romantic scenes and to various distant lands; each author is seduced by the power of the music to which Fancy directs him; in each poem Fancy does not neglect to frequent the grotesque scenes in which early romanticism delighted; and finally, each poem concludes with a prayer to Fancy to continue her nurture and inspiration. The relation is unmistakable. It would be intensely interesting to make a full detailed comparison, but a few quotations will perhaps indicate the similarity.

Lo! she leads me wide and far,
Sense can never follow her—
Shape thy course o'er land and sea,
Help me to keep pace with thee,
Lead me to yon' chalky cliff,
Over rock and over reef . . .
. . . . to some desert deep,
Or some dark, enchanted steep,
By the full moonlight doth shew
Forests of a dusky blue . . .

And the deep ton'd organ swells,
In notes with lofty anthems join'd,
Notes that half distract the mind.

To the prison of the fiends,
Hears the rattling of their chains,
Feels their never ceasing pains—
But, O never may she tell
Half the frightfulness of Hell.

Fancy, to thy power I owe
Half my happiness below; . . .
Come, O come—perceiv'd by none,
You and I will walk alone.

Whose rapid wings thy flight convey
Thro' air and over earth and sea, . .
O lover of the desert hail!
Say, in what deep and pathless vale,
Or on what hoary mountain's side,
'Mid fall of waters, you reside,
'Mid broken rocks, a rugged scene,
'Mid forests dark of aged oak. . .

Strange whisper'd music in my ear,
And my glad soul in bliss is drown'd
By the sweetly-soothing sound!

To charnels and the house of woe,
To Gothic churches, vaults, and
tombs,
[and to the wars,]
Where Tumult and Destruction
reign; . . .

Where Giant Terror stalks around
. . . .

Without thy powerful, vital aid,
Ne'er may I strive with lips profane
To utter an unhallow'd strain,
O hear our prayer, O hither come.

It would be difficult to avoid admitting that the conception, the description, and the imagery are very similar. Furthermore, the general idea of the imagination resembles that held by the romantic Warton, and not that held by the more classic Milton: Warton's Fancy is wandering and restless, ever longing to escape to scenes new and idyllic; Milton's, although not strictly Aristotelian, is nevertheless more concentric to the great problems of life,—it seeks to "justify the ways of God to man."

But is there any evidence that Freneau had access to Warton's poetry? Reference to the original list⁷ of Governor Belcher's library, given to Princeton University in 1755, shows that the works of the Warton brothers were included in the gift; the poem was written in 1770 while Freneau was in college, as we have seen. Professor Pattee says that he had "read very widely, especially in the English poets." It has been shown that the two poems in question have a striking resemblance. Therefore, it may be not unreasonable to suppose that Freneau read Warton, and that his conception of the imagination,—essentially romantic—derives from Warton's *Ode to Fancy*.

Most of Freneau's poetry must be given over to the critical lions and jackals who may still care to spring upon it; however, a few poems have been salvaged which merit a careful study of their sources. It sometimes happens that the first glimpses of beauty in a national literature are overlooked by the age to which they appear, and only through the vista of the years do we appreciate their true significance: such is the case with Freneau, whom even his latest critic has dubbed "Poet of the Revolution." Poet of war he was, but only through patriotic compunction; his heart naturally yearned toward gentler themes of fancy and imagination; the great bulk of his writing is undeniably imperfect, crude, and often bitter, but this does not represent the real Freneau,—rather the ardent poet who has lent his pen to a cause which his finer nature abhors. There is enough in his work before 1775 to prove that his genius was far from being inspired by the War—that it was, on the contrary, distracted and diverted by it. There is a certain fascination—a bit melancholy, perhaps—in listening for the delicate tones of his lyric moods through the noise and wrath

⁷ Found in the *Princeton University Library, American Library Association Visit*, June 29, 1916, N. J., pp. 9-10.

of his political writings. There is something beautifully symbolical of his own brief space of genius in his description of the wild honey suckle:

The space between is but an hour,
The frail duration of a flower.

Most of Freneau's best work was done in a sort of interlude in his preoccupation with the Revolution. According to the *Jersey-men in the Revolution* (p. 465), he entered the army as a private in 1778, and was raised to the rank of sergeant. That he served under arms for a short time is indicated by his obituary found in the *New York Spectator* (Dec. 31, 1832). But his restless and beauty-loving nature evidently sickened of war, and he took advantage of an opportunity to make a voyage to the West Indies. He was fascinated by the sunny skies and tropical luxuriance of Santa Cruz; the point that he had served in the war previously is important, because the consciousness of a preceding turmoil always brings home to us the serenest sense of perfect peace. Here he wrote *The Beauties of Santa Cruz*, in which he gives perhaps his best expression to his appreciation of voluptuous loveliness. Professor Pattee places 1779 as the date of *The House of Night*, and Mrs. Marble says that it was written in "the same dreamy atmosphere" as the former poem. Although *The Beauties of Santa Cruz* shows clearly the influence of Gray in many of the moralizing passages, there can be little question that it is principally the result of the stimulus of pure delight in natural beauty. The note in this poem—that of voluptuousness—is not struck elsewhere. It may be illustrated by such a melodious satanza as the following:

Among the shades of yonder whispering grove,
The green palmittoes mingle, tall and fair,
That ever murmur, and forever move,
Fanning with wavy bough the ambient air.

But the influence of Gray—even in this unique poem—is unmistakable. Compare the theme and the melancholy lilt in the following stanzas:

Full many a swain, in youth's serenest bloom,
Is borne untimely to this alien clay,
Constrain'd to slumber in a foreign tomb,
Far from his friends, his country far away.

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The Literary Influences of Philip Freneau

Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark unfathom'd caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.

Although this is probably the least pensive of any of his better poems, yet this quality is very significant.

We come now to a consideration of what I conceive to be Freneau's distinguishing characteristic: a pensiveness upon the brevity and transiency of life and the certainty of death. To designate him a grave-yard poet is somewhat too sombre; nevertheless, it is well known that he was strongly influenced by Gray's *Elegy*, which in the opinion of Professor H. A. Beers "is the master-piece of the whole 'Il Penseroso' school, and has summed up for all time the poetry of the tomb."⁸ Freneau was also acquainted with the earlier grave-yard poets, Young and Blair. No critic seems to have pointed out his central characteristic accurately: to call him the "Poet of the Revolution" or "The Poet of Nature" is to miss the mark completely. What most impressed Freneau was the brevity of human existence; this is no mere passing mood, but rather an indwelling master-thought which tends to dominate and shape his conceptions regarding every subject. Death is sure and life is fleeting. We pass our days as a tale that is told; we are as the grass which groweth up in the morning, and in the evening it is cut down, and withereth. Whether there be fortunes, they shall fail; whethe there be love, it shall cease; whether there be beauty, it shall vanish away.

Inasmuch as this is a new interpretation of Freneau, it may be considered necessary to furnish evidence of its validity. If it is possible to show that this mood—this pensiveness upon the fugacity of life and the inexorable approach of death—tends to pervade his treatment of the many varied subjects of his best poems, then the evidence may become convincing.

His early poems indicate a choice of themes concerned with ruined greatness and the sureness of final dissolution. For instance, in his *Pyramids of Egypt* (1770) he writes:

. . . The time shall come
When these stupendous piles you deem immortal,

⁸ H. A. Beers, *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, 1898.

Worn out with age shall moulder on their bases,
And down, down, low to endless ruin verging,
O'erwhelmed by dust, be seen and known no more.

Another early poem, of the same year, shows his tendency to ponder upon graves, albeit imaginatively; the following passage occurs in *The Monument of Phaon*:

Cast thine eye upon this stone,
Read its melancholy moan;
And if you can refuse a tear
To the youth that slumbers here,
Whom the Lesbians held so dear,
Nature calls thee not her own.

These poems are significant: for it was almost inevitable that pondering upon ruins and graves should lead to reflections upon the mutability of all things and the certainty of human fate.

In any case, this was clearly the sequence in the case of Freneau. Doubtless this tendency was somewhat aggravated by the influence of Gray, so clearly evident in *The Deserted Farmhouse*, probably written two years later.⁹

Once, in the bounds of this deserted room,
Perhaps some swain nocturnal courtship made,
Perhaps some Sherlock mused amidst the gloom;
Since Love and Death forever seek the shade.

Nor is his attitude toward love and beauty and virtue inconsistent with his general conception of life. "The iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy, and deals with the memory of men without distinction to merit or perpetuity."¹⁰

Heaven ne'er above more innocence possessed,
Nor earth the form of a diviner guest: . . .
Yet not her virtues, opening into bloom,
Nor all her sweetness saved her from the tomb. . . .
Ye thoughtless fair!—her early death bemoan,
Sense, virtue, beauty, to oblivion gone.¹¹

⁹ A similar note is struck in *Stanzas Occasioned by the Ruins of a Country Inn*.

¹⁰ From Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* (1642). I can find no direct evidence that Freneau read Browne; as we have seen, he had read widely in the English poets; certainly the chord which Freneau strikes here harmonizes perfectly with that struck by Browne, and would suggest, at least, a relation.

¹¹ *Elegiac Stanzas*.

Of his abstract poems there are few more characteristic than *The Vanity of Existence* (1781), and *On the Vicissitudes of Things* (1785).

In youth, gay scenes attract our eyes,
And not suspecting their decay
Life's flowery fields before us rise,
Regardless of its winter day.

But vain pursuits and joys as vain,
Convince us life is but a dream.
Death is to wake, to rise again
To that true life you best esteem.

The constant lapse of rolling years
Awakes our hopes, provokes our fears
Of something yet unknown;
We saw the last year pass away
But who, that lives can safely say,
The next shall be our own?

Significant indeed is any man's attitude toward nature—the physical world around him—and this is especially true in the case of Freneau. We find him constantly indulging in what Ruskin
→ called "the pathetic fallacy"; nature only reflected his moods and nursed his pensive melancholy. An example of this may be cited from *The Seasons Moralized*:

Then Autumn crowns the beauteous year,
The groves a sicklier aspect wear;
And mournful she (the lot of all)
Matures her fruits, to make them fall.

Clad in the vestments of the tomb,
Old age is only Winter's gloom—
Winter, alas! shall Spring restore,
But youth returns to man no more.

→ [This is a sentiment very common in English literature,—in fact, it is so common that it is difficult to say just what Freneau's specific source may have been; doubtless it belonged to the stock poetical heritage, and that he should have expressed it is inevitable. The general theme may have been suggested, remotely, by Thomson's *Seasons* (1725). Not without interest, however, is the fact that a sentiment very similar found expression over one hundred years before Freneau right here in America in the verses of Mrs. Anne Bradstreet:

When I behold the heavens as in their prime,
 And then the earth (though old) still clad in green,
 And stones and trees, insensible of time,
 Nor age nor wrinkle on their front are seen;
 If Winter comes, and greenness then do fade,
 A Spring returns, and they more youthful made;
 But man grows old, lies down, remains where once he's laid.¹²

Although Freneau had the heartiest dislike for the Puritans and their view of life, doubtless their influence still lingered and may have tended to make his grotesque imagery in such a poem as *The House of Night* more horribly vivid, as their influence may also have colored his general conception of life. For "to the religious mind of New England, earthly life remained a mere fleeting moment. Life must always end soon, and death as we see it actually seems unending."¹³

Freneau's most beautiful poem—in my opinion—is *The Wild Honey Suckle*; here his sweet pensiveness, related to a concrete image, produced poetry as nearly flawless as he ever wrote. Of this gem, however, his critics have apparently missed the true interpretation. It is short enough to quote in full:

Fair flower that dost so comely grow,
 Hid in this silent, dull retreat,
 Untouched thy honied blossoms blow,
 Unseen thy little branches greet:
 No roving foot shall crush thee here,
 No busy hand provoke a tear.

By Nature's self in white arrayed,
 She bade thee shun the vulgar eye,
 And planted here the guardian shade,
 And sent soft waters murmuring by:
 Thus quietly thy summer goes,
 Thy days declining to repose.

Smit with those charms that must decay,
 I grieve to see your future doom;
 They died—nor were those flowers more gay,—
 The flowers that did in Eden bloom:
 Unpitying frosts and Autumn's power
 Shall leave no vestige of this flower.

¹² *Contemplations* (1678).

¹³ Wendell and Greenough, *History of Literature in America*, Boston, 1904, p. 87.

From morning suns and evening dew
 At first thy little being came:
 If nothing once, you nothing lose,
 For when you die you are the same;
 The space between is but an hour,
 The frail duration of a flower.

Now Professor Bowen writes: "His little song *The Wild Honey Suckle* breathes the true woodland note and is redolent of the breath of spring flowers."¹⁴ Professor Pattee calls it "a nature lyric written with the eye upon the object."¹⁵ In one respect, at least, the critics of Freneau are like Providence: their ways are inscrutable. To interpret this as a poem descriptive of nature is to miss the point completely. The flower is simply taken as a symbol—to the poet all nature was such a symbol—of the transiency of all things and the brevity of human existence. This is an idea which was practically a convention in English literature. For instance, as far back as Sackville's *The Induction* (1563), we find the following:

And sorrowing I to see the summer flowers,
 The lively green, the lusty leas forlorn,
 The sturdy trees so shattered with the showers,
 The fields so fade, that flourished so beforne,
 It taught me well all earthly things be born
 To die the death, for nought long time may last;
 The summer's beauty yields to winter's blast.

There are, however, sources other than those purely literary which help to explain Freneau's tendency to melancholy. A reference to his *Jamaica Funeral*, where he sums up much of his philosophy of life, shows that his views were essentially deistic, and thus strictly in accord with those of his age; the source of this deism was doubtless the poetry of Pope with which we have seen he was familiar, judging from the carefully annotated volume among his few personal books. But the point which chiefly interests us here, in the words of Mr. C. A. Moore, is this: "deism may be said to be the starting point for our modern romantic

¹⁴ E. W. Bowen, *Makers of American Literature*, N. Y., 1908, p. 25.

¹⁵ F. L. Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. cix. It is but fair to say that he hints in passing at my interpretation, although he does not make the point very explicit: "it draws from the humble flower a lesson for humanity in the true Wordsworthian manner."

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L treatment of nature."¹⁶ The world of the senses Freneau regarded as the symbol of a spiritual presence hovering within and above us. All nature he conceived as one indivisible being, constantly striving to manifest its own spirit; in the world of life and mystery around him, spiritual creations were forever pressing through the material veil.

Ah! what is all this mighty whole,
These suns and stars that round us roll!
What are they all, where'ere they shine,
But Fancies of the Power Divine!
What is this globe, these lands, and seas,
And heat, and cold, and flowers, and trees,
And life, and death, and beast, and man,
And time—that with the sun began—
But thoughts on reason's scale combin'd,
Ideas of the Almighty mind!¹⁷

Now a man who builds upon the life of the senses—upon the flux, the stream of things,—is inevitably appalled at the fugacity of all that he holds dear; he reaches out impotently and strives to grasp and hold fast the ever-shifting mirage of perpetual change. Freneau built upon what Plato called the "Many": "The One remains, the Many change and pass." He would stay the flux, and endeavor to preserve for eternity the beauty which fades never to return. A philosophy such as this can have but one result: to be certain that all that one holds dear is to vanish away, necessarily inspires a view of life somewhat melancholy.

Another source of this characteristic in Freneau is to be found in the attitude of his contemporaries toward his poetry. In this he was affected much as was Cowper. Freneau was always conscious of having lifted up his voice to a perverse and gainsaying generation. Strong and self-reliant as he was, and quick to show resentment, he naturally struck back in stinging invectives; nevertheless, underneath it all, when he removed the mask, we can see that he was deeply hurt. In a letter to a friend—published in 1918 and therefore inaccessible to Professor Pattee when he edited his poems—Freneau writes concerning his stay in New York following one of his late editions:

¹⁶ "Return to Nature in English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century," found in *Studies in Philology*, Vol. XIV, 1917, p. 243.

¹⁷ From *The Power of Fancy*.

I remained there much longer than I had intended, not a little out of humour that my little volumes seemed to have fallen nearly deadborn from the press, owing to the enmity of some, the politics of others, and the general inattention of all. I suppose, however, the truth is, that almost every person in your city has other and more serious matters to think of than mine, or at least such poetry as mine happens to be. . . . Not one of these grounds but would afford sufficient grounds for condemning my poor poetry.¹⁸

When in a pensive mood Freneau was able to draw nourishment for that mood from materials widely varied. It would be interesting to quote Gray's *Ode on a Favorite Cat Drowned in a Dish of Goldfishes* parallel to Freneau's *On a Honey Bee, Drinking from a Glass of Wine and Drowned Therein*. The similarity of these two poems, so far as I have been able to discover, has never been pointed out. The latter is a general paraphrase of the former. Their plot structure, if one may so speak, is identical: the cat and the bee are both tempted on the edge of a glass, both succumb, furnishing practically the same moral. Freneau's poem may be considered a humorous type of the graveyard species.

This brings us to his straight-away elegies, such as *Eutaw Springs*. The form,—found in many of his poems—is that of Collins's *Ode on the Death of Mr. Thomson* (1749). But the general manner of treatment, the atmosphere, has more in common with that author's *Ode Written in the Beginning of the Year 1746*. The similarity here is by no means close; it was, I think, rather Collins's mood, his gentle spirit, which may have influenced Freneau in this poem.

At Eutaw springs the valiant died;
 Their limbs with dust are covered o'er:
 Weep on, ye springs, your tearful tide;
 How many heroes are no more!

If, in this wreck of ruin they
 Can yet be thought to claim a tear,
 O smite your gentle breast, and say
 "The friends of Freedom slumber here."

.

Now rest in peace our patriot band;
 Though far from Nature's limits thrown,
 We trust they find a happier land,
 A brighter sunshine of their own.

¹⁸ *Unpublished Freneauana*, N. Y., 1918, edited by Charles F. Heartman. Pp. 12-13.

Compare this with Collins's *Ode* for the general spirit and atmosphere, as well as for the general method of treatment.

How sleep the brave who sink to rest
By all their country's wishes blest!
When Spring, with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallow'd mold,
She there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.

By fairy hands their knell is rung,
By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
There Honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
To bless the turf that warps their clay;
And Freedom shall awhile repair,
To dwell a weeping hermit there!

Supposing it be granted, now, that this pensiveness upon the transitory character of human life pervades and moulds Freneau's treatment of his most important subjects, it may fairly be asked, What is the object of all this lugubrious argument? The object has been to establish a vantage point whereby we may compare the characteristics of Freneau with those of the contemporary period in English literature, and thus to make clear that his central characteristic was not without its prototype in England. It will be possible, I think, to show that in all important respects he was entirely congruent to the tendencies of the time. If we may appeal to an unprejudiced authority, we shall find that Mr. Stopford Brooke has characterized the poetry of the period from 1716-1785,—which he calls “a time of transition”—under four heads:

- (1) The influence of the didactic and satirical poetry of the critical school still lingered.
- (2) The study of the Greek and Latin classics revived.
- (3) The study of the Elizabethan and the earlier poets like Chaucer, and of the whole course of poetry in England, was taken up with great interest.
- (4) A new element—interest in the romantic past—was added by the publication of Dr. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 1765, . . . and the pleasure in these increased and accompanied the growing love of lonely, even of savage scenery.¹⁹

Under the first of these we have noticed Freneau's interest in Young and Blair on the didactic side, while the influence of Pope

¹⁹ Rev. Stopford Brooke, *English Literature*, 1879, N. Y., pp. 159-160.

on the satirical side is marked, as is also the influence of the Roman satirists such as Juvenal.²⁰ That he knew and admired the *Spectator* has been shown also; this influence is important in some of his light essays such as the one on "Tomo Cheeki"—the satirical Indian; in addition to Warton's *Ode*, Freneau's *Power of Fancy* may have been suggested by Addison's *Pleasures of the Imagination* (Nos. 411-421) which were admittedly the prototype of Mark Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination* (1744). Many passages in the latter poem are similar to passages in Freneau's *Power of Fancy*; it is my opinion, however, that it was chiefly Warton who furnished Freneau's source in this poem. His relation to Gray has been dwelt upon at length; Freneau's moralizing and his treatment of nature have their chief source in Gray's *Elegy* where, as Mr. Brooke phrases it, "natural scenery is interwoven with reflections on human life, and used to point its moral." The Warton brothers also treat nature much as do Gray and Freneau: "They see the reflection of their own joys and sorrows in the woods and streams."²¹ If space allowed, it could be shown that James Beattie's *Retirement* (1758) has much in common with Freneau's *On Retirement*.

Under the second of Mr. Brooke's headings,—the revival of classical study—it is unnecessary to go into further detail. We have seen that Freneau knew Virgil, Horace, Seneca, Ovid, Juvenal, and Lucretius. Under the third characteristic of the age,—the study of the whole course of poetry in England—it would be possible to quote several pages of quotations to prove that he knew most of the poets from Sackville, Shakespeare, and Milton down to Darwin. Under the fourth,—interest in the past, and in wild scenery—Freneau's ruminations upon the tombs of antiquity, his romantic idealization of Columbus, and certain passages in the *Power of Fancy* and *The House of Night* may be cited as relevant. With the main characteristics of the period, then,—as given by Mr. Brooke—we have seen that Freneau is in perfect accord.

His chief affiliations, however, are with elements which Mr. Brooke mentions but for some reason does not stress. Most important of these is a pensive melancholy which is the corollary of a

²⁰ Inasmuch as I consider Freneau's satire to be outside his central characteristics, I shall make no attempt in this brief study to treat its sources.

²¹ Brooke, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

widened and deepened humanitarian sympathy which takes its rise from Shaftesbury. This appears in Thomson's *Seasons* (1728), in Gray *par excellence*, in Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* (1770), Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* (1725), in Shenstone's *Schoolmistress* (1737), in the works of the Warton brothers, and in Cowper. Everyone was becoming interested in the annals of the poor, the lowly, and the unfortunate; as men came to build more and more upon the life of the senses, they became more and more impressed with the transitory character of life, and hence more melancholy. Furthermore, the age witnessed a luxuriant fruition of the melancholy tendencies of *Night Thoughts* (1742-45) and *The Grave* (1743); this fruition is known as sentimentalism, and derives in part from Shaftesbury and Rousseau. It appears in the novels of Richardson,—*Pamela* (1740); *Clarissa Harlowe* (1748); *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753). It appears in Sterne's *The Sentimental Journey* (1768), and in Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* (1771). And there grew up a strong love of the simple, the naïve, the primitive, as is to be found in Percy's ballads (1765), in Ossian—whom Freneau mentions—(1762), and in Chatterton (1770); all this was of course closely associated with the love of the past. Finally, starting, probably, with Blair, and nourished by Warton, we find a growing love of romantic mystery and horror, culminating in Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* (1764), and in its imitation,—*The Champion of Virtue* (1777), by Clara Reeve; the love of the shudder, *le frisson*, became very marked. From these tendencies Freneau drew his pensiveness upon the brevity of life and his sympathy with the lowly and afflicted; his sentimentalism as found in a few of his Indian poems as we shall see later; his love of the naïve which he gratified in the Indian; and his love of horror so surpassingly expressed in *The House of Night*. It is scarcely necessary to conclude, then, that he was the product of, and that he derived from, his age.

Freneau attracted considerable attention by his poems on the Indian. Professor Pattee asserts that "Freneau discovered the poetical side of the Indian, and thus became the literary father of Brockden Brown and Cooper."²² Let us see whether research will

²² Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. cx. I am indebted to Professor Frank E. Farley for most of my material regarding the Indian in literature. (*Anniversary Papers by the Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*, Boston, 1913, pp. 251-260).

justify this statement. Of course, beginning with Captain Smith's *True Relation* (1608) any book on the history, manners, or morals, of America was almost sure to mention the Indians, and not a few whole books were written concerning them; but of course this does not touch the "poetical" side. It is interesting to notice that in general the Indian was simply a "Red Devil" to the colonists; he was the most real and the most dreaded of all their enemies; the New England Puritans often considered him as an embodiment of the devil, whom to kill was a service to Almighty God. The legend of the "Noble Redman" is essentially romantic, and views the Indian from a comfortable distance and through a soft sentimental haze of idyllic imagination. It is perhaps significant that this "Noble Redman" attitude first grew up in England among people who had never seen an Indian, such as Joseph Warton; and the similarity in sentiment and theme of Freneau's poems to Warton's—as we shall see—suggests that the former secured his Indian inclinations second-hand from across the ocean. The glorification of the Indian was simply one aspect of that romantic glorification of all that was simple, naïve, and unspoiled by civilization, which took its rise in the eighteenth century.

Even in the Indian poems, however, the influence of Gray still lingered. For the general atmosphere, compare the first stanza of *The Death Song of a Cherokee Indian* (1787) and the first stanza of Gray's *The Fatal Sisters* (1768). True the similarity is by no means striking, yet the general atmosphere and manner are alike. We know Freneau was strongly influenced by Gray elsewhere and the inference drawn from a careful comparison of these two poems is that he had Gray's poem in mind. The trace of Gray's influence has been pointed out before in *The Indian Burying Ground*.

Here still a lofty rock remains,
On which the curious eye may trace—
(Now wasted, half, by wearing ruins)
The fancies of a ruder race.

In *The Death Song of the Cherokee Indian* (1787) the victim is represented as chanting a death song in which he derides the futile attempts of his enemies to inflict torment. A possible source for this idea may be found in *The Dying Ode Ragnar Loðbrok*, a poem of Norse origin which Percy made popular in 1763.²³

²³ See the *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, IX,

But a far more immediate source of these mortuary poems on the Indian lies in Joseph Warton's *The Dying Indian* (Dodsley's Collection of Poems, London, 1782, iv, 220). Compare for the general conception the following lines by Warton with the last stanza of *The Death Song of the Cherokee Indian*:

The dart of Izadabel prevails, 'twas dipt
In double poison—I shall soon arrive
At the blest island, where no tigers spring
On heedless hunters; where rivers smoothly glide,
Nor thund'ring torrents whirl the light canoe
Down to the sea; where my forefathers feast,
Daily on the hearts of Spaniards!

I go to the land where my father is gone:
His ghost shall rejoice in the fame of his son
Death comes like a friend, he relieves me from pain
And thy son, O Alknomock, has scorned to complain.

The stoicism, the note of rejoicing in the land of the future, the filial feeling, are very similar in the two poems. We have seen that the similarity of the *Power of Fancy* to Warton's *Ode to Fancy* is too close to be accidental; we have seen that even in his college days he had access to Warton; it is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that Warton may have inspired—in part, at least,—Freneau's literary interest in Indians. At any rate, Warton had "discovered" the poetical side of the Indian some time before.

A search for the sources of *The Dying Indian: Tomo-Chequi* reveals some interesting facts. In the first place, in this poem the dying Indian does not rejoice in nearing the land "where his father is gone," but rather laments upon leaving happy scenes here. It is beautiful enough to quote in part:

Ah me! What mischiefs on the dead attend!
Wandering a stranger to the shores below.
Where shall I brook or real fountain find?
Lazy and sad deluding waters flow—
Luck is the picture in my brooding mind!
Fine tales, indeed they tell
Of shades and purling rills,
Where our dead fathers dwell

66, n. 2., Boston, 1903. The dying negro slave was also the subject of much sentimental verse in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Beyond the western hills,
 But when did ghost return his state to shew;
 Or who can promise half the tale is true?
 I too must be a fleeting ghost!—no more—
 None, none but shadow to those mansions go;
 I leave my woods, I leave the Huron shore,
 For empty groves below!
 Ye charming solitudes,
 Ye tall ascending woods,
 Ye glassy lakes and prattling streams,
 Whose aspect still was sweet,
 Whether the sun did greet,
 Or the pale moon embraced you with his beams—
 Adieu to all!
 To all, that charmed me where I strayed,
 The winding streams, the dark sequestered shade;
 Adieu all triumphs here!
 Adieu the mountain's lofty swell,
 Adieu, then little verdant hill,
 And seas, and stars, and skies—farewell,
 For some remoter sphere!

The point is that here the Indian stoicism has vanished, and has been replaced by a sentimental melancholy. This subtle change may be traced to the influence of the sentimental age in which Freneau lived,—the age of *Clarissa Harlowe*, *The Sentimental Journey*, and *The Man of Feeling*. Although Freneau may never have read these particular books, their influence was pervasive and it was almost inevitable that he should have been permeated with sentimentalism on the rebound.

Furthermore, if we trace the title,—*The Dying Indian: Tomo-Chequi*—we shall have doubts as to the extent of his discovery here as elsewhere. The general theme, the adieu of a dying Indian, was doubtless suggested by Warton's *The Dying Indian*, part of which has been quoted in another connection. The remainder of the title is significant, for Tomochichi (the name is variously spelled) was an actual person in history, a great chief of the Creek Indians, who, together with his wife and adopted son and a considerable retinue, visited England under the guardianship of General Oglethorpe in June, 1734. They were welcomed with respectful curiosity, and—which is most important for us—an ode was composed in the chief's honor, published in London, 1736, and known as *Georgia, a Poem, Tomo-cha-chi, an Ode,—A Copy of*

*Verses on Mr. Oglethorpe's Second Voyage to Georgia.*²⁴ Freneau's appropriation of the name would seem to indicate that he was familiar with the poem and the legend. At any rate, here are at least two poems which vitiate the statement that Freneau "discovered the poetical side of the Indian."

Investigation shows that the title of Freneau's poem now known as *The Dying Indian: Tomo-Chequi* was originally, as given in *Freeman's Journal*, March 17, 1784, that of *The Dying Indian, or Last Words of Shalem*. Why did he make this change? In the first place, the 1795 edition of his poems shows that he had christened his Indian student (1788) "Shalem," and in the second place, he was then working upon "a series of papers entitled 'Tomo Cheeki, the Creek Indian in Philadelphia,' in which the manners and absurdities of the Americans are described from the standpoint of an observant savage." These papers appeared in successive numbers of the *Jersey Chronicle*, beginning with the issue of May 23, 1795, and in 1797 they appear again in *The Time Piece and Literary Companion*, where a note explains that they were "said to be translated from one of the Indian languages of this country."²⁵ Freneau's rather outworn device of reproducing the naïve comments of a savage upon the manners and customs of a civilized community suggests at once an interesting episode in the Age of Anne. It appears that four or five sachems of the Iroquois tribe visited England in order to influence the Queen to aid in expelling the French from Canada. The many references to these Indians in the literature of the day indicate the stir they caused. They became the object of much curiosity; their pictures were painted, and they were received at court. One of them inspired a delightful ballad, *The Four Indian Kings* (telling "How a beautiful Lady conquered one of the Indian Kings").²⁶ But most significant for our purpose, these Indians were made the subject of two papers in the *Spectator*: No. 171, May 13, 1710, by Steele, and No. 50, April 27, 1711, by Addison. In the latter paper we find a method used which is the exact prototype of that used by Freneau in the paper to which we have referred. Addison

²⁴ See Charles C. Jones's *Historical Sketches of Tomo-chi-chi, Mico of the Yamacraws*, Albany, 1868, pp. 58 ff.

²⁵ Pattee, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, ixvi, ixxiv.

²⁶ The Harvard Library possesses three "broadside" copies of this ballad.

tells us that he has translated what he has written from "a little bundle of papers which were written by King Sa Ga Yean Gua Rash Tow,—and left behind by mistake" in his London lodgings. This manuscript records the mildly satiric comments of a savage upon English customs and institutions.

Now according to the original list of books given Princeton by Governor Belcher, 1760, Freneau had access to the *Spectator* even in college days. But let us carry the research further. The information furnished by the New York bookseller shows that volumes I and VIII of the *Spectator* were among Freneau's personal books; and a reference to volume I reveals the fact that Addison's paper on "The Four Indian Kings" occurs in that particular volume.²⁷ Thus the fact that Freneau's method is identical with that of Addison, and that he must have been thoroughly familiar with this passage in his own personally annotated volume, leads to the conclusion that he discovered, not the Indian, but Addison's paper.

Furthermore, investigation shows that there had been other uses of the name "Tomo-Chequi" for satirical purposes before Freneau's time. In London, 1758, a play was published entitled *Tombo-Chequi: or The American Savage, a Dramatic Entertainment in Three Acts*. *The Monthly Magazine* (June, 1758, XVIII, 648) describes it as "a satire on the foibles of those European nations who deem themselves superior to the rest of the world, on account of their polite accomplishments: which, in the opinion of the honest American Savage, are only vicious deviations from the original simplicity and integrity of nature." Now surely this "original simplicity and integrity of nature" is one of the characteristics, along with the curiously blended melancholy, which distinguish Freneau's *The Dying Indian: Tomo-Chequi*; thus, again, we find him fully in the current of his age, and deriving

²⁷ I have been unable to ascertain which edition of the *Spectator* Freneau owned. However, in the four editions before 1778 to which I have had access, the paper on "The Four Indian Kings" (No. 50) appears as follows: London, 1729, pp. 193-197; London, 1739, pp. 193-197; London, 1753, 185-188; Edinburgh, 1766, pp. 215-219. It will be noticed that it appears in each case approximately in the middle of volume one. I think we may conclude, then, that whatever edition Freneau may have owned, "The Four Indian Kings" appeared therein.

from what had gone before. We have seen that the key-note of his *Death-Song of a Cherokee Indian* is bravado and manly endurance; no difficulty is involved in explaining the origin of this when we remember that the latter half of the eighteenth century was soaked in sentimentalism. It has been shown that Freneau had many predecessors in both types, some of which he certainly knew; and that both types are thoroughly consonant with the characteristics of the age: love of naïvete; equable satire; sentimentality.

I have reserved *The House of Night* until last, because it has been supposed by critics to rest upon an impregnable citadel of originality.²⁸ We have seen that the first version was composed in the dreamy atmosphere of Santa Cruz. The form—where it is not too imperfect—comes from Gray, as does also much of the tendency to moralize. This may be illustrated by a stanza such as the following:

Hills sink to plains, and man returns to dust,
That dust supports a reptile or a flower;
Each changeful atom by some other nurs'd,
Takes some new form, to perish in an hour.²⁹

To Gray, furthermore, may be due the suggestion of the epitaph composed by Death; it will be remembered that the *Elegy* contains an epitaph also. It has been already pointed out that Freneau knew the works of Edward Young, the author of *Night Thoughts on Death and Immortality* (1742-45); it is quite possible that Young may have been in the back of his mind at times. Freneau also knew Blair, the author of *The Grave*, having mentioned him specifically in his poem *On the Crew of a Certain Vessel*. Now *The Grave* is full of that gruesome romanticism which Freneau admired, in addition to much moralizing upon the brevity of life.

²⁸ The poem first appeared in *The United States Magazine*, August, 1779, with the following note, the latter part of which no one seems to have questioned to this day: "*The House of Night*, a poem in the present number of the Magazine, is from a young gentleman who has favored us with several original pieces in the course of his work; and readers of taste will no doubt be pleased with it, as perfectly original both in the design and manner of it."

²⁹ Doubtless the word "atom" in the third line shows the influence of Lucretius's *De Natura Rerum* which Freneau knew very well. Lucretius is responsible, to some extent, as well as Pope, for Freneau's view of life expressed in the *Jamaica Funeral*.

For instance, Blair describes the physical horror of the tomb (1-10); and the ghostly solitude of a lonely church at night (28-44). His description of the churchyard (45-84) is not unlike that of Freneau. He soliloquizes upon the devouring tooth of time (183-206), and upon the fact that in the grave rank and precedence (297-236), beauty (237-256), strength (257-285), science (286-296), and eloquence (257-318) become a mockery and a jest. He ridicules the idle pretensions of doctors (319-336). The terror of death is then described (369-381), and our ignorance of the after-world (431-446) and the universality of death, with man's unconsciousness of his position, leads to a long discourse upon the brevity of life (541-599). The poem closes, much as does Freneau's, with a note of moralizing. Now it is evident—and it would be still more so if it were possible to quote at length—that *The Grave* offered a mine where Freneau could quarry exactly the sort of material he needed. Practically all of the above elements appear in the work of Freneau. Although of course the similarity to the exact design of *The House of Night* may not appear very marked, yet it is not unreasonable to suppose that the general ideas—at least the atmosphere and general choice of subject—may have influenced Freneau. The early parts, especially, of each poem are similar. The "grisly spectres" resemble the "meagre monster" Death; in one poem there is a "late-resounding" Whip-poor-will, in the other the "shrieks" of the screech-owl, both in the dead of night; the natural scenery is almost identical; in each the wind howls around the "lifeless trees" and "branchless trunks." Compare the following lines:

Of coffins, shrouds, and horrors of a tomb.
To point the gloomy horrors of the tomb.

Or these:

And screams were heard from the distemper'd ground.
Wild shrieks have issued from the hollow tombs.

In each poem a graveyard is traversed, not very differently described:

And here and there, with laurel shrubs between,
A tombstone lay, inscrib'd with strains of woe;
And stanzas sad, throughout the dismal green,

Lamented for the dead that slept below.
And lightly tripping o'er the long flat stones,

(With nettles skirted, and with moss o'ergrown,)
 That tells in homely phrase who lie below.

But let us look further, and try to discover still other sources for this weird poem. Freneau himself in his "Advertisement" to *The House of Night* writes: "This poem is founded upon the authority of Scripture, inasmuch as these sacred books assert that the last enemy that shall be conquered is Death."¹⁰ And the motto chosen for the poem is from Virgil:

Felix qui rerum cognoscere causas,
 Atque metus omnes et inexorabile Fatum
 Subiecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.¹¹

These quotations are certainly significant; doubtless the personification was more or less of a convention even as far back as Virgil's *Fatum*. However, many things are still left unexplained, and the fact that Freneau nowhere mentions or quotes from Gray to whom he owed so much is perhaps suggestive as to his use of sources.

A careful comparison with Sir Thomas Sackville's interesting poem, *The Induction*, which was contributed in 1563 to *The Mirror for Magistrates*, reveals some rather astonishing similarities, both as regards conception and concrete imagery. It will be recalled that Sackville was the author—in part, at least,—of the Elizabethan *Gorboduc*, one of the most ghastly plays of an age which took the ghastly Seneca—whom Freneau admired—for a model. In *The Induction* Sackville describes a walk at night just as does Freneau; nature is treated with the same effect. He tells of going to a region where various gruesome abstractions such as Remorse of Conscience, Dread, Revenge, Misery, and Famine, are personified, all writhing in agony. The personifications are superbly vivid; doubtless Sackville owed his initial inspiration to the sixth book of Virgil's *Aeneid* and to medieval allegory, but the masterly control of his material and his graphic power of phrasing are his own. Now Freneau, as we have noticed, knew Virgil very well, and chose his motto for this poem from the works of that poet; it is significant, perhaps, that this motto was taken not from the sixth

¹⁰ Pattee, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 212.

¹¹ *Georgics*, II, v, 490. This is an excellent example of the way in which Freneau extracted ideas from the classics and turned them to a romantic use; his whole age was doing precisely the same thing.

book of the *Aeneid* but from the *Georgics*. At any rate, a comparison of *The House of Night* with *The Induction* leads to the conclusion that Freneau was chiefly influenced by Sackville.

It will be recalled that in *The House of Night* Freneau represents Death—personified and described with horrid concreteness—as lying on his dying bed and calling for food and for pills, alternately lamenting his crimes and raging upon his inexorable fate. Surely this is too bold and grotesque a conception to be aught but original. But let us see. Compare the following from *The Induction*:

And fast by him pale Malady was placed,
Sore sick in bed, her color all foregone,
Bereft of stomach, savor, and of taste,
Nor could she brook no meat, but broths alone.
Her breath corrupt, her keepers everyone
Abhorring her, her sickness past recure,
Detesting physic and all physic's cure.

What have we here? An abstract quality, like Death, personified, ill and suffering, in bed, surrounded by "keepers" who have apparently administered "meat" and "physic" in vain. The Gordian knot is cut.

Let us go even further and compare some of the images. For it would appear that Freneau's Death embodies in a composite form all of the appropriate qualities originally possessed by Sackville's various personifications. Let us compare some of the images. Freneau describes the suffering of Death as follows:

. . . . Rage to madness vert,
Wan wasting grief, and ever-musing care,
Distressful pain, and poverty perplex.

Compare this with a parallel passage in *The Induction*:

. . . . Cursing never stent
To sob and sigh; but ever thus lament,
With thoughtful care, as she that, all in vain,
Would wear and waste continually in pain.

One is practically an exact paraphrase of the other. Could this be accidental? Or compare the following:

Tossed and tormented with the tedious thought
Of those detested crimes which she had wrought;
With dreadful cheer, and looks thrown to the sky,
Wishing for death, and yet she could not die.

Sometimes he rais'd his head, while deep-drawn groans
 Were mixt with words that did his fate deplore . . .
 Oft did he wish to see the daylight spring;
 And often toward the window leaned to hear. . . .

Is it probable that two poets would use the identical images and methods of characterization for a subject so remote from all common interest,—is it possible, I say, that they should do this without some relation existing between them?

Thus we have found sources for practically all that is important in *The House of Night*. The form, part of the tendency to moralize, and the idea of the epitaph, derive from Gray; the stage properties—the stock grave-yard description—and the rest of the tendency to moralize may come from Blair; and it may not be unreasonable to suppose that the concrete and vivid personification and imagery—in fact, the germinal plan of the poem—have their prototype in *The Induction* of Sackville. In the latter poem, furthermore, there is a conversation with a “piteous wight” very similar in general import to that in *The House of Night* with Death. The matter of the funeral may have been suggested by Blair, but with Freneau’s love of elegies and funereal subjects no great originality is involved on this score. On one point, however, we shall have to accord him his due; perhaps some later critic may subtract even this: he seems to have thought of having Death personally responsible for ordering his own coffin!

It is this poem, we recall, that critics have most eloquently pronounced as springing full-fledged from the poet’s brain, as the goddess of old. Professor Bowen states that *The House of Night* is “decidedly original,”²² and Professor Pattee declares that it was produced in his “period of pure invention”—that it is a “product of pure imagination.”²³ This leads one to consider just what the chances are of “pure invention.” If we were given adequate means of tracing a poet’s reading and experience, it would be possible, I think, to show that his poetry springs, not from creation or invention, but from a combination of images and ideas gleaned from this same reading and experience. It is interesting to find Shelley, often called the most ethereally original of poets, writing: “As to imitation, poetry is a mimetic

²² E. W. Bowen, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

²³ F. L. Pattee, *op. cit.*, p. civ (Vol. I).

art. It creates, but it creates by combination and representation."²⁴ We have simply applied the empirical method to a matter which popular superstition has long shrouded in mystery. To claim for a poet pure invention, as is claimed for part of Freneau's work, is not only to ignore the laws of psychology; it is an indication of insufficient knowledge. Such a study as this may seem somewhat iconoclastic. We have seen that many and varied streams of influence flowed together in Freneau; he represents a confluence of a special sort of culture from many times and lands. However, this interpretation may not be disheartening; on the contrary, it is rather encouraging, for it lets us into the secret. If we could understand once for all that the quest for novelty and invention is futile and at best the sign of ignorance, we might then put the emphasis where it belongs,—upon treatment, that is, upon "combination and representation." That Shakespeare cared not a whit for original material is characteristic of his genius; his fame rests entirely upon the transmutation of old themes. Thus we see that it is not a very serious blow to a poet's reputation to be able to show that his work yields to an empirical interpretation. The value of such a study lies in the possibility of revealing hidden currents of influence in that continuity which marks the highest form of criticism.

A poet almost invariably derives from, and is conditioned by, his age; he could not exist apart from his historical context. Biology has shown that physical life is the result of painfully slow evolution; in literature, even in life, there can be no cataclysm: books succeed from books; the margin of originality is always extremely narrow. Because a poet such as Freneau manifests an apparent change does not argue that he was therefore original. As Stevenson phrased it, great literary changes are "accompanied or heralded by a cast back to earlier and fresher models"; this was precisely the case with Freneau: he did what his age was doing, what men have done from time immemorial—he leaned over the shoulders of the masters and learned his art from their pages.

Fragmentary and cursory as our investigation has been, we have perhaps glimpsed the fact that with the coming of Freneau America was no longer intellectually as well as physically isolated from the

²⁴ Preface to *Prometheus Unbound*.

→ rest of the world. The flood-gates of culture were thrown down, and theological debate was swept into the background. The "world, the flesh, and the Devil" were no longer considered synonymous; the emotions came into their own. The grey clouds of Puritanism, chill and forbidding, were pierced and warmed by the sun of Pagan beauty. And as the clouds rolled back and the horizon broadened, American literature blossomed in the sunlight. ↙

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LITERATURE AND THE LAW OF LIBEL:

SHELLEY AND THE RADICALS OF 1840-1842

BY NEWMAN I. WHITE

When Lord Eldon ruled that Percy Bysshe Shelley, atheist and libertine, was not a fit person to rear his own children, it was not the last time that Shelley's radical opinions were to elicit an adverse verdict from an English court. A posthumous trial occurred nineteen years after the poet's death, on June 23, 1841, before Lord Denman and a special jury, in the Court of Queen's Bench. This trial has passed practically unnoticed by the numerous writers on Shelley.¹ One of the objects of this paper is to furnish an account of this trial, with some incidental effects of a purely Shelleyan significance. One cannot deal at length with the materials involved, however, without realizing that Shelley is not the central figure of the story; neither is Thomas Noon Talfourd (author of *Ion*), who defended Shelley's indicted publisher. The dominating figure is that of Henry Hetherington, a London printer and bookseller almost unknown to literary annals, and yet a man whose practical influence on literature, though indirect, was probably greater than that of either Shelley or Talfourd. The trial of Edward Moxon, Shelley's publisher, is simply an incident in a campaign waged with considerable resourcefulness by Hetherington and his radical friends, partly for the protection of radicals from

¹ Although J. P. Anderson's bibliography appended to Sharp's *Life of Shelley* lists Talfourd's contemporary pamphlet on the trial, the attention given the episode by writers on Shelley is apparently limited to two or three casual and mistaken lines in Roger Ingpen's *Shelley in England* (ii: 62) and in H. B. Forman's privately printed *The Vicissitudes of Queen Mab* (p. 21). For my knowledge of the reference in Mr. Forman's rare pamphlet I am indebted to Mr. T. J. Wise, former secretary of the Shelley Society, whose well-known courtesy to investigators led him in this instance to re-read the pamphlet and inform me of its bearing on the Moxon trial. Mr. Wise informs me that Forman's silence on the subject when writing *The Shelley Library* was due to the fact that the matter seemed to him to belong to the biographer rather than the bibliographer. I am also indebted to Mr. Wise for the information that Volume V of his *Catalogue of the Ashley Library* now with the binders contains letters to Moxon from Mary Shelley and E. J. Trelawney on the subject of the trial.

discriminatory treatment under the law of libel and partly to widen the limits of free speech under English law. Having pointed out in advance that Shelley in this instance is merely a pawn of the radicals, we may waive strict chronological sequence and proceed at once to the trial of Moxon, returning thereafter to a consideration of the chain of trials in which it was a link.

In 1839, Mrs. Shelley brought out, through the publisher Edward Moxon, the first authorized collected edition of Shelley's poems, in four volumes. True to her steady purpose of ingratiating Shelley as far as possible with the safe-and-sane reader, she presented *Queen Mab* in this volume with so many excisions as to make it both harmless and meaningless. Reviewers protested, particularly the Athenaeum reviewer,² and later in the year a one-volume edition of the poems appeared in which *Queen Mab* was printed entire, with Shelley's notes. It was for publishing this volume that Edward Moxon was tried on June 23, 1841, for blasphemous libel.

At the time of the trial the British public was so excited over the Corn Law elections that the case was practically ignored. This circumstance, together with the fact that it involved the relations of literature to the law of libel, seemed to Thomas Noon (Sergeant) Talfourd, counsel for the defense, sufficient justification for publishing his speech for the defendant.³ Along with

² Nos. 600, 633, 635.

³ *Speech for the Defendant in the Prosecution of the Queen versus Moxon, for the Publication of Shelley's Works. Delivered at the Court of Queen's Bench, June 23, 1841, and Revised. London, 1841.* It was reprinted in *Critical and Miscellaneous Writings of Thomas Noon Talfourd*, 3rd American edition, Boston and New York, 1854. The case is not mentioned in the *Queen's Bench Reports* for 1841, *Perry and Davison's Reports* for 1841, *Gale and Davison's Reports* for 1841, *The Digest of English Case Law*, *The Jurist*, nor under Trials in the *Catalogue of the Harvard Law School Library*. It is included in *State Trials, New Series*, IV: 693-722 and in *Modern State Trials*, by W. C. Townsend, London, 1850, ii: 356-393, but Townsend's account is in large part a literal repetition of Talfourd's pamphlet, without acknowledgment. The trial is mentioned, briefly, in the *Encyc. Brit.* and *D. N. B.* sketches of both Moxon and Talfourd and in the *D. N. B.* sketch of Henry Hetherington; also in J. A. Brain's *A Lecture Entitled an Evening with Thomas Noon Talfourd*, Reading, 1889. It is given some attention in the memoirs of radical agitators of the period: viz., W. J. Linton's *James Watson; A Memoir* and George Jacob Holy-

several other booksellers from whom the witness had purchased copies of Shelley's *Poetical Works*, Moxon stood indicted of blasphemous libel in that he "did falsely and maliciously publish a scandalous, impious, profane and malicious libel of and concerning the Holy Scriptures, and of and concerning Almighty God." Four passages from *Queen Mab* were specified and quoted in the indictment: IV, 208-221; VII, 84-97; VII, 100-115; and a part of Shelley's second note, which speaks, as Talfourd admits, "in very disrespectful terms of the statements of Christian history."⁴

By Moxon's request, his own case was the first tried. The prosecuting attorney, Thomas, opened the case by establishing the proposition that a work tending to bring religion into contempt and odium was an offense against the common law, citing the recent case of Henry Hetherington among others. He then read the indicted passages and several others, all from *Queen Mab*. He showed that the case was without personal animus by fairly admitting the respectability of the defendant and eloquently eulogizing the genius of Shelley, and concluded with stating his satisfaction if this trial should establish the principle "that no publications on religion should be subject for prosecution in the future."⁵ The sole witness, Thomas Holt, then testified to purchasing the indicted book at the defendant's shop at the desire of Henry Hetherington, and Talfourd began his speech for the defense.

Talfourd's argument for the defense is based "on Christian grounds." He contends that the whole book cannot be indicted on the basis of several excerpts "torn violently from their context"; that they form part of the intellectual history of a genius and do not exist independently for the purpose of creating doubt, that the work is not dangerous to the class of readers for whom it was intended; that *Queen Mab*, from which the indicted passages are taken, was deprecated by Shelley himself in a letter published by Moxon with the poem, that Shelley is not an atheist; that if Moxon

oake's *Sixty Years of An Agitator's Life*; but the radicals were interested in it only as an outgrowth of Hetherington's trial for libel. Thus it is not mentioned in *The Life and Struggles of William Lovett*, which devotes 14 pages to Hetherington, in Wallas's *Life of Francis Place* or G. J. Holyoake's *Bygones Worth Remembering*.

⁴ Taken from the indictment as copied in *State Trials*. Talfourd does not specify all the indicted passages.

⁵ Talfourd, *op. cit.*, Preface.

is found guilty the publishers of Fielding, Richardson, Milton, Gibbon, Byron, the Elizabethan dramatists, French and German literature, the ancient classics and even the Bible would lie open to irresponsible indictment; and that the volume itself, by its inspired genius, is the greatest possible proof of Divine existence—that the law, in a word, should regard Moxon's publication of Shelley as in an entirely different category from Hetherington's selling copies of Haslam's *Letters to the Clergy of All Denominations*, at a penny each.

Much of Talfourd's argument, however, was outside the law, as Chief Justice Denman himself intimated in summing up. The significant element in Talfourd's speech is not so much his argument as his eloquence. Since a large part of this eloquence was in appreciation of Shelley's genius, his speech becomes of some significance in the growth of Shelley's reputation. Talfourd's attitude toward Shelley throughout is one of confident admiration. Though *Queen Mab* is obscure, Shelley even at that early period is "a youth endowed with that sensibility to the beautiful and the grand which peoples his minutes with the perception of years—who, with a spirit of self-sacrifice which the eldest Christianity might exult in if found in one of its martyrs, is ready to lay down that intellectual being—to be lost in loss itself—if by annihilation he could multiply the enjoyments and hasten the progress of his species—and yet with strange wilfulness, rejecting that religion in form to which in essence he is imperishably allied." In its exaltation this passage is fairly typical of the whole speech. Enough is here given to show that as early as 1841 an eminent lawyer of some reputation in literature and criticism could write of Shelley with the full flavor of the late Stopford Brooke in his most mellifluous moments.

Talfourd's account of the trial, which we have followed hitherto, says practically nothing of the summing up, the verdict, and the conclusion of the trial, the details of which must be supplied from other sources.*

In his summary Lord Denman complimented Talfourd's eloquent speech, read the indicted passages, reviewed the arguments,

* *State Trials*, New Series, IV: 693-722; Townsend's *Modern State Trials*, II: 356-393; and W. J. Linton: *James Watson—A Memoir*, 49-53.

pointed out wherein several of Talfourd's arguments did not apply under the law as handed down, and clearly indicated his own opinion that the indicted passages were libellous. The jury retired and in fifteen minutes brought in a verdict of guilty. Sentence was not imposed because the prosecution, satisfied with the verdict, declined to pray judgment on the defendant.⁷ The other prosecutions were dropped. One of Talfourd's fellow members of the Oxford Circuit disposes of the case thus succinctly:

His speech in defense of Moxon was among his own favorites. Everybody knew that the defendant must be convicted and would not be punished. The court was kind and respectfully tolerant, but would rather have gone on with the list (for there was an arrear); the jury admired, but felt that it was a liberal sermon; and the bar was not fuller at the end of the speech than at the beginning.⁸

The significance of this trial, so far as Shelley is concerned, is briefly stated. For some time it affected the text of his published writings, in that for several years after the trial, *Queen Mab* was published without the offending passages. The full history of these omissions cannot be traced without an examination of all of Moxon's editions of Shelley, but the 1847 edition in three volumes omits Shelley's notes and all of the poem following the second canto, and the one-volume edition printed in 1853, twelve years after the trial, omits Shelley's notes. The trial also provides, in Talfourd's eloquent tribute to Shelley's genius, a very early example of the peculiar enthusiasm by which Shelley criticism has been more commonly distinguished since the 1880's. Doubtless the prosecution increased to some extent the sale of the indicted work, as its promoters had expected;⁹ and Talfourd's pamphlet must have had some weight in the development of appreciation for Shelley which contemporary liberals were fostering. Lastly the conviction of Moxon in 1841 is a demonstration, if any were needed, that Shelley possessed more caution than an ineffectual angel is generally blessed

⁷ Roger Ingpen, *op. cit.*, ii: 62, says the case "was decided in favor of the publisher," and H. B. Forman, *op. cit.*, 21, says (as quoted for me by Mr. Wise) that Moxon was prosecuted and fined.

⁸ *A Memoir of Mr. Justice Talfourd, by a Member of the Oxford Circuit*, p. 18. Signed S., and reprinted from No. 103 of the *Law Magazine*, London, 1854.

⁹ Linton, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

withal, when in the disturbed period covered by his early years he published practically all of his actionable pamphlets and broadsides anonymously and never gave away a copy of his privately printed *Queen Mab* without first removing all traces of his authorship. That ridiculously dynamic document which told so heavily against Shelley in his chancery suit and set up a ferment in many radical minds, British and American, to whom Shelley was otherwise unknown, would almost certainly have placed its author in jail had it been openly published in 1813.

Here ends, so far as Shelley is concerned, the episode of Moxon's trial for blasphemous libel. Enter here the really dominating personality, that of Henry Hetherington, who precipitated the trial. Hetherington, curiously enough, was a man of Shelley's own radical stamp, unfurnished with Shelley's philosophic background and careless, perhaps, of the deficiency, but gifted with a practical resourcefulness entirely lacking in the poet. He had already been joint publisher of a pirated edition of *Queen Mab*.¹⁰ His legal spokesman had praised Shelley at Moxon's trial, and his closest friend and coadjutor, James Watson, was bringing out another edition of *Queen Mab* at the very time of Moxon's trial. To understand the purpose and true significance of Hetherington's legal attack upon a poet he revered, one must begin with Hetherington ten years before Moxon's indictment; and to appreciate its results one must consider at least two trials following that of Moxon.

It was in the year 1830 that the obscure radical printer, Henry Hetherington, first attracted the attention of his government by publishing his *Penny Papers for the People* without the required newspaper stamp. He was immediately prosecuted and fined. He replied by beginning, in 1831, *The Poor Man's Guardian* which described itself as "a weekly newspaper for the People, established contrary to Law, to try the power of Might against Right" and announced in its first number the determination to uphold "this grand bulwark of all our rights, this key to all our liberties,

¹⁰ Forman, *op. cit.*, lists this edition without date, but before 1841. Since Hetherington's address at the time of both his own and Moxon's trials (1840-1841) is given as the Strand and since it is given as Holborn in the pirated edition, the book can be safely dated as before Hetherington's trial.

the freedom of the press—the press, too, of the ignorant and the poor.”¹¹ The government promptly began prosecutions under the Newspaper Stamp Act and the act of 1819. In less than four years 800 venders of *The Poor Man's Guardian* and similar publications were prosecuted, and about 500 of these were either fined or imprisoned or both. The prosecutions practically ceased after June 1834, when a special jury in the Court of Exchequer unexpectedly ruled that *The Poor Man's Guardian* was not in violation of the law. Despite repeated efforts on the part of Bulwer and others, the tax on newspapers was not fully repealed until 1855, but the first and most important campaign had been won, in a fight in which Henry Hetherington, according to all accounts, had been leader and chief hero.

Mere opposition to the government may explain part of this radical activity, but an honest desire to place information within the reach of the laborer must not be discounted as a principal motive. Hetherington and his friend James Watson (who was an important coadjutor in practically all of Hetherington's undertakings) have both been characterized as generous, self-sacrificing and temperate-minded men¹² who wished to remedy a situation in which a workingman, receiving good wages at nine shillings a week, was unable to buy a newspaper carrying a four-penny tax, or for that matter, any literature except the very cheapest. The unstamped newspapers were put into the hands of workingmen by all sorts of clever devices.¹³ A consequence of this radical agitation was a movement for other and non-political reading at a cheap price for the masses, and the British workingman began to read, almost for the first time in history.¹⁴

There can be no doubt that the government used the Newspaper Stamp Tax as an excuse for prosecuting radical opinion.¹⁵

¹¹ See H. R. Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers*, II, 56 ff. and W. J. Linton, *op. cit.*, p. 26-28.

¹² Linton, *op. cit.*, and Holyoake, *op. cit.*

¹³ See *Life and Struggles of William Lovett*, pp. 54-68 and Alexander Andrews, *History of British Journalism*, London, 1859. Andrews, who is ultra-Tory, denounces Hetherington as a scoundrel and a traitor.

¹⁴ Bourne, *op. cit.*, II, 58 and Lovett, *op. cit.*, Chap. III.

¹⁵ See Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*, New York, 1919, p. 337; Bourne, *op. cit.*, II, 59, and Watson's petition to the House of Commons quoted in Linton, *op. cit.*, 2-5.

Hetherington was forced into the use of disguise in entering his own home. He was hounded over the country, and was three times fined and imprisoned. His stocks were seized and his presses demolished, while Lord Brougham and other members of the government were openly sponsoring papers of more orthodox views, such as *The Penny Magazine* and *The Christian Magazine* which were equally in violation of the stamp law and were never prosecuted.

When prosecutions under the Newspaper Tax Law ceased, Hetherington continued his publishing business and his activities for the workingmen. In 1830 he had helped draw up a plan for trades unions out of which the Chartist movement soon developed,¹⁶ and he was a delegate in the Chartist convention of 1839. Early in the following year he was again indicted, this time for blasphemous libel in publishing C. J. Haslam's *Letters to the Clergy of All Denominations*, a book which, according to Linton and Holyoake, would not have attracted a prosecution but for the opportunity it offered of again attacking the radicals.¹⁷

The trial took place December 8, 1840, before Lord Denman in the Court of Queen's Bench.¹⁸ Hetherington was a resourceful man, and defended himself with an ability that won the respect both of the presiding judge and of Hetherington's later opponent,

¹⁶ Linton, *op. cit.*, 28.

¹⁷ The claim that Hetherington was in reality being prosecuted because of his radical activities gains considerable plausibility from the following facts: (1) In the early part of the year 1840 the Bishop of Exeter published *The Bishop of Exeter's Speech to the Lords on Socialism* in which he demanded action against the radicals for blasphemy. In March, 1840, the *Quarterly* reviewed this speech with warm approval and accused the Attorney General of being afraid to start prosecutions. (2) Hetherington stated openly in his trial, without contradiction, that the Attorney General was prosecuting at the instance of the Bishop of Exeter. (3) In January, 1839 *The Christian Teacher* reviewed a speech published by W. J. Fox, *On the Recent Attempts to Stimulate a Spirit of Fanaticism and Persecution in the Church of England*, in which two of the three reasons assigned for the alleged attempts were fear of the growing intelligence of the people and fear of invaded revenues, especially from the advance of popular influence in government. (4) In two articles (September, 1816 and January, 1834) the *Edinburgh Review* charged that the government was using the libel law as a means of political oppression and was using unfair means in securing convictions.

¹⁸ The Queen *vs.* Hetherington, *State Trials, New Series*, IV: 563-601.

Talfourd; but the Attorney General was vigorous to the point of unfairness and had the advantage of the law. Hetherington was immediately pronounced guilty and on January 20, 1841, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment.¹⁹

Before Hetherington came up for trial he indicted Edward Moxon and three other prominent booksellers for selling Shelley's Works.²⁰ This very shrewd move has been twice characterized in a court of law as mere spite (by Talfourd in his speech for the defense and by Mr. Justice Blackburn in *Queen versus Hicklin*, 1868), but there is sufficient evidence to show that Hetherington's motives were much more respectable. W. J. Linton, who was a friend and intimate of Hetherington's at the time, says²¹ that Hetherington acted upon the advice of Abel Heywood that "if social disgrace from a conviction for 'blasphemy' was to be used as a weapon against us, it seemed politic that, boomerang like, it should return on its employers . . . Our purpose was to prevent the trial of Hetherington or to affect his sentence, if condemned."²² The first object, he claims, was defeated by the defence in removing the case to another court and bribing Hetherington's only witness to disappear.²³ The second purpose Linton claims was

¹⁹ Talfourd says he underwent an imprisonment of four months in Queen's Bench Prison. *State Trials*, based on shorthand notes, gives the sentence as four months in the custody of the warden of the Marshalsea, and Linton says he was sentenced to the lightest punishment on record—imprisonment for six weeks in a debtor's prison. Since the Marshalsea is a debtor's prison, and since Linton was in Hetherington's company soon after his release, the truth is probably that Hetherington served only six weeks of a four month's term in the Marshalsea.

²⁰ Talfourd, *State Trials*, and Linton do not absolutely agree as to their names, but the difference seems hardly worth discussing.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

²² That this was a recognized principle with the radicals is further shown by the fact that the newspaper stamp tax was finally abolished in 1855 partly as a result of the activities of a committee dominated by Hetherington's friends, Holyoake, Place and Watson, who acted admittedly on "Hetherington's policy," "to destroy obnoxious laws by compelling the government to enforce them impartially" and in this way forced the suspension of Dickens's *Household Narrative of Current Events*. Holyoake, *op. cit.*, I, 279 and 282.

²³ Although Talfourd makes no mention of the bribery incident, which Linton supports by circumstantial details, his account of the development of the trial does show that the trial was delayed about six months by

effected when Hetherington escaped with six weeks in a debtor's prison. Linton adds that Moxon, after being found guilty, was never called up for judgment nor were the other indictments proceeded with, because personal animosity or revenge were beside the question. "We had gained enough. Prosecutions for blasphemy were estopped. I think there has since been only one, with foolish wilfulness provoked, for the sake of a spurious notoriety."²⁴ The words of the prosecuting attorney on introducing the case will be found to support Linton's statement of the objects of the action against Moxon. From these facts it will easily be seen that Mr. Ingpen was fundamentally mistaken in assuming²⁵ that the case was a bona fide prosecution by Government.

Aside from the purpose of benefiting Hetherington by forcing the government to apply the law of libel to Moxon, it is plain that the initiators of the prosecution designed the trial to establish the principle that no publications on religion were libellous. Indeed, this hope was plainly stated by the prosecution in opening the trial. The trial therefore becomes significant as a part of the radical effort to abolish prosecutions for blasphemy. One popular effect is to be seen in the appearance in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*²⁶ of a poem, *On the Recent Prosecution of the Publisher of Shelley's Poems*, which denounces the prosecution on the mistaken assumption that it is another attempt on the part of the "silkgowned and surpliced hogs" to muzzle truth. Moreover the *Monthly Magazine* in a review of Talfourd's pamphlet²⁷ commented unfavorably on the present state of the law—from the point of view, however, of Talfourd rather than of Hetherington.

The opening gun of the attack had already been fired by Hetherington in his own trial, in which he strongly protested the impolicy of such trials, attacked the law of libel on extra-legal grounds of justice and humanity, and quoted copiously from the

removal to another court, the non-appearance of some of the special jurors and the prosecution's inability to furnish a necessary warrant from the Attorney General, who at the very time was being criticized for his grossly unfair conduct in Hetherington's trial.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, ii: 62.

²⁶ November, 1841, Vol. 8, N. S., p. 727.

²⁷ Vol. 2, N. S., 1841, pp. 545-552.

most respected authors in favor of freedom of opinion and expression. Less than three weeks after the verdict against him, Hetherington published a 32-page pamphlet giving an accurate account of the trial "with the whole of the Authorities cited in the Defence, at Full Length," and claiming that he was the victim of discrimination.²⁸ He advised the government to take its stand "on this glorious principle—Perfect Freedom in the Formation and Publication of Opinion for Every Sect and Party." Several newspapers took up the defence—the *Sun*, the *Morning Chronicle*, and the *Weekly Dispatch*, in a series of letters by Publicola.

The effect of this agitation on Lord Denman is distinctly noticeable. In the prosecution of both Hetherington and Moxon he had been scrupulously fair and equal. In commenting on Hetherington's argument as to the impolicy of blasphemy trials he had said merely that such matters were not for the court to decide. It is significant therefore, to find him repeating this statement in summing up the Moxon trial and adding,

For myself I am of opinion that the best and most effectual method of acting in regard to such obnoxious doctrines is to refute them by argument and reasoning. . . . Such publications can be more effectually suppressed or neutralized by confuting the sentiments themselves than by prosecuting their authors.²⁹

This was Hetherington's argument exactly. Coming from the bench practically as a hint to would-be prosecutors it testifies that Hetherington's campaign had already achieved some success.

Hetherington and his friends continued their campaign of publicity. When, six months after Moxon's conviction, Charles Southwell, editor of the *Oracle of Reason*, was tried for blasphemy in Bristol, a committee formed for his defense engaged a special reporter and published a full report of the trial.³⁰ Hetherington was present at the trial and was the publisher of the report. The preface, signed by M. Ryall as secretary of the committee, states the hope of the committee to arouse the public against such prosecutions. By August 5 of the same year, when G. J. Holyoake was sentenced at Gloucester to six months' im-

²⁸ *A Full Report of the Trial of Henry Hetherington, etc.*, London, 1840.

²⁹ *State Trials*, New Series, IV, 722.

³⁰ *The Trial of Charles Southwell (Editor of the Oracle of Reason) for Blasphemy, etc.*, Bristol, Jan. 14, 1842.

prisonment for blasphemy (Adams having previously received a lighter sentence at the same assizes for selling Southwell's *Oracle of Reason*) the committee which had defended Southwell had become "The Anti-Persecution Union," with M. Ryall as secretary. Following Hetherington's tactics, the Anti-Persecution Union published an account of Holyoake's trial.³¹ An unsigned preface, similar to the preface to Southwell's Trial, pointed out the injustice of the treatment accorded Holyoake and quoted Publicola (who had been quoted in both the Hetherington and Southwell pamphlets) on the absurd composition of the juries for such trials. An *Address of the Anti-Persecution Union*, immediately following the preface, maintains in temperate language that the right of free opinion and utterance is essential to liberty, and refers to the cases of Southwell, Adams and Holyoake as necessitating an Anti-Persecution Union to defend the right to free publication of opinion and to help victims for conscience's sake. The authorities quoted by Holyoake in his defense are given in detail, as they had been in the cases of Hetherington and Southwell, and the editor points out once more that these defenses have been based on the most orthodox and respectable authorities. Holyoake later added to the campaign of publicity by himself publishing an account of the trial.³² Holyoake and his friends were able to command sufficient support to get a bill introduced and passed in Parliament by which all trials involving speculative opinions must be tried at assizes only, where the judge was supposed to be independent of local prejudices. Here we have a tangible achievement of the radical war against the law of libel. Moreover, the judge suggested to Holyoake a construction that might be put upon the indicted words which would enable him to instruct the jury for acquittal. Holyoake rejected the suggestion and it seems even from Holyoake's retrospective account³³ that Linton was right in saying that the trial would never have oc-

³¹ *The Trial of George Jacob Holyoake, on an Indictment for Blasphemy Before Mr. Justice Erskine and a Common Jury at Gloucester, August 5, 1842. From Notes Specially taken by Mr. Hunt, etc.* London, Printed and Published for "The Anti-Persecution Union," by Thomas Paterson, 8 Holywell Street, Strand.

³² *History of the Last Trial by Jury for Atheism in England*, London, 1851.

³³ *Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life*, I, 145-165.

curred but for Holyoake's own conduct in wilfully forcing an action.

The cases of Hetherington, Moxon, Southwell, and Holyoake, in less than three years, wrought a considerable change in the application of the law of libel. Starting on the offensive, in what was almost certainly an attempt to "railroad" a prominent radical, the government ended on the defensive, in a judge suggesting to a radical defendant an easy way by which conviction might be avoided. The radicals had found a way of showing the government that political prosecutions for religious offenses could be made so embarrassing to Government as to be no longer worth while. No longer were juries to be instructed, as they were in the early 19th century, that it was their duty as Christians to convict. Under the direct influence of these trials a judge had discountenanced such prosecutions from the bench, another judge had tried to avoid a conviction, and Parliament had removed cases of blasphemous libel from the jurisdiction of local magistrates. A campaign of publicity had produced a state of enlightenment under which the old misuse of the law as a whip for radicals had to be abandoned. Free speech, under English law, was made comparatively feasible—primarily for radicals, of course, but incidentally for literature.

It is true that the radicals did not secure the abolition of the law. Neither was Holyoake's trial, as both he and Linton supposed, "the last trial for atheism in England." Since Holyoake's trial there have been at least four prosecutions in England for blasphemous libel.⁵⁴ In only one of these, however (that of Foote, Ramsay, and Kemp, in 1883) was there a conviction for blasphemous publication, and that only upon a second trial, after the jury had disagreed in the first trial. Moreover, when two of the same defendants were again tried in the same year for another alleged blasphemy, the jury again disagreed and the prosecution dropped the case on a direct hint from the judge that he would otherwise be compelled to throw it out of court.⁵⁵

The law of blasphemous libel is still a part of English common law, but it has fallen into practical desuetude. It is a far cry from

⁵⁴ For brief summaries of the cases see W. B. Odgers, *Digest of the Law of Libel and Slander*, 5th ed., London, 1911, pp. 482-484.

⁵⁵ *Law Times*, N. S., xlviii: 733.

the law as applied since the trials herein related to the law which in 1819, with the direct encouragement of the Duke of Wellington, arraigned Richard Carlyle for Publishing Paine's *Age of Reason* and Palmer's *Principles of Nature* and sentenced him to three years in prison, fines aggregating £5500, and security of £1200 for good behavior during life—the defendant to remain in prison till the fines were paid and the security given. It is not here claimed that the activities of Hetherington and his friends were wholly responsible for bridging this distance. The distance is no doubt partly bridged by the growing liberalism of the times, the constant criticism of the law of libel by such liberal reviews as the *Westminster Review*, and the practice of the Chancery Court (to which Odgers apparently gives the whole credit) in legalizing bequests by Jews and Unitarians under common law. It is not too much to claim, however, that a large span in this bridge should be inscribed with the name of Henry Hetherington, who furnished the tactics and a large part of the leadership and publicity in the attack upon the law of libel to which this paper is mainly devoted. Percy Bysshe Shelley, who knew himself to be in danger of this same law and took surprising precautions against it, could hardly have been anything but pleased could he have known that he was to be used as an instrument for its mitigation. His pronouncement on that law (almost identical with Hetherington's) in the *Letter to Lord Ellenborough* and his hot indignation at the sentence imposed upon Carlyle make him of the party of Hetherington rather than of his own eulogist, Talfourd.

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HYPERION

BY MARTHA HALE SHACKFORD.

O latest born and loveliest vision far
Of all Olympus' faded hierarchy!

In the grassy, flower-studded valley of Olympia lie huge fragments from the temples of Jupiter and of Hera long ago overthrown and left to silence. Those ruined figures of colossal gods and goddesses possess wonderful impressiveness; desolation and decay have added majesty to the fallen marbles, arousing in the onlooker a sense of the imperishable greatness of Greek life. *Hyperion* in its incompleteness has something of the awe-inspiring power of a survival from antiquity. Its grandeur is sustained and austere.

No other English poem of the nineteenth century can compare with *Hyperion* in faithfulness to classical tradition or in power of vitalizing the primitive world of Greek legend. Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, despite its descriptive beauty, lacks the fundamental simplicity and depth of Hellenism. Matthew Arnold's *Merope* fails in roundness of tone, it has the nervous tenseness of the modern world; Swinburne's Greek plays are vitiated by his shallow externalism; Browning's poems on Balaustion betray too literal an acquaintance with the idiom of the Greek tongue. *Hyperion* is as fully and consistently classical as *Endymion* is not. With very few exceptions the allusions, the imagery, the tone, the diction, the flow of the verse are suited to interpret the primitive epoch of pre-historic mythology. A poet's surpassing imagination is shown here,—his power to enter into the very being of ancient deity and speak with the "large utterance of the early gods."

In contrast with *Endymion*, *Hyperion*¹ shows matured strength, firmness of method and insight into fundamental truths of destiny. The youth who in 1817 had cried out:

O for ten years, that I may overwhelm
Myself in poesy; so I may do the deed
That my own soul has to itself decreed,

Sleep and Poetry.

had in 1820 achieved undeniable greatness.

¹ Begun by Keats late in 1818, abandoned by September 1819.

The very ignorance of Keats was the inspiration, the challenge which made him apply himself with indomitable effort to the study of classical story. Lacking technical instruction in Greek, he devoted his energy to attaining the knowledge that would be a substitute for formal training. The appeal which Greek life made to him was not factitious or merely visionary. For him, the remote past was a world of idealism, of escape out of the petty and tiring days of London. Like any true artist he abhorred convention, submission to routine, and trivial modernity. He demanded "room to wander in," a world large enough and old enough to allow him breathing space. He sought elemental, primitive experience.

Chief among the influences affecting *Hyperion* is that of Greek sculpture. The hours spent in the British Museum studying the Elgin marbles under the expert guidance of Joseph Severn and of Benjamin Haydon, (the man who had done most to interpret them to the British public), reacted powerfully upon the poet. The freedom and natural expressiveness of Greek life were visibly outlined in the figures of horsemen, old men, burden bearers, blithe maidens, and other worshippers going to do reverence to Athena and her guests, those gods whose stately presences form the east frieze of the Parthenon. The buoyant energy of life depicted there, the absorption in the immediate occupation, the sense of grave and lofty musings regarding men's relation to the gods all contributed to make Keats understand the spirit of classicism. What this frieze meant to the poet is expressed in his sonnet *On Seeing the Elgin Marbles*:

My spirit is too weak—mortality
 Weighs heavily on me like unwilling sleep,

 Such dim-conceived glories of the brain
 Bring round the heart an indescribable feud;
 So do these wonders a most dizzy pain,
 That mingles Grecian grandeur with the rude
 Wasting of old Time—with a billowy main—
 A sun—a shadow of a magnitude.

But beyond understanding the sovereignty of these sculptured deities and their worshippers, Keats learned most about the nature of Greek art and of all great art. Perceiving that sculpture in its finest form gains its effects by the exclusion of ornament, by a rigorous choice of the most expressive line in the turn of a head

or the pose of a body, Keats discovered the fundamental principles of selection and rejection, the Greek sense of "measure" and restraint. This utmost economy of line to give concentrated expressiveness, this bold throwing of light upon a perfect contour, this subordination of the part to achieve the symmetry of the whole, affected very profoundly the poet's ideals of artistic excellence. He became more and more skilled in the art of compression, of the gathering of energy to one central meaning, and his meaning grew steadily more poignant, more imaginatively significant.

Also working upon his imagination were the scenes in the Lake Country and in the Scotch mountains which aroused his sense of awe and sublimity. His purpose in taking this journey was defined by him in one of his letters:

I should not have consented to myself these four months tramping in the highlands, but that I thought it would give me more experience, rub off more prejudice, use [me] to more hardship, identify finer scenes, load me with grander mountains, and strengthen more my reach in Poetry, than would stopping at home among books, even though I should reach Homer.—July 18, 1818.

Since writing *Endymion* Keats had entered a world of primitive vastness. The Lake Country and Scotland had shown him people of strange, rustic habit, wholly apart from the sophisticated folk of city life; association with the wildness of nature, in that northern land full of strange, haunting lights and wild, barbaric spaces untouched by human association, stirred in him an appreciation of the great sweep and space of nature, a sense of the primitive, desolate universe. In climbing Ben Nevis, especially, Keats came into the presence of bare gigantic forces. He looked out over a landscape wholly wild and majestic, and in him were aroused appreciations, recognitions, thoughts that changed his whole outlook, helping him to a higher and more stern attitude of wonder at nature. We see this same mood aroused also at Staffa where Keats became still more powerfully aware of the boundlessness of time and of space.

Frequent references, however, were made to the greenness and beauty of the country, references interesting in relation to *Hyperion*:

When we left Cairn our Road lay half way up the sides of a green mountainous shore, full of clefts of verdure and eternally varying—some—

times up sometimes down, and over little Bridges going across green chasms of moss, rock and trees—winding about everywhere. After two or three Miles of this we turned suddenly into a magnificent glen finely wooded in Parts—seven Miles long—with a Mountain stream winding down the Midst.—July 10, 1818.

First we stood upon the Bridge across the Doon; surrounded by every Phantasy of green in Tree, Meadow, and Hill,—the stream of the Doon, as a Farmer told us, is covered with trees “from head to foot”—you know those beautiful heaths so fresh against the weather of a summer’s evening—there was one stretching along behind the trees.—July 13, 1818.

The whole outlook of Keats had undergone a change. The charm and beauty of many of his early imaginings is undeniable, but compare with the grim solitudes of wild Scotland this pretty bit from *I Stood Tiptoe*:

I sure should pray
That nought less sweet, might call my thoughts away,
Than the soft rustle of a maiden’s gown
Fanning away the dandelion’s down;
Than the light music of her nimble toes
Patting against the sorrel as she goes.

Keats had left behind him, forever, the gentle mood of these lines; he had been swept up into an atmosphere of tremendous impressiveness, introducing him to geological vastness, to awe and wonder over the littleness of individual man.

The background of *Hyperion* is created with a sense of mystery and sublimity. Earth is beautiful with shadowy vales, forests, streams, and clouds, but it is an earth associated with primitive natural forces, sun, ocean, thunder, lightning, wind. The geographical allusions summon to the imagination conceptions of broad tracts of space, as well as of time,—“the Memphian Sphinx,” the “dusking East,” “chief isle of the embowered Cyclades.”

Many a fallen old Divinity
Wandering in vain about bewildered shores.

Even the allusions which are anachronistic serve an artistic purpose in suggesting immeasurable extent of time, space, and history, opening for the reader vistas of remote, dim epochs:

. . . like a dismal cirque
Of Druid stones, upon a forlorn moor,
When the chill rain begins at shut of eve,
In dull November, and their chancel vault,
The Heaven itself, is blinded throughout night.

II, 34 ff.

Palm-shaded temples, and high rival fanes,
By Oxus or in Ganges' sacred isles.

II, 59 ff.

The one book which Keats carried on this journey was Cary's translation of the *Divine Comedy*. With an imagination already swept into the far reaches of natural and of spiritual grandeur through Wordsworth's *Excursion* which had exercised tremendous influence upon Keats, the poet was led by Dante to ponder over the mediæval conception of the universe with its circling spheres, whose order was maintained by divine love that is divine law.

Together with newly acquired sense of distance, of size, and power, and limitless stretch of time and space there was developing in Keats an almost portentous knowledge of human capability for suffering and loss and defeat. He was terribly alone and isolated. George was in America, Fanny was held apart, and the death of Tom, in December 1818, came as a climax to accentuate John's feeling of separation from things familiar. Turned thus to deep, melancholy philosophizing over the meaning of existence, John Keats's grief and loneliness gave passionate purport to his brooding reverie on fate and loss and change.

During 1818-19 Keats was much at the theatre, admiring Kean's presentation of *Richard, Duke of York* (a condensation of the three parts of *Henry VI*), and receiving a strong impetus to dramatic composition. The grandeur of Shakespeare's dramas had been a powerful source of enlargement of Keats's sense of royalty of nature; the plays gave his imagination impetus to describe beings of exalted power, capable of profound and awful feeling. *King Lear*, *Coriolanus*, *Richard II* with their portrayal of dominion lost seem to have kinship with the overthrow of the Titans by the Olympians. Richard says,

Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm off from an anointed king:

.

Am I not King?

Awake, thou coward majesty! thou sleepest.
Is not the King's name twenty thousand names?
Arm, arm, my name! a puny subject strikes
At thy great glory.

And the spirit of rebellion in Keats himself, his pugnacity and vigor, may have found sympathy in the language of one of Shakes-

peare's greatest figures, Katharine of Aragon who, in *Henry VIII*, said:

I am about to weep; but thinking that
We are a queen, or long have dream'd so, certain
The daughter of a king, my drops of tears
I'll turn to sparks of fire.

The immediate sources² of *Hyperion* are chiefly Hesiod's *Theogony*, probably read by Keats in the translation by Thomas Cooke (1810), *The Works and Days* translated by Chapman, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and, perhaps, *Samson Agonistes*. It should be remembered that Milton owed much to Hesiod, and in some degree Keats and Milton drew from the same source. From Ovid, from Ronsard, from Landor's *Gebir*, and possibly from Southey's long epics which suggest events on a large scale Keats derived some hints. All these combined to furnish inspiration for representing the lofty tone of classical legend, enabled him to create deities, to make them partake of the primitive character of the early powers of nature.—earth, sea, sky, and to attribute to them mental processes understandable by men and yet beyond men in intensity and splendor of powerful mood.

The symbolism in the poem is rather general, for Keats was trying to express in the terms of Greek antiquity his conception of the organic laws of Being:—the aggression of fresh aspiring youth upon the old and outworn; nature's continual advance from physical might and material strength to "purer forms" dominated by thought and feeling. Keats had seen the struggle of the Greek gods as the eternal conflict between conservatism and advance; between rule by age and priority and rule by youth and energy of spirit; between the accustomed, habitual, and the new, untried. He perceived in the whole drama of loss, change, suffering, the tragedy of each generation of human life, and, with this *motif* in mind, he succeeded in making majestically real these scenes, placed in the dawn of time.

According to Hesiod the history of the early world is a history of successions. Chaos was succeeded by Earth and Heaven, who, in turn, were subordinated to their offspring, the Titans; Saturn, Hyperion, Oceanus, and the others who are listed in Book II of

² See Mr. de Selincourt's notes in his edition of Keats's Poems, and Sir Sidney Colvin's *Life of Keats* (1917).

Hyperion. Against the Titans warred the Olympians, children of Saturn and Rhea. *Hyperion* begins at the time when Saturn has been driven into exile by Jove, when Oceanus has been superseded by Neptune, and when Hyperion is threatened with overthrow by the coming of Apollo.

The poem, like the typical epic, plunges *in medias res*, opening with a dramatically effective scene, full of solemnity, intensely suggestive of past tragedy. Keats has with sure, deft strokes portrayed the innermost identity of one god, forcing the spectator to know, by sheer impact of imagination, the solitary grief of Saturn, overthrown and powerless:

Upon the sodden ground
His old right hand lay nerveless, listless, dead,
Unscattered; and his realmless eyes were closed;
While his bow'd head seem'd list'ning to the Earth,
His ancient mother, for some comfort yet.

The impression of divine despair in the picture of Saturn is continued, intensified, contrasted in the portrait of Thea, spouse of Hyperion. Thea represents not overthrow complete but overthrow imminent yet unaccomplished. She keeps, still, the aspect, the stature, the tread, the look of a ruler, but keenly alive in her is a dread, a fear, that makes her presence a revelation of the divine suffering endured by these descendants of Heaven and Earth:

But oh! how unlike marble was that face;
How beautiful, if sorrow had not made
Sorrow more beautiful than Beauty's self.
There was a listening fear in her regard,
As if calamity had but begun.

And when Thea speaks she has a god's utterance and expression, echoing out of remote oblivion:

For heaven is parted from thee, and the earth
Knows thee not, thus afflicted, for a God;
And ocean too, with all its solemn noise,
Has from thy sceptre pass'd; and all the air
Is emptied of thine hoary majesty.

Book I proceeds in a dialogue between these deities. Saturn's speech in response to Thea is certainly unrivalled for its interpretation of that terrible sense of lost power, lost, when the loser is still able to feel and to think with intensity. Unbelief, astonish-

ment, confusion, energy appear in this inquiry by one who is asking the question eternally recurring when seemingly infinite strength is overthrown:

Who had power
To make me desolate?

The human race is forever seeking an answer to this query, forever asking for knowledge of the inevitable force beyond, controlling destiny. With the depth of penetration that distinguishes his genius, Keats proceeded to interpret the mood of the being caught in the ebb of power, alienated from himself, yet conscious of still vigorous impulse to act and do. The splendid energy of the mind that can and will originate, that can form new actuality is described by one of the human race who has felt, most comprehendingly, the artist's impulse to expression. Only an adventurous imagination of abounding vitality could conceive the mood that cries out:

But cannot I create?
Cannot I form? Cannot I fashion forth
Another world, another universe,
To overbear and crumble this to naught?
Where is another chaos? Where?

The scene then changes to introduce Hyperion, the god who was still in possession of his prerogatives. Hyperion, an interpretation of the identification of nature with divinity, is the sun, the fiery splendor that gives light to the world, a natural force of indescribable beneficence and glory.³ Keats endeavored here to give pictorial expression to the various aspects of the sun, clear-shining or in clouds, at night, at vaporous dawn, or full mid-day. This deity is the image of power seemingly unsubduable, forever moving on its round. The problem confronting Hyperion is: Do natural forms change? Is organic nature subject to alteration? Do old forms of power suffer eclipse? Do shady visions come to domineer in the sun's realm? The low whisper of ancient Heaven falls with terrible accent upon his ear:

Art thou, too, near such doom? vague fear there is:
For I have seen my sons most unlike Gods.

.

³ Compare Ovid's account of Phaeton, *Metamorphoses*, II, and also Dante's *Paradiso*, Heaven of the Sun, Heaven of Saturn, and later cantos describing light.

Yet do thou strive; as thou art capable,
 As thou canst move about, an evident God:
 And canst oppose to each malignant hour
 Ethereal presence.

Here is the unabated effort of natural force to continue its sway, here is the effort to perpetuate the old and familiar, unchanged, to continue strength in undisturbed authority. Hyperion, however, fearing overthrow through darkness, mist, and "spectres of cold, cold gloom," is totally unaware of the truth that his successor will win through possessing more radiant light and more beneficent, purer beauty than the primitive physical sun possesses. Hyperion arms himself against an enemy that does not exist.

The scene changes in Book II, picturing a council of fallen Gods who have been assembled from Hesiod's *Theogony*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. There are many points that baffle the student because the poet used great freedom in his selection from different periods of myth. Keats confused traditions but, in general, his Titans are the offspring of Earth (Tellus) and Heaven (Uranus, Coelus).

In the group of those opposed to the Olympians are figures that, evidently, Keats meant to represent forces of nature and of primitive life. Just what his interpretation of them was is a problem, but possibly a cautious generalization might find that he included such meanings as these: Time, or Ripening, is represented by Saturn (Chronos); Fertility, by his wife Rhea (Cybele, Ops); the Sun, by Hyperion, with his wife Thea; the moon, by Phoebe with her spouse Coeus; the Powers of the Wind, by Typhon; Thunder and Lightning, by Iapetus and his serpent; Mountain, rising from the sea, by Atlas; Continent, by Asia; Earthquake, by Briareus, Cottus, Gyges; Volcano, by Enceladus; the Sea, by Oceanus, with his wife Tethys and their daughter Clymene; also, by Creus, Phorcus (wild forces of sea) whose offspring, the Gorgons, had the power of freezing men at a glance; Fire, by Porphyryon. Other conceptions, of an abstract sort, are Memory (Mnemosyne); Justice (Themis); Grief (Dolor).

These Titans, in mood of revolt and dire dismay, arrogantly demanding safe continuance of power, are addressed by that personified force in nature which most completely represents the law of ceaseless movement. Oceanus, knowing the mood of his fellows, their stiffness of intelligence, offers them a theory of life that is in

accord with the philosophical doctrines of evolution.⁴ The dreary sorrow of Saturn, the fierce resentment and assertiveness of Hyperion are shown to be futile and childish in relation to that change ordained in the very constitution of the universe. The truth unknown by the revengeful, egotistical gods is enunciated by Oceanus in one of the most memorable monologues in English literature. He protests against that selfish despotism which would cling to its prerogatives and deny the significance of change. He presents a series of truths, of powerful import:

We fall by course of Nature's law, not force
Of thunder, or of Jove.

This is a recognition of the law of change as inevitable in the universe, a recognition that must underlie any sane, courageous philosophy of life.⁵ The doctrine of perpetual flux, of incessant mutation, is an old one, but ever new and painful to the individual who desires the security of the familiar and accustomed, who desires to keep his world as it is.

Next must come the thinking being's intelligent acceptance of this fate, in a spirit of self-command:

. . . for to bear all naked truths,
And to envisage circumstance, all calm,
That is the top of sovereignty.

Men must meet life unflinchingly, not blinking at unpleasant facts nor paltering with half truths, but seeing existence adequately, living with poise and calm. Not mere apathetic endurance of what must come but intellectual keenness and clearness of vision is the criterion of power. This attitude towards life is based upon the faith that change is growth and advance.

Keats, in the hour when the doctrine of evolution was becoming a dominant idea, perceived the significance of eternal progress; the hope and incentive of man:

So on our heels a fresh perfection treads,
A power more strong in beauty, born of us
And fated to excel us, as we pass
In glory that old Darkness: nor are we
Thereby more conquer'd, than by us the rule
Of shapeless Chaos.

⁴ Cf. Royce, *Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, Chap. ix.

⁵ Cf. Shakespeare, *Sonnets*, 15, 60, 64, 65.

Meditation on this passage must persuade any one that Keats had grasped the principle that is the foundation of all liberal views,—the belief that there is, through all the sin and sorrow and accident of life, a determining purpose, a forward progress, a developing perfection. This advance is due to an inherent order in the universe, a cosmic harmony:

. . . 'tis the eternal law
That first in beauty should be first in might.

What Keats meant here by beauty is shown in the specific characterization of the gods overthrown and those who overthrew them. Saturn's sheer might lacks beauty, because he is too imperiously personal, self-absorbed; Hyperion's strength and elemental energy appeal too much to physical dread and awe, it is not yet the appeal of glorious intelligence and fine appreciation of values for the spirit. Both gods fail from excess of egotism and from lack of thinking. They have not learned to keep the balance between emotion and intellect, between personal ardor and generous objectivity. Oceanus however, has

that severe content
Which comes of thought and musing,

and having seen his own dispossession, "with such a glow of beauty in his eyes" is content to yield his own prestige, his all to this being with such potency of appeal to mind and sentiment. One asks, in what periods of history has spiritual growth been promoted by Beauty and one thinks at once of the Age of Pericles, the Renaissance, ~~the period of Romanticism~~. In each epoch, the study of beauty, the effort to achieve beauty is undeniably the chief provocative source of that powerful development which makes each of these ages one of glory and lasting influence.

The interpretation of beauty from the lips of Oceanus is received with prophetic assent by his daughter Clymene,⁶ who describes her sight of the radiant young Apollo whose music transcends her own and preludes the coming of a beauty as yet unknown. Her sensitiveness and delicacy of perception are contrasted with the ponderous uproar of the crude and unconvinced Enceladus, a vigorously symbolized figure, the god of the volcano, who still depends upon

⁶ Ovid made Clymene and Apollo parents of Phaeton. Did Keats have this in mind?

physical force to achieve results, and who reminds the Council that *Hyperion* is still in power. *Hyperion* advancing in the dawn reveals by his light the dismay of the Titan forces who in turn see even the powerful god of light dejected and silent, before impending surrender to an unknown power.

The third book has not the sustained grandeur of style found in the other two books, but in theme is as arresting. This is a picture of young Apollo, god of light, music, and poetry; here Keats is endeavoring to give a central interpretation of the origin, the growth, and the destiny of a poet. Apollo's skill in melody has already been described by Clymene. This skill must belong to the poet, must be his most obvious and first remarked characteristic. Second, the poet's initial source of inspiration is Nature, considered in lines 32 to 41. But Nature, alone, is insufficient to inspire great verse; the sentient, the animate is the poet's chief domain. He must

In fearless yet in aching ignorance

long for acquaintance with the deeper aspect of humanity's history; and from intent study of Mnemosyne (Memory, mother of the Muses), learn

A wondrous lesson in thy silent face:
Knowledge enormous makes a God of me.
Names, deeds, grey legends, dire events, rebellions,
Majesties, sovran voices, agonies,
Creations and destroyings, all at once
Pour into the wide hollows of my brain
And deify me.

A few lines farther on Keats paused. He said in a *Letter*, Sept. 22, 1819: "I have given up *Hyperion*—there are too many Miltonic inversions in it." Another reason for his pausing may be that he recognized the fact that he had become expository rather than dramatic, that he had turned to analysis. He had, in the speech of Oceanus, expressed his *motif*; to follow that monologue by scenes intended to give dramatic verification of the philosophy of Oceanus would have been a severe anti-climax. The *Fall of Hyperion* is even more devoted to an attempted study of the poet's place in life. The drama of love and change and ascendancy of beauty could not be achieved by Keats in a fashion that satisfied his now keenly critical mood. Disease impaired his powers, and he abandoned both forms of *Hyperion*.

Incomplete as the poem is, it nevertheless will endure as long as men seek to penetrate the mystery of their immortality. Keats has interpreted, in magnificent figures, the impotence of resistance against the laws of eternal growth. Tennyson balanced, "Chaos, Cosmos! Cosmos, Chaos!" somewhat fearfully, giving his adherence to the second, but Keats, in the splendor of his youth, had no hesitation in declaring, with all the vigor of his "imaginative will," his faith in the Principle of Beauty.

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SIR THOMAS BROWNE AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT

BY ALMONTE C. HOWELL

I

To the average student of literature Sir Thomas Browne is known chiefly as a writer of sonorous latinized sentences about death and urns and other curious and out-of-the-way subjects. A host of critics have written on his style, and traced his influence on the prose of the succeeding centuries, even down to the time of Stevenson.¹ As an antiquarian and as a stylist, there are accounts enough; but to put him down *merely* as a stylist, or as a collector of urns and coins, is to give but a partial account of his versatile genius; we should also realize his enormous curiosity, the range of his interest, his enthusiasm for the New Science, and the eager and earnest scepticism which he shows in his attempts to combat error and establish truth.

His interests were as wide as those of the Royal Society itself. Later in his life, when it was founded, he manifested a keen interest in all of its work,² though he never seems to have been a member. In his most important scientific work, the *Vulgar Errors*, he attempts to establish the truth concerning hundreds of popular beliefs ranging through the animal, vegetable, mineral, and human kingdoms, and discusses fallacies, as he says, "Cosmographical, geographical and historical." In his writings he shows an acquaintance with physics, chemistry, mineralogy, zoology, botany, geography, cosmography, astronomy, meteorology, philology, medicine, and anatomy, besides an insight into historical research and an enormous reading knowledge of the classics, the medievals and the writers of his own time. He was a collector of the rare and curious in art, in nature, and even in the realms of superstition and error. In antiquarian matters, he was looked up to as an

¹ More, Paul Elmer, "Shelburne Essays," VII Series, has just such a paper, though he does touch on the thought-content of Browne's *Vulgar Errors*. Lytton Strachey has a very typical paper in "Books and Characters," which goes to great lengths to show Browne's latinizing tendency.

² In several of his letters to Edward he mentions the *Transactions of the Royal Society*.

authority. Even alchemy, astrology, and witchcraft were not beyond the realm of his interests. In this he was not greatly different from the majority of scientific men of his time, for the seventeenth century scientist was seldom able to differentiate the truly scientific from the pseudo-scientific, and was apt to give as much credence to a Sir Kenelm Digby as to a Robert Boyle. Thus it is clear that Browne was well equipped for his task of combating popular error.

In general Browne has the true sceptical attitude and shows himself a worthy disciple of Bacon and Descartes. It is quite possible that Bacon's statement in the *Advancement of Learning*³ in regard to a calendar of doubts may have suggested to Browne the first idea of the *Vulgar Errors*. Bacon says

To which Kalendar of doubts or problems, I advise be annexed another Kalendar, as much or more material, which is a Kalendar of popular errors; I mean chiefly in natural history, such as pass in speech and conceit, and are nevertheless apparently detected and convicted of untruth; that man's knowledge be not weakened by such dross and vanity.

This is exactly what Browne tried to do in the *Vulgar Errors*, and he, too, laid special emphasis on the errors that "pass in speech and conceit." Browne writes,⁴

And first we crave exceeding pardon in the audacity of the attempt; humbly acknowledging a work of such concernment unto truth, and difficulty in itself, did well deserve the conjunction of many heads. And surely more advantageous had it been unto truth, to have fallen into the endeavors of some coöperative advancers that might have performed it to the life, and added authority thereto.

He is using Bacon's very title, *Advancement of Learning*, and one of his pet ideas, that of coöperative research.

It is possible to show that Browne used practically every one of Bacon's errors, or "peccant humors" and "diseases of learning" in his first book of the *Vulgar Errors*. Besides this, he is indebted to Bacon for the underlying thought of the book, which he took from Bacon's famous passage in the *Advancement of Learning*, on the idols of the tribe, cave, and marketplace. This is indicated

³ Book II, Ellis-Spedding-Heath Edition of Bacon's Works, Vol. III, p. 364.

⁴ *Introduction to the Reader, Vulgar Errors*.

by examining Bacon's first idol,⁵ that of the tribe, of which he says,

But lastly, there is yet a much more important and profound kind of fallacies in the mind of man, which I find not observed or inquired at all. . . . For the mind of man is far from the nature of a clear and equal glass, wherein the beams of things should reflect according to their true incidence; nay, it is rather like an enchanted glass, full of superstition and imposture, if it be not delivered and reduced. For this purpose let us consider the false appearances that are imposed upon us by the general nature of the mind. . . .

Browne opens the first book with a similar statement:

The first and farther cause of common error is the common infirmity of human nature.

In the third chapter, he says,

Having thus declared the fallible nature of man, even from his first production, we have beheld the general cause of error. But as for popular errors, they are more nearly founded upon an erroneous inclination of the people; as being the most deceptable part of mankind, and ready with open arms to receive the encroachments of error.

Both of these are plainly Bacon's Idols of the Tribe.⁶

A tabular view will show how great a debt Browne owes to Bacon for this part of the *Vulgar Errors*.

<i>Browne</i>	<i>Bacon (Idols) *</i>	<i>Bacon (Peccant humors (Diseases)).*</i>
A. Remote causes of Errors.	Of the Tribe.	
1. Common infirmities of Human Nature.	" " "	Everything has been discovered; distrust as to ability to find new ideas.

⁵ *Advancement of Learning*, Bk. II, ed. cit., III, p. 394.

⁶ It is to be remembered in this connection that Browne takes up the causes of error from a slightly different viewpoint from that of Bacon. Bacon is talking about the types of errors and fallacies into which men fall; whereas Browne is interested in the causes of the various types of errors. Thus when Bacon mentions the errors of the tribe, or errors which are due to men's inherent imperfections, Browne discusses the inherent imperfections of man's mind as a cause of error.

⁷ It is clear that in his chapters on the sources of error Browne was following Bacon's discussion of the errors into which men fall in their search for truth. Even his phraseology is reminiscent of Bacon's passages on the Idols in the *Novum Organum* and other places. In the *Aphorisms*, Sec. XXXVIII, he defines these Idols thus: "The idols and false

Browne	Bacon (Idols)'	Bacon (Peccant humors) (Diseases). ³
2. The erroneous disposition of the people.	Of the Tribe.	Early reduction of knowledge to aphorisms. Men infect meditation with the conceits they admire—bias. Best opinion has prevailed.
B. Immediate causes of Errors.		
1. Misapprehension, verbal.	Of the Marketplace.	Imposture and credulity.

notions which are now in possession of the human understanding and have taken deep root therein, not only so beset men's minds that truth can hardly find entrance, but even after entrance obtained, they will again in the very instauration of the sciences meet and trouble us."

Of these he notes four classes which may be defined in his own words thus (in the Ellis-Spedding-Heath translation of the *Novum Organum*, *ed. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 53-5): (1) "The Idols of the Tribe have their foundation in human nature itself and in the tribe or race of men." (2) "There are also Idols formed by the intercourse and association of men with each other, which I call Idols of the Marketplace. . . . For it is by discourse that men associate; and words are imposed according to the apprehension of the vulgar." Then he shows that words confuse men and lead them astray. (3) "The Idols of the Cave are the idols of the individual man." Bacon proceeds to explain that each man has defects which result in errors: defects "owing to his proper and peculiar nature; or to his education and conversation . . .; or to the reading of books and the authority of those whom he esteems. . . ." Again in the *Learning* he calls these "false appearances imposed upon us by every man's individual nature and custom. . . ."

And finally he speaks in the *Novum Organum* of the Idols of the Theatre, though he rejects this class of errors in *De Augmentis*. It corresponds roughly to Browne's Adherence unto Authority, both ancient and modern, though this might also be one of Bacon's Idols of the Cave. Bacon calls this final class (4) " . . . Idols which have immigrated into men's minds from the various dogmas of philosophies, and also from wrong laws of demonstration. These I call Idols of the Theatre; because in my judgment all the received systems are but so many stage-plays." It is clear that Bacon is here aiming at over-emphasis on the authority of founders of systems, as he goes on to show in the sections which follow. Browne, taking as he does a different point of view, has nevertheless given a list of the causes of errors which corresponds pretty accurately to Bacon's types of errors as outlined in the Idol passages.

³ *Advancement of Learning*, Bk. I, *ed. cit.*, vol. III, p. 248-295.

<i>Browne</i>	<i>Bacon</i> (Idols)	<i>Bacon</i> (Peccant humors) (Diseases).
2. Fallacy, real	Of the Marketplace.	Study of words, not matter.
3. Credulity, "Weakness of the Intellect."	Of the Cave.	Imposture and credulity. Impatience of doubt, and haste to assert without due judgment.
4. Supinuity.	" " "	Desiring too low a scope for knowledge. Abandonment of Univer- sality.
5. Adherence unto An- tiquity.	" " "	Popular observation and traducement affecting an- tiquity.
6. Adherence unto Au- thority.	" " "	Too great reverence for the mind of man, no contem- plation of nature, no experiment. Knowledge delivered in ma- gisterial, peremptory manner, authoritative.

Thus it is evident that Browne was trying to fulfill Bacon's desire for a Calendar of Doubts, or errors, when he collected the *Vulgar Errors*. Furthermore, he must have been very familiar with the general philosophy of Bacon to have carried it over so fully into his work. In the introduction to the *Advancement of Learning*, Bacon remarks,

The doctrine of purging the understanding requires three kinds of confutation to fit it for the investigation of truth: viz, the confutation of the philosophies, the confutation of demonstrations, and the confutation of the natural reason.

Essentially this is what Browne tried to do, and also the method he used in pursuing his aim, as will be shown later. He was attempting to "purge the understanding" of popular errors, and his three great weapons were authority, reason and experiment.

At the time that Browne was planning the *Vulgar Errors*, Descartes was a newcomer in the field of philosophy. The *Discourse on Method* adds to Bacon's ideas definite statements regarding the importance of freeing the mind of all past knowledge, so that it is a perfect blank, so to speak, and then building up a new world of ideas from within the mind, by sheer force of reason. Reason,

then, to Descartes, was all-important. Authority he discounted, and of experiment he says little. As he says,⁹

In addition I had always a most earnest desire to know how to distinguish the true from the false, in order that I might be able clearly to discriminate the right path in life and proceed in it with confidence. . . . I learned to entertain too decided a belief in regard to nothing of the truth of which I had been persuaded merely by example and customs: and thus I gradually extricated myself from many errors powerful enough to darken our Natural Intelligence, and incapacitate us in great measure from listening to *Reason*.

And later in the same section he says,

. . . . I could not do better than to resolve to sweep them wholly away, that I might afterwards be in a position to admit either others more correct, or even perhaps the same when they had undergone the *scrutiny of Reason*.

Here Descartes strikes the keynote of the later seventeenth century scepticism, which was to lead to the great scientific discoveries; and Browne undoubtedly felt the same urge in his war against the errors which he found rooted and grounded in the minds of the common people all over England. We find him writing in the *Religio Medici*:¹⁰

For I perceive that every man's reason is his best *Œdipus* and will upon a reasonable truce, find a way to loose those bonds wherewith the subtleties of error have enchained our more flexible and tender judgments.

And in the *Introduction to the Reader*, in the *Vulgar Errors*, we find an echo of Descartes' idea of clearing the mind of old ideas in order to prepare for the reception of the truth. "For," he says,

. . . . knowledge is made by oblivion, and, to purchase a clear and warrantable body of truth, we must forget and part with much we know;—our tender enquiries taking up learning at large, and, together with true and assured notions, receiving many, wherein our reviewing judgments do find no satisfaction.

Again Descartes says,

For these reasons I entirely abandoned the study of letters and resolved no longer to seek any other science than the knowledge of myself, or of the great book of the world.¹¹

⁹ *Discourse on Method*, Pt. II.

¹⁰ *Religio Medici*, I, vi.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, Pt. II.

He spent his time in "collecting varied experience." Later on he was to subject this experience to the scrutiny of his reason. And Browne echoes him in this. (*Introduction to the Reader, Vulgar Errors*)

And this (a proper course) we shall more readily perform, if we timely survey our knowledge; impartially singling out those encroachments which junior compliance and popular credulity hath admitted. Whereof at present we have endeavored a long and serious adviso; proposing not only a large and copious list, but from *experience* and *reason* attempting their decisions.

Thus we find Browne consciously striving to carry out Bacon's idea of surveying knowledge, and following Descartes' method of collecting varied experience and subjecting it to reason and experiment.

That Browne did not rely on authority to carry his points, following Descartes, is evident from another statement in the *Introduction to the Reader*.

And, therefore, we are often constrained to stand alone against the strength of opinion, and to meet the Goliath and giant of authority with contemptible and feeble arguments drawn from the scrip and slender stock of ourselves.

Against this formidable giant, Browne used the extremely modern (in his day) weapons forged and perfected by Bacon and Descartes, experiment and reason.¹² He frequently misused them, it is true;

Descartes

It follows that our ideas or notions, which to the extent of their clearness and distinctness are real and proceed from God, must to that extent be true. . . . God, who is wholly perfect and veracious. *Discourse on Method* (Harvard Classics, Vol. 34, p. 30 and 34).

Browne

There is nothing infallible but God who cannot possibly err. For things are really true as they correspond unto his conception; and have so much verity as they hold of conformity unto that intellect, in whose idea they had their first determination. (*V. E.*, Ch. I.)

¹² Browne quotes from Descartes in Bk. II of the *Vulgar Errors*, and his library contained all of the works of the great philosopher, including a 1637 edition of the *Discourse on Method*. This makes it fairly certain that the parallels noted above are real. One other idea which Browne and Descartes seem to have in common, although it is difficult to show that Browne may have borrowed it, is found in the two following passages. Their similarity is striking.

but he did subject the popular errors which he investigated to the light of reason or to the observation of sense and experiment. The reader constantly finds him condemning an error as "repugnant unto experience and reason. . . ."¹³

Browne, then, by the method he used, made his readers conscious of his scientific approach, and led them to become familiar with the method used by other scientific men of the time in bringing out their discoveries. He was a pioneer. He attempted to clear the ground, as he says, and was "fain to wander in the America and untravelled parts of truth."¹⁴ He felt that his book should be of great aid to the scientific movement of his time, and expresses that sentiment in his *Introduction to the Reader*:

Nor can we conceive it may be unwelcome unto those honored worthies who endeavor the advancement of learning; as being likely to find a clearer progression, when so many rubs are levelled, and many untruths taken off, which passing as principles with common beliefs, disturb the tranquillity of axioms which otherwise might be raised.

It may be that the "honored worthies" referred to are the members of the Invisible College then just beginning to hold its meetings at Oxford. The reference to Bacon and the *Advancement* is unmistakable.

II

The method which Browne used in attacking his problems was, in general, well-defined and sound. First he stated just what the error was. Frequently his next step was to arrange all the authorities for and against its acceptance as truth, and to cite examples of its occurrence. Next he attempted to dispose of the matter by subjecting it to the light of reason; and last, as a final and indisputable proof of the truth of his view and the error of the statement he is opposing, he recounts his own, or other's experiments to settle the matter. In the case of many of the errors which he views, reason alone will suffice to expose the fallacy. Be it said in Browne's behalf, that he was extremely fond of experiment, and used it wherever possible, even going out of his way to introduce an experiment to substantiate his statements regarding the simplest

¹³ *Vulgar Errors*, III, II.

¹⁴ *Introduction to the Reader, Vulgar Errors*.

and most unreasonable errors. Dr. Johnson makes fun of this trait and mentions with some scorn Browne's experiment on the "Sympathetic needles."¹⁵

Book III of the *Vulgar Errors* offers a means of analyzing Browne's method more fully. A tabular view of the first ten errors mentioned there will serve as a means of securing a formula of his method, and observing just how he used it.¹⁶

Error and Source	Authorities who confute	Reasons against	Experiment, Observation
That an elephant hath no joints. 6 writers mention it.	5 authorities confute it.	4 reasons against believing it. ¹⁷	1 by observation. ¹⁸ 1 by anatomy.

¹⁵ In his *Life of Sir Thomas Browne*, Bohn Library Edition of Browne's Works, London, 1906, vol. I.

¹⁶ The third book was chosen for several reasons. For one, the errors are open to confutation by reason, authority, and experiment. They are also interesting and have their counterparts today among the uneducated classes and especially among children. Such an error is the belief that a snake's tail does not die until the sun sets.

¹⁷ An example will suffice to show how Browne employs reason to confute error. He usually shows the absurdity of the opinion in terms of common experience, or else argues from analogy and like cases. "For first they affirm it hath no joints, and yet concede it walks and moves about; whereby they conceive there may be a progression or advancement made in motion, without inflection of parts. Now all progression or animal locomotion being (as Aristotle teaches) performed *tractu et pulsu*, . . . where there are no joints or flexures, neither can there be actions." This is conclusive enough.

¹⁸ Browne took the trouble to go and see whether or not he was right. Sometimes this was actual observation, as in the quotation to follow; in others it was an experiment performed in his own study, as in the case of the kingfisher mentioned later. His account of his own observation regarding an elephant he had seen, comes as a final argument against the erroneous opinion. "Lastly, they forget or consult not experience, whereof not many years past we have had the advantage in England, by an elephant shown in many parts thereof, not only in the posture of standing, but kneeling and lying down."

As to the absurdity of this error to our modern ears, Wilkins, the editor of the *Vulgar Errors*, relates in defence of the learned author that so late as the early nineteenth century, the same opinion was current in rural England, and never a showman displayed his elephant kneeling without bringing murmurs of surprise and astonishment from the gaping beholders.

<i>Error and Source</i>	<i>Authorities who confute</i>	<i>Reasons against</i>	<i>Experiment, Observation</i>
That the horse hath no gall. 2 authorities.	2 authorities. "Which notwithstanding we find	1 repugnant unto reason and experience."	1 (Dissection).
That the pigeon hath no gall. 7 writers.	3 authorities, as B. 2 notes, "repugnant unto authority.		1 (Dissection).
That the beaver to escape the hunter bites off his stones. 7 Ancient writers.	8 "best and professed 2 writers."		1 (observation) Affirmed from experimental testimony of "5 very memorable authors." (authority)
That a badger hath 2 the legs of one side shorter than of the other. Common opinion of hunters, etc.	"I find repugnant unto the three determinators of truth, authority, sense and reason."		1 (Observation)
That a bear brings forth her cubs unshaped. ¹⁹ 6 writers and common opinion.	"Contrary to the exact and deliberate experiment of 3 authentic philosophers."		1 (Observation) "Repugnant unto the sense of everyone that shall enquire into it."
Of the Basilisk (Several points about it are errors) Error of words, partly. Many sources and common opinion.	Does not deny it, since it is mentioned in scripture, but denies the miraculous conception of it.	Reason his reliance to overcome all misconceptions concerning it.	Experiments impossible except on certain aspects of it, such as cock's egg, which he disproves by experiment and observation.
That a wolf, first seeing a man, begets dumbness in him. Proverb. 3 writers.	2 mentioned, and others, not named.	1 (Has its source in a misapprehension, a verbal fallacy)	"Daily confutable almost everywhere in England."
Of the long life of deer. 3 writers. Other Vulgar Errors regarding it.	1 against.	2 (one from facts of natural history).	2 (observations of natural characteristics) Mentions several dissections.
"Wherein, permitting every man his own belief, we shall ourselves crave liberty to doubt, and our reasons are these."			
That a kingfisher hanged by the bill, showeth where the wind lay. Vulgar Opinion.	None	1	Several careful experiments.

¹⁹ This is the source of our expression "licked into shape"; see *New English Dictionary*. I found this past year a well-educated man who professed this absurd belief. He said he had heard it all his life.

Thus as early as the beginnings of the Royal Society, Browne was applying the principles of Bacon to scientific thought, and was making a systematic attempt to throw light on many of the perplexing questions of his time. Sprat, in his *History of the Royal Society*, notes the tremendous influence of Bacon on that body. It is not going too far to say that Browne's share in the spread of that influence was also important. He may have been an intermediary, coming as he did just at the beginning of the Invisible College movement; possibly he had a direct influence upon that body in pressing home the value of the Baconian and Cartesian ideas of method in scientific procedure.

By 1667, when Hooke published the *Micrographia*, the Royal Society had completely broken with two of Browne's determinators of truth: authority, which he had little use for, as he shows in his first book of the *Vulgar Errors*; and reason. In the preface to the *Micrographia* Hooke points this out:

For the members of the assembly having before their eyes so many falsehoods in which the greatest part of mankind has so long wandered, because they relied upon the strength of human reason alone, have begun anew to correct all hypotheses by sense, as seamen do their dead reckoning by celestial observations.

Such a statement would hardly have been written fifty years before, and it is possible to see just how far the ideas of the century had changed in that short space. Bacon, Descartes, and to an extent at least, Browne, were together responsible for this development.

Browne was too much a part of his age to break completely with the past and consequently he could never become a great scientist in the realm of discovery. He was bound always to respect authority, to depend to a certain degree on reason alone, as did the ancients, and to leave the deeper problems of science to those better prepared, as he himself tells us in his *Introduction to the Reader*. His service was in popularizing the idea of the scientific approach, smoothing the way for the great discoveries and introducing science as a subject for popular thought. His method and his very orthodoxy gave him a large influence and authority, so that his books must have been considered fairly "safe" reading for all classes. They were not so apt to be attacked by the conservatives as perverting

morals and destroying religion, as were those of many other scientific men of the period.²⁰

III

Scholars have often wondered how it was possible for Browne, who was in other ways quite modern in his science, and usually ready to give ear to any and every theory, to have been such a staunch believer in the Ptolemaic Theory. His frequent mention of it has been cited by Johnson and everyone since, as one reason for the tardy acceptance of the Copernican Theory.²¹ But upon closer examination, it appears that Browne was not the staunch adherent to the old cosmography that Johnson thought he was, that he had special reasons for his views on the subject which precluded the application of the new science of Galileo to it, and finally that his very attitude of easy toleration and carefully expressed doubt or half-hearted agreement had quite the opposite effect from that of the cosmography of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

Browne's references to the Ptolemaic system may be divided into two sorts: casual, and studied. The first type, which we commonly employ in our figurative language of today when we say, "the sun sinks below the horizon," may be illustrated by a single example from the multitudes he used and which were a part of the figurative language of every writer. Of course he was thinking in terms of the Ptolemaic system when he wrote, "The quincunx of the heavens runs low"; but his use of Ptolemaic language

²⁰ Alexander Ross did write an attack upon the *Vulgar Errors*, containing violent defenses of some of the most unreasonable vulgar errors, such as spontaneous generation, the existence of basilisks, and many more. Needless to say it had no great vogue in an age when even the King was a member of the scientific societies.

²¹ Johnson's *Life of Browne*, *op. cit.*, p. xvii, vol. I, has: "Notwithstanding his zeal to detect old errors, he seems not very easily to admit new positions; for he never mentions the motion of the earth but with contempt and ridicule, though the opinion, which admits it, was then growing popular. . . ."

This same idea is re-echoed in a recent Doctor's dissertation on the gradual acceptance of the Copernican theory, by Dorothy Stimson (Columbia, 1917, page 87). In fact, this is just what scholars have been doing ever since Johnson studied Browne. Wilkin has the same thought in his notes on the cosmographical passages.

in this case could not be offered as proof of his opposition to the Copernican ideas.

The other type of reference which he makes deserves more careful study, and occurs more frequently in the *Vulgar Errors* than elsewhere. In this type, he is evidently thinking of both of the theories and leaning toward one of them. But he does not deny the other nor oppose it with any violence. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to discover just what he did believe in regard to the Copernican Theory; but it is much nearer the truth to say that he was uncertain as to which idea was right, than to say, as Johnson does, that he treated the new theory with contempt. In one place he says at the close of a long discussion on the flood.

Thus have I declared some private and probable conceptions in the enquiry of this truth, but the certainty hereof let the arithmetic of the last day determine, and therefore expect no further belief than probability and reason induce. Only desire men would not swallow dubiosities for certainties, and receive as principles points mainly controversible; for we are to adhere unto things doubtful in a dubious and opinionative way. It being reasonable every man to vary his opinion according to the variance of his reason, and affirm one day what he denieth another. Wherein although at last we miss the truth, we die notwithstanding in harmless and inoffensive errors because we adhere unto that, whereunto the examen of our reasons and honest enquiries induce us.²²

It is evident that Browne put down the Copernican Theory as one of his dubiosities, because he did not consider the proof strong enough for it as yet. In fact, until Newton gave the final touches to this conception by a mathematical proof of the force of gravity, men of science were not at all convinced of its certainty. Moreover, other scientists of the time, such as Boyle, looked askance at it. Dean Christopher Wren, father of the famous architect, himself a member of the Royal Society, although not a scientist of much note, denounces the new hypothesis in no unmistakable terms in notes to Browne's *Vulgar Errors*. It is no wonder, then, that Browne prefaces many of his references to the Ptolemaic Theory with "if the earth stand still," or words to that effect. However, although it is perfectly evident that Browne was no ardent champion of the Copernican Theory, he was certainly somewhat sceptical of the Ptolemaic, and was never consciously dog-

²² *Vulgar Errors*, IV, vi.

matic in his mention of the systems. A comparison of his statements with some of Dean Wren's notes will bring out clearly the difference between the dogmatic opposition of an acknowledged opponent and the curious scepticism of a man of science.

Browne's first mention of the Ptolemaic Theory in the *Vulgar Errors* is made in connection with his discussion of one of the immediate sources of error, "obstinate incredulity." He says:

And, therefore, if any affirm the earth move, and will not believe with us it standeth still; because he hath probable reasons for it, and I no infallible sense nor reason against it, I will not quarrel with his assertion. But if like Zeno, he shall walk about and yet deny there is any motion in nature, surely that man was constituted for Anticyra.²³

This states Browne's objections to the Copernican Theory in a nutshell. Others believed according to reason, but he could only be convinced by evidence presented to his *senses and reason*. At the time, this was scarcely possible because of the lack of proof of the laws of gravitation, supplied by Newton.

But although Browne will not "quarrel" with the Copernicans, Wren is extremely glad to, and does so, bringing up his heaviest artillery, the *Booke of God*. He says, annotating the phrase, "believe, with us, it standeth still,"²⁴

In the booke of God, from Moses unto Christ, there are no lesse than eighty and odd expresse places, affirming in plaine and overt terms the naturall and perpetuall motion of the sun and moon; and the stop or stay of that motion was one of the greatest miracles that ever the whole world beheld; others the rising and setting of them: others their diurnal course and vigorous activity upon this lower world or earth not only dailye, but annually, by declination from the midline on both sides, North and South: others, (as expressly) the impossibility of any (other) motion in the earth, then that terrible and poenal motion of his shaking itt, that made it; others that it cannot be moved totally in his place, nor removed universal out of it. Soe that were itt nothing else than the veneration and firme beliefe of that Worde of His, which the penmen thereof spoke not of themselves, but by inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they that profess Christianitie should not dare, much lesse adventure to call the letter thereof in question concerning things soe plainly, frequently, constantly delivered; should tremble at that curse which is denounced against those that add anything unto itt, or diminish any tittle of it: should feare to

²³ *Vulgar Errors*, I, v.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 35.

raise such a hellish suspition in Vulgar minds as the Romish Church, by undervalewing the majesty and authority thereof, hath done: should bee affrighted to follow that audacious and pernicious suggestion, which Satan used, and thereby undid us all in our first parents; that God had a double meaning in his commands, in effect condemning God of amphibologye. And all this boldness and overweening having no other ground but a seeming argument of some learned phoenomena forsooth; which notwithstanding, we know the learned Tycho, ASTRONOMARCHON who lived (fifty-two) years since Copernicus, hath by admirable and matchless instruments, and many yeare's exact observations proved to bee noe better than a dreame.

Perhaps the Dean was afraid that Browne's nonchalant mention of the theory might put the "hellish suspition in Vulgar mindes," and hence wrote this vigorous note on it. He is almost as harsh and goes into great detail in his notes on Browne's chapter, "A digression of the Wisdom of God in the Site and Motion of the Sun," which is of course a Ptolemaic conception. Wren reduces the arguments of the Copernicans to absurdity in such terms as these: ²⁵

But the mischief is that besides this annual motion of the earth, mounted like Phaeton in the chariot and throne of the sonne, the Copernicans are forced, contrary to their own principles, that *unius corporis coelestis* (for see you must nowe accompte itt, though a dull and opaceous planet, *unus est motus simplex*) to ascribe two other motions to the earth; the one a vertiginous rotation, whirling about his own center, whereby turning toward the son causeth daye, and turning from the son, night; both of them every twenty-four hours; the other a tottering motion of inclination to the son the sommèr halfe year, and of reclination from the son in the other halfe, from whence must of necessity follow two vast and inconcedable postulations. First, that as the son, in his old sphere is supposed in respect to his distance from the center to move noe lesse than 18,000 miles every minute in an hour, yf the earth bee in the son's place, they must perforce acknowledge the same pernicitye in the earth, and yet not perceptible to our sense, nor to the wisest of the world, since the creation till our times. But to salve this, as they thinke, they suppose and postulate the second motion of rotation or whirling on his own center, which others conceive to bee diametrally opposite to Scripture: but then there recoyles upon them this strange consequence that the earthe being 21,600 miles in compass, and whirling rounde every twenty-four houres, caryes every towne and howse 895 miles every houre, and yet not discernablye.

²⁵ *Idem.*, vol. II, p. 1321.

Browne concluded this chapter with the following paragraph, which is good evidence that he was willing to concede some truth to the Copernicans.

Now whether we adhere unto the hypothesis of Copernicus, affirming the earth to move and the sun to stand still; or whether we hold, as some of late have concluded, from the spots in the sun, which appear and disappear again (Galileo's discovery) that besides the revolution it maketh with its orbe, it hath also a dinetical motion, and rolls upon its own poles; whether, I say we affirm these or no, the illations before mentioned are not thereby infringed.

Two or three more of his remarks on the Copernican theory will serve to strengthen the view that Browne was instilling into the minds of his readers the wholesome doubts which he himself held with regard to the Ptolemaic theory. In a digression on tides ²⁶ he says,

And therefore old abstrusities have caused new inventions; and some from the hypothesis of Copernicus, or the diurnal and annual motion of these seas, illustrating the same by water in a bowl, that rising or falling to either side according to the motion of the vessel; the conceit is ingenious, salves some doubts and is discovered at large by Galileo.

Here he seems to imply the possibility of its acceptance, and does not deny it.

In the first edition of the *Vulgar Errors*, Browne had this statement at the close of the first paragraph in the chapter ²⁷ in connection with his argument that magnetic attraction is responsible for the situation of the Globe, which he believed instead of the gravitational ideas worked out later by Newton. The first part of the paragraph is couched in Ptolemaic terms, but vaguely and dubiously, as Browne was apt to do; then follows this sentence.

Now whether the earth stand still, or move circularly, we may concede this magnetical stability; for although it move, in that conversion the poles and centre may still remain the same, as is conceived in the magnetical bodies of heaven, especially Jupiter and the sun; which according to Galileus, Kepler and Fabricius, are observed to have dinetical motions and certain revolutions about their proper centres; and though the one in about the space of ten days, the other in less than one, accomplish this revolution, yet do they observe a constant habitude unto their poles and firme themselves in their gyration.

²⁶ *Vulgar Errors*, VII, XIII.

²⁷ *Vulgar Errors*, II, II.

Why did Browne leave out in later editions this excellent statement of doubt of the absoluteness of the Ptolemaic system? It is difficult to answer this, unless it gave offense to some worthy Dean who requested its removal. Otherwise there seems to be no reason to suppose the author would have wanted it deleted from the subsequent editions, for his other statements do appear in the later revisions, and are just as sceptical. He may have thought of it as unnecessary for the purposes of his discussion, or he may have removed it to avoid controversy such as that implied in the note quoted from Dean Wren.

Browne was ever a good churchman, and it is quite possible that he looked upon the question of cosmography somewhat as a religious matter. If he did, it is easy to see why he would not have been a Copernican. For besides the Scriptural references opposing it, which he undoubtedly would have been willing to interpret by "amphibology," in spite of the Dean's warning, he says, in the *Religio Medici*, Sec. VI,

I have no genius to disputes in religion; and have often thought it wisdom to decline them, especially upon a disadvantage, or when the cause of truth might suffer in the weakness of my patronage.

And later,

In philosophy, where truth seems double-faced, there is no man more paradoxical than myself; but in divinity I love to keep the road; and, though not in an implicit, yet an humble faith, follow the great wheel of the church, by which I move: not reserving any proper poles, or motion from the epicycle of my own brain.

The very use of this cosmographical figure is an indication that when Browne, a great lover of the mystical significance of things, wrote it, he had in mind the extremely dangerous doctrine of Copernicus. Not many years before, Galileo had been forced to retract, and there is proof that even he was not entirely convinced that he was doing the right thing in thus going against the Holy Scriptures. Bacon also looked upon this question as distinctly a religious one. Browne, who was never over bold, would be sure to stand on the safe middle ground on such a dangerous issue. Even Boyle thought it necessary to devote a large portion of one of his tracts to an attempt to explain just how his science was not an

effort to destroy the religious views of the people of his time. In other places, Browne mentions,²⁸

the indifferency of my behavior in matters of religion, neither violently defending one, nor with that common ardour and contention opposing another.

The seventeenth century generally could not separate science and religion, and could scarcely conceive of a scientist who was not an atheist, so that Browne was eminently justified in steering a middle course on the dangerous straits of cosmographical theory.²⁹ The Royal Society was rather loath to discuss cosmography openly, and many of its members, including Boyle and Wren, were either wholly opposed to the new theory, or in great doubt as to its truth.

It is possible that Browne had the Ptolemaics, such as Dean Wren, in mind when he wrote in the *Introduction to the Reader*,

We cannot expect the frown of theology herein; nor can they which behold the present state of things (1645) and controversy of points so long received in divinity, condemn our sober enquiries in the doubtful appertinences of arts and receptaries of philosophies.

Lastly, we may get a better idea of what Browne's attitude toward the Copernican Theory was, if we take the present-day parallel of the feeling of the average man of culture and training with regard to the theory of Einstein. We still go on talking and writing in terms of the old gravitational theory, although we are familiar with the most important postulates of the new theory. We are in a state of uncertainty as to just what we do believe, but we are not rabidly opposed to the new, nor yet eager adherents to it. Such, it appears, was Browne's position on the Copernican theory. Certainly he does not lead the careful reader to believe that he was thoroughly convinced that Copernicus and Galileo were wrong, nor is he sure that Ptolemy (though he makes frequent use of the Ptolemaic conception in his writings) was completely right.

Thus it is clear that Browne was interested in the New Science at every turn, an ardent disciple of Bacon and Descartes, making

²⁸ *Religio Medici*, I, 1.

²⁹ Sir Kenelm Digby's note on this very passage in the *Religio Medici* strengthens this view. He says, "The vulgar lay not the imputation of atheism only upon physicians, but upon philosophers in general. . . ."

careful use of their philosophical ideas in his studies, and working by a method which was essentially scientific; eager, curious, somewhat hesitant and at times wrong, but always sceptical, and above all, open to conviction rather than hostile to new developments in science. A note in Robert Hooke's dedication of his *Micrographia*, some twenty years after the first publication of the *Vulgar Errors*, sums up Browne's attitude. Hooke says,

The rules you have prescribed yourselves in your philosophical progress do seem the best that have ever yet been practiced. And particularly that of avoiding dogmatizing, and the espousal of any hypothesis not sufficiently grounded and confirmed by experiments.

Such an hypothesis, in the mind of Browne, was that of Copernicus; more than that, it was dangerous, being a religious question; and finally, it was not only not generally received, but he himself was not familiar enough with it to discuss its postulates authoritatively. Certainly he would never have dreamed of the Ptolemaic theory as a vulgar error.

As a scientist, Browne can hardly be ranked with Boyle or Hooke, or any of the other great seventeenth century pioneers; and his contributions are hardly to be compared in importance with theirs, nor with those of Bacon and Descartes. His peculiar contribution to the scientific thought of the century, however, was just as valuable in its place. He was the popularizer of science. The *Micrographia*, or the *Dissertation on the Spring of Air* were hardly popular and were not read outside of a very few select circles; but the *Vulgar Errors* was on every bookshelf and was a sort of *Popular Science* magazine of its day.²⁰ It was spicy, curious, humorous in spots, and with its vein of scepticism, its large tolerance, and its perfectly orthodox attitude at least on the surface, it was admirably fitted to create in the popular mind a scepticism and an

²⁰ Johnson says (*ed. cit.*, vol. I, p. xvii) of this book, in 1756, when he was writing a life of Browne, "It might be proper, had not the favor with which it was at first received filled the kingdom with copies, to reprint it with notes . . . and correct those mistakes which the author has committed, not by idleness or negligence, but for want of Boyle's and Newton's philosophy." Wilkins in his preface notes its popularity and lists seven editions and three translations of it in the Seventeenth Century alone.

interest in things scientific which made possible the success of the Royal Society, and the work of a Hooke and a Newton.

Browne, then, with his quaint and delightful scepticism, his broad and varied interests, and his perfect orthodoxy, did much to pave the way for the downfall of medieval superstition and the advancement of modern scientific thought.

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THE REPUTATION OF THE "METAPHYSICAL POETS" DURING THE AGE OF JOHNSON AND THE "ROMANTIC REVIVAL"

BY ARTHUR H. NETHERCOT

In addition to popularizing the title "Metaphysical Poets" (applied to such writers as Donne, Cowley, Cleveland, Carew, Crashaw, Herbert, Vaughan, and Quarles),¹ what part did Samuel Johnson play in determining the attitude of later readers towards the poets themselves? How far were his opinions original, and how far were they merely reflections of the judgments of his predecessors and contemporaries? How much part did the "Metaphysical Poets" play in the early Romantic Revival—especially that phase of it which concerns a renewed interest in the works of the first two-thirds of the seventeenth century? What light does the study of the reputation of these poets throw on the conflict of the old and the new literary principles and tastes during the latter part of the eighteenth century? How general were the recognition and acceptance of a "Metaphysical" school? These are the most important of the questions which the following article will endeavor to answer.

This answer may best be found by taking Johnson's *Lives of the English Poets* as a point of focus—but particularly his "Life of Cowley," which appeared in 1779,—and by tracing the lines of opinion which lead into this point and out from it again to see if, and how, any of these may have been diverted from the course they would naturally have taken if Johnson had not written.

I. FROM THE DEATH OF POPE TO JOHNSON'S *Lives*

The seventeenth century (especially its middle quarters) was of course the period of the Metaphysicals' greatest reputation.² The "Age of Pope," on the other hand, saw this reputation decline, although the decline was neither so low nor so rapid as most critics and scholars have imagined.³ People from 1744 to 1779, the first

¹ For Johnson's part in fixing the name, see my article, "The Term 'Metaphysical Poets' before Johnson," *M. L. N.*, xxxviii (1922), 11-17.

² See my article, "The Reputation of the 'Metaphysical Poets' during the Seventeenth Century," *Jour. Engl. Ger. Phil.*, xxiii (1924), 173-98.

³ See my forthcoming article, "The Reputation of the 'Metaphysical Poets' during the Age of Pope," *Phil. Quart.*

period of the present study, based many of their ideas on the foundations laid during both these earlier periods, and so the conflict between admirers and foes may first be observed here, with the balance inclining somewhat toward the latter group.

One such older work containing criticism of the Metaphysicals and now exercising some influence was Lord Clarendon's *Life*, first printed from his manuscript in 1759, although written about 1668-70. The *Annual Register* for 1759 selected the passage on Carew as one of the most noteworthy, and reprinted the section dealing with his "pleasant and facetious wit" and his "many poems (especially in the amorous way) which for the sharpness of the fancy, and the elegance of the language, in which that fancy was spread, were at least equal, if not superior to any of that time."⁴ Similarly, it reprinted a comparison of Cowley and Jonson, which told how Cowley had "made a flight beyond all men."⁵

Bishop Sprat's panegyric biography of his friend Cowley (1668) also survived—for Cowley was always the center of the discussion, in spite of Donne's historical position and greater ability as a poet.⁶ Goldsmith's eighth *Bee* (Nov. 24, 1759), for instance, mentioned Sprat, as did Lord Lyttleton, in a dialogue (1765) between Pope and Boileau, in which Boileau referred to Sprat's adulation of Cowley.⁷

Addison's utterances were naturally well remembered, too. For example, the *Critical Review* for August, 1767, applied to a contemporary poet whose works it considered "too *recherche*" the line on Cowley in Addison's juvenile "Account of the Greatest English Poets": "He more had pleas'd us, had he pleas'd us less."⁸ This was in general the criticism which Addison had later developed in his famous sixty-second *Spectator* (1711), on "Mixt Wit," using Cowley as his chief illustration.

⁴ *Ann. Reg.* (1759), p. 313.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 310. The latter passage was also printed by the *Crit. Rev.*, vii (1759), 540.

⁶ For a separate treatment of Cowley's reputation and importance, see my article, "The Reputation of Abraham Cowley, 1660-1800," *P. M. L. A.*, xxxviii (1923), 588-641.

⁷ Lyttleton, *Works* (London, 1776), ii, 204.

⁸ *Crit. Rev.*, xxiv (1767), 124.

Pope, however, still occupied the seat of highest authority, and was often quoted or alluded to on the subjects of Cowley, Donne, Quarles, etc. For example, Lord Lyttleton, in the dialogue cited above, made Pope and Boileau agree that, although Cowley "in the *art* of poetry . . . is always extremely deficient" and displays much "affectation of wit, a greater redundancy of imagination, a worse taste, and less judgment," yet "the *spirit* of poetry is strong in some of his odes," "he touched the heart more, and had finer feelings, than Waller," and a portion of his wit would be of much service to many "dull modern bards."⁹ Pope's couplet (1728) on Quarles's *Emblems* was likewise remembered and applied to other writers:

. . . the pictures for the page atone,
And Quarles is saved by beauties not his own.¹⁰

This was almost the universal opinion of Quarles until the last two or three decades of the century.¹¹ As for Donne, Pope's self-styled "versification" of his *Satires* (1733) retained the greatest currency. On the whole, Pope's version was approved, although some critics held that it was rather emasculate. The common opinion during the entire century was that Donne was greatest as a satirist (practically the first in England), that he was inferior as a lyrist, and that he knew nothing about "numbers."¹² He was also still remembered as a preacher and prose writer.¹³

⁹ Lyttleton, *op. cit.*, II, 204. Shenstone (d. 1763), indeed, considered Cowley's wit his best and most characteristic quality, but others held it beneath the notice of men of "taste." Cf. Wm. Shenstone, *Essays on Men and Manners*, in Harrison's *British Classics* (London, 1787), VIII, 6; and *Crit. Rev.*, XXIX (1770), 104.

¹⁰ See *Crit. Rev.*, XLIII (1777), 380.

¹¹ For a more complete treatment of Quarles's reputation up to the twentieth century, see my article, "The Literary Legend of Francis Quarles," *Mod. Phil.*, XX (1923), 225-40.

¹² See Warburton, 1751 ed. of Pope, IV, 241, and 1770 ed., IV, 239; Walpole, *Letters* (Oxford, 1904 ff.), IX, 111 (Dec. 26, 1774); John Brown, "Essay on Satire" (1748) in Dodsley's *Collection* . . . (London, 1758), III, 334-35; Mason, *ib.*, III, 311; *World*, No. 137 (Aug. 14, 1755); *Crit. Rev.*, XXIII (1767), 364, and XXXIV (1772), 455. For a connected and documented account of this matter, see my article, "The Reputation of John Donne as Metrist," *Sewanee Rev.*, XXX (Oct.-Dec., 1922), No. 4, pp. 1-12.

¹³ See Birch, *Works of Dr. John Tillotson* (London, 1820—written 1752-53), I, xiv-xviii; *Crit. Rev.*, V (1758), 159, and XXXI (1771), 51; etc.

Another type of evidence on the disagreement about the Metaphysical style may be found in the way in which a liking or contempt for Cowley was made a touchstone by which to judge one's taste. Fairly early in the eighteenth century it had become more or less customary to make the comparison between him and Milton, because in his own day Cowley had been esteemed more highly than his greater contemporary. In spite of their recognition of Milton's own choice of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Cowley as his favorite poets, then,¹⁴ Dodsley's *Museum*, Dodsley himself, the *Critical Review*, David Hume, etc., all opposed Cowley's "fantastic wit" to Milton's "true sublime."¹⁵ In the same way, Milton and Quarles were sometimes taken as the two extremes.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Samuel Richardson in 1750 condemned his own "age of taste" because Cowley was so "out of fashion" in it.¹⁷

The conflict of opinion before Johnson, finally, may perhaps be observed best of all by considering the ideas of a representative number of men and works that expressed themselves much more exhaustively on the subject of the Metaphysical Poets, and by dividing these into groups according to the preponderance of their opinions. The favorable attitude toward these poets before Johnson's *Lives*, then, took two forms: the survival of opinion inherited from the seventeenth century and passed on in assimilated form through the early eighteenth; and the appearance of a newer type of appreciation. The unfavorable attitude was manifest simply as a survival and expansion of the earlier Neo-Classical hostility.

¹⁴ See, for instance, Newton, ed. of *Par. Lost* (1749), p. 80; *Month. Rev.*, II (1750), 211; Johnson, "Milton," *Lives* (Oxford, 1905), I, 154; etc.

¹⁵ *Museum*, I (1746), 329-30; Dodsley, "Art of Preaching," in Anderson's *Poets of Great Brit.* (London and Edin., 1792-1807), XI, 98; *Crit. Rev.*, XXXI (1771), 279; Hume, *Hist. of Engl.* (London, 1822—written 1754-61), VII, 339. Hume also could find little but occasional flashes of ingenious wit buried in uncouthness in Donne's satires—but he likewise found neither taste nor elegance, harmony nor correctness in Jonson and Shakespeare! (*Ib.*, VI, 133.)

¹⁶ Cf. Walpole, Letter to Rev. Wm. Cole (Dec. 10, 1775), *Letters*, IX, 293. The eighty-third *Connoisseur* (1755) in the same manner contrasted Quarles and Wither with Dryden and Spenser.

¹⁷ Richardson, *Corres.* (London, 1804), II, 229. Aaron Hill's letter to Richardson in 1730 (*ib.*, I, 2-3) had even declared that its writer would venture to pick out his friends and enemies by setting them to read Milton, whom he hated, and Cowley, whom he loved.

Cibber's *Lives*, published in 1753, is an excellent example of the continuation of seventeenth century taste in this matter, preponderantly of the favorable type. Like Richardson, Cibber (or Shiels in his name) considered it "no compliment to the taste of the present age, that the works of Mr. Cowley are falling into disesteem," and went on to praise every class of his writings—even to the extent of ranking his odes and other "poems of ideas" above anything ever written by either Dryden or Pope. The man, Cibber deposed, who could read "Beauty" or the "Hymn to Light" "without rapture, may well be assured, that he has no poetry in his soul, and is insensible to the flow of numbers, and the charms of sense."¹⁸ In the same way that he had used Anthony à Wood, Addison, etc., for this account of Cowley, Cibber used Wood, Walton, etc., for his sketch of Donne, an "eminent poet and divine of the last century," whose "character as a preacher and a poet are sufficiently seen in his incomparable writings."¹⁹ Cibber praised both Donne and Cleveland for their satires, drawing most of his material on the latter from Wood, Fuller, and Winstanley, but alluding scornfully to Fuller's "most lavish panegyric" and censuring Cleveland for his "numbers."²⁰ Carew he called an "elegant author" who "acquired some reputation for his wit and poetry," quoting Wood, Suckling, and Davenant on the subject.²¹ Crashaw, the last of the Metaphysicals treated by him, he summed up thus, after quoting Wood: "Mr. Crashaw seems to have been a very delicate and chaste writer; his language is pure, his thoughts natural, and his manner of writing tender."²² But Cibber did not seem to relate these men in his mind as Metaphysical Poets.

The first edition of the *Biographia Britannica* (1748 ff.) in general belongs in the same stream with Cibber. It gave a complete and laudatory life of Cowley in 1750; an eclectic, but generally favorable, biography of Donne in 1753, mentioning his "beautiful similitudes" in "A Valediction Forbidding Mourning"; and a rather sarcastic account of Quarles, "whose com-

¹⁸ [Theophilus] Cibber, *The Lives of the Poets of Great Brit. and Ireland* (London, 1753), II, 42-62, *passim*.

¹⁹ *Ib.*, I, 202-11.

²⁰ *Ib.*, II, 16-20.

²¹ *Ib.*, I, 249-52.

²² *Ib.*, I, 344-46.

positions are chiefly of the pious and moral kind," in 1760. Cleveland, Carew, Crashaw, and Herbert were not even touched upon in this edition; so it is the uncompleted, but still revised and enlarged, second edition, issued between 1778 and 1793, which will later prove valuable.

David Baker, in his *Companion to the Playhouse* (1764), treated Cowley and Carew chiefly as minor dramatists, but digressed consciously to praise Cowley's poetical fire, imagination, and fancy, even describing his wit as "genuine and natural," although taking exception to his redundancy and versification. Baker also mentioned Carew's wit.²³

Goldsmith in his eighth *Bee* made the interesting prediction that "The time seems to be hand, when justice will be done to Mr. Cowley's prose, as well as poetical writings." A "Poetical Scale" published in the *Literary Magazine* for January, 1758 (and sometimes ascribed to Goldsmith),²⁴ agreed with this rating, since out of a possible 80 points for "Genius, Judgement, Learning, Versifications" it accorded him 66, with his chief competitors Milton and Dryden (69), Pope (68), and Shakespeare (66). Spenser received only 62, although in the Critical Review for the next year Goldsmith repeated the favorite observation that "Cowley was formed into poetry by reading him," thus in another way indirectly linking his author with the Elizabethan revival.²⁵ A *Poetical Dictionary* (1761—likewise ascribed to Goldsmith) quoted from both Cowley's lyrics and his *Davideis*, and also gave one quotation from Cleveland.²⁶ As for Donne, who was omitted from the "Poetical Scale," the deviser wrote: "Dr. Donne was a man of wit, but he seems to have been at pains not to pass for a poet." This was also an opinion inherited from Dryden and Pope.

The publication in 1772 of the *Select Works of Mr. A. Cowley* by Dr. (later Bishop) Richard Hurd (author of *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* in 1762) is one of the most important events

²³ Baker, *Comp. to Play-house* (London, 1764), II, under authors' names.

²⁴ See Gibbs, in the Bohn *Goldsmith* (London, 1884), IV, 417 ff.

²⁵ *Crit. Rev.*, VII (1759), 104. Joseph Warton was one of the many others to refer to the same anecdote in Cowley's "Of Myself"; see *Essay on . . . Pope* (London, 1806), I, 80.

²⁶ [Goldsmith?], *A Poetical Dictionary . . .* (London, 1761), I, 83, 275-76; III, 141, 199; I, 89. One of the few other references to Cleveland at this time occurs in *Gent. Mag.*, XVII (1747), 337.

in the history of Cowley criticism and—in a less degree—of criticism of the Metaphysical Poets, because of the signs which it introduced of a new attitude. The edition aroused considerable discussion, partly because it was only a selection. The *Monthly Review* objected because Hurd had necessarily omitted many beautiful passages, and went on to show how Hurd, following Pope, had erred in ascribing Cowley's power merely

to that moral air, and tender sensibility of mind, which are discoverable in his writings. . . . But the real cause why they still please is what Mr. Pope could not judge of, because he was a stranger to it. It is enthusiasm; the genuine spirit of enthusiasm that breathes through all those pages, where the poet is not professedly in chace of wit.²⁷

Rebellion against the spiritual dictatorship of Pope was clearly in the air, when the Romantic quality of "enthusiasm" was singled out for flattery. And other writers also agreed on the whole with the *Monthly*. Among these, disapproving the idea of selection and therefore exclusion, were the *Morning Chronicle* for January 30, 1776, the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1776 (which printed letters on both sides), and Dr. Johnson himself, although he later retracted.²⁸ Indeed, in 1779, an entire imaginary dialogue was written, between Cowley and Hurd, on the subject of such omissions.²⁹

Hurd had become interested in Cowley early in his career. In 1757 he had quoted approvingly a couplet from the elegy on Crashaw, but had equally criticized an exaggerated passage from "Brutus."³⁰ Most of the Pindarics, Hurd thought, showed the perversion of Cowley's "fine genius," but the essays showed him at his best, together with those poems which

came from the heart. A clear sparkling fancy, softened with a shade of melancholy, made him, perhaps, of all our poets the most capable of

²⁷ *Month. Rev.*, XLVIII (1773), 13-18; also quoted in 2nd ed. of *Biog. Brit.*, IV, 378-80.

²⁸ See Nichols, *Lit. Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Cent.* (London, 1812-15), VI, 484; *Gent. Mag.*, XLVI (1776), 115, 267 (also quoted in the *Biog. Brit.*, IV, 380); Boswell, *Johnson* (Oxford, 1887), III, 29, 227. The *Crit. Rev.* for 1775 (XXXIX, 460) also mentioned the ed.

²⁹ See review of *Dialogues of the Dead with the Living*, *Crit. Rev.*, XLVII (1779), 445 ff.

³⁰ Hurd, ed. of *Horace* (London, 1766), III, 159-60, 201-2.

excelling in the elegiac way, or of touching us in any way where a vein of easy language and moral sentiment is required.³¹

The second of Hurd's *Moral and Political Dialogues* (1759) took the same point of view, praising the essays and admiring such poems as "The Complaint," principally because of the charming "air of *melancholy*, thrown over the whole, so expressive of the poet's character."³² And again, in his edition of 1772, Hurd recurred to the "*sensible reflecting melancholy*" of the verse accompanying the essays, and to the graceful "*unforced gaiety*" of many lighter poems.³³ One thus cannot help wondering how much part Cowley's melancholy, "pensiveness," and love of solitude played in his revival by the Romantics, for the terms occur over and over again in references to his work.³⁴ However, in other notes in his edition Hurd also praised Cowley's play, the *Cutter*; the Anacreontics (not disfigured by his conceits and loose numbers as were his Pindarics); and his "agreeable Ballad," "The Chronicle."³⁵ But his true bent, Hurd thought, lay in his prose, wherein he no longer complied with the "false taste of his age"; indeed, he excelled Montaigne; his *Proposition* was "better digested" and "less fanciful" than Milton's *Tractate on Education*; and his *Vision* on Cromwell was the best of his prose works.³⁶

Hurd blamed Cowley's frequent lack of harmony on the examples of Donne and Jonson, who "*affected* harsh numbers and uncooth expression" and who "were the favourite poets of the time."³⁷ On the whole, Hurd was rather attracted to Donne, for

³¹ *Ib.*, III, 180-81; for other allusions to Cowley's essays, see pp. 230-31, 234-35.

³² Hurd, *Moral and Pol. Dialogues* . . . (London, 1771), I, 126 n., 131 n. The *Crit. Rev.* for 1759 (VII, 474-76) in discussing this dialogue added gratuitously that Cowley's "writings are undervalued with as much injustice as those of Waller are over-valued, by the present age. . . ."

³³ Hurd, ed. of *Cowley* (London, 1777), II, 111 n.

³⁴ See, for example, Ogilvie's *Solitude*, reviewed by *Crit. Rev.*, XXI (1766), 366, 368; Shenstone, "Economy," in Chalmers, XIII, 317; John Langhorne, *Poet. Works* (London, 1804), I, 48-49; Tytler, *Mirror*, No. 37 (1779).

³⁵ Hurd, *Cowley*, I, 91 n., 138, 164 n., 156 n. Robert Lloyd, in the seventy-second *Connoisseur* (1755), also admired Cowley's "elegant ballads."

³⁶ Hurd, *op. cit.*, II, 83, 196 n.; I, 219; II, 1.

³⁷ *Ib.*, I, 168 n.

he saw through the externals which had deterred so many others from enjoyment. In 1749 he had applied Horace's "*Brevis esse laboro, Obscurus fio*" to Donne,³⁸ and in 1751 had composed the following penetrating, although not entirely original, analysis of Donne's style:

The *mutual habitudes and relations* . . . , subsisting between those innumerable objects of thought and sense, which make up the entire natural and intellectual world, are indeed infinite; and if the poet be allowed to associate and bring together all those ideas, wherein the ingenuity of the mind can perceive any remote sign or glimpses of *resemblance*, it were truly wonderful, that, in any number of images and allusions, there should be found a close conformity of them with those of any other writer. But this is far from being the case. For 1. the more august poetry disclaims, as unsuited to its state and dignity, that inquisitive and anxious diligence, which pries into nature's retirements; and searches through all her secret and hidden haunts, to detect a forbidden commerce, and expose to light some strange unexpected conjunction of ideas. This quaint combination of remote, unallied imagery, constitutes a species of entertainment, which, for its *novelty*, may amuse and divert the mind in other compositions; but is wholly inconsistent with the reserve and solemnity of the *graver* forms. . . . And here, by the way, it may be worth observing, in honour of a great Poet of the last century, I mean Dr. DONNE, that, though agreeably to the turn of his genius, and taste of his age, he was fonder, than ever poet was, of these *secret and hidden ways* in his lesser poetry; yet when he had projected his great work "*On the progress of the Soul*" . . . his good sense brought him out into the freer *spaces* of nature and open *day-light*. . . .³⁹

This may be considered as a real tribute to Donne, although couched in the language of the Neo-Classicists.⁴⁰ On the other hand, Herbert seems to have been the only other Metaphysical Hurd even mentioned.⁴¹

Hurd may be regarded as representing the new, rather than the surviving, favorable attitude toward the Metaphysical Poets. The predominantly unfavorable point of view, however—modified, it is true, by sporadic expressions of appreciation,—was probably a bit commoner than the favorable. Joseph Warton, for instance, seems

³⁸ Hurd, *Horace*, I, 42-43.

³⁹ *Ib.*, III, 97-99.

⁴⁰ In 1757 Hurd also spoke of a "perfectly fine and natural" allusion in Donne's fifth satire, in contrast to Jonson's unnatural one (Horace, III, 191-92).

⁴¹ See *Dialogues*, II, 29 n.

to be characterized in this connection by a surviving Neo-Classicism rather than by an incipient Romanticism.

The first volume of Warton's *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* appeared in 1756; the second volume in 1782. Johnson's "Cowley" thus intervened, and so the two volumes should be treated separately. In the dedication of his first volume Warton proposed an interesting classification of poets:

Our English poets may, I think, be disposed in four different classes and degrees. In the first class, I would place, first, our only three sublime and pathetic poets; SPENSER, SHAKESPEARE, MILTON; and then, at proper intervals, OTWAY and LEE. In the second class should be placed, such as possessed the true poetical genius, in a more moderate degree, but had noble talents for moral and ethical poetry. At the head of these are DRYDEN, DONNE, DENHAM, COWLEY, CONGREVE. In the third class may be placed, men of wit, of elegant taste, and some fancy in describing familiar life. Here may be numbered, PRIOR, WALLER, PARNELL, SWIFT, FENTON. In the fourth class, the mere versifiers, however smooth and mellifluous, should be ranked. Such as PITT, SANDYS, FAIRFAX, BROOME, BUCKINGHAM, LANSDOWN.⁴³

In this classification, both Donne and Cowley fared well.⁴³ But all of Warton's readers did not agree with his rankings in every particular. The *Monthly Review*, for instance, in an article favorable on the whole to Warton's then anonymous work in spite of the reviewer's evident considerable admiration for Pope, criticized the second class and Donne's place in it especially. Donne, said the reviewer, had been described "as possessing the *true poetical genius, with noble talents for moral poesy.*"

And yet, but two pages before, he characterizes this author, as a man of wit, and a man of sense, but asks what traces he has left of pure poetry?⁴⁴ We readily agree that he has left none. . . . Did any man with a poetical ear, ever yet read ten lines of Donne without disgust? No. How then

⁴³ Warton, *Essay on . . . Pope* (London, 1756), pp. xi-xii.

⁴⁴ Warton did not say much more about Cowley in his first volume, simply mentioning Cowley's juvenile, but excellent, ode on solitude (1806 ed., I, 76), and his reading of Spenser (I, 80). For another reference see *Adventurer*, No. 63 (1753).

⁴⁵ Warton's words were (p. ii): "Donne and Swift were undoubtedly men of wit, and men of sense: but what traces have they left of PURE POETRY? It is remarkable, that Dryden says of Donne, He was the greatest wit, though not the greatest poet, of this nation."

comes this Adjuster of literary rank to post him before Denham, Waller, Cowley, &c. In truth, Daniel, Drayton, Randolph, or almost any other of his contemporary poets, the translator of Du Bartas not excepted, deserve the place better than he. . . .⁴⁵

After thus putting Sylvester above Donne, this re-adjuster of literary rank added concerning Cowley: "There can be no exception to the rank assigned that excellent genius, whose works are a valuable mine of literary and poetic jewels." In concluding its review the next month, the magazine also took the opportunity to praise Cowley's prose, in rectification of Warton's failure to do so.⁴⁶ And so in later editions of the first volume, beginning in 1762, Warton weakly degraded Donne to the third rank, and in his second volume commended Cowley's prose!

Warton also recognized Pope's debt to other of the Metaphysicals, without allowing the poets themselves much merit. He had referred to Flatman in this respect in the sixty-third *Adventurer* (1753), and in 1756 expanded the passage: "... from whose dunghill, as well as from the dregs of Crashaw, of Carew, of Herbert, and others, (for it is well known he was a great reader of all those poets,) POPE has very judiciously collected gold."⁴⁷

The rhetoricians and philosophers naturally took this same point of view, to which they were easily led by their application of the age's standards of "reason" to the budding science of aesthetics. Dr. Hugh Blair, in his lectures delivered at Edinburgh between 1759 and 1762, cited the vogue of Cowley's "laboured and unnatural conceits" as a proof of the false taste of the Restoration, and drew many of his illustrations of forced metaphors, unduly prolonged and minute comparisons, far-sought and super-refined thoughts, etc., from Cowley.⁴⁸ He did, however, commend the smoothness and elegance of the Anacreontics in contrast with the harshness and incoherence of the Pindarics.⁴⁹ Lord Kames, too,

⁴⁵ *Month. Rev.*, xiv (1756), 534-35. Part of the passage is reminiscent of the "Preface" to the second part of Waller's *Poems* (1690).

⁴⁶ *Ib.*, xv (1756), 57.

⁴⁷ Warton, *op. cit.*, I, 85. He also quoted the *Rambler* on Pope's debt to Crashaw (I, 90-91), and mentioned Roscommon's debt to the same poet (I, 85 n.).

⁴⁸ Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (London, 1812), I, 30 ff., 351-52, 405; II, 30-31.

⁴⁹ *Ib.*, III, 134. The quarrel over Cowley's Pindarics has never been set-

Blair's first patron, in his *Elements of Criticism* (1762) similarly analyzed and rejected Cowley's fantastic wit, his meaningless jargon, his minutely obscure metaphors, and his absurdly mixed figures of speech.⁵⁰ Likewise, James Beattie, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic at Aberdeen, published his *Essays on Poetry and Music, etc.* in 1776. Here, while admitting that Cowley "was an excellent person, and a very witty poet," he criticized his harshness, his Alexandrines in the *Davideis*, his over-elaborate descriptions, his injudicious hyperboles, and his incongruous, and Ovidian, conceits.⁵¹ Beattie also employed Quarles as a similar example of bad writing, though a harmless one, because unknown.⁵² Dr. George Campbell, also of Aberdeen, cited Cowley for a like purpose in his *Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776).⁵³ All these uses illustrate how low the Metaphysical style had fallen in the estimation of a certain type of mind.

One of the most popular biographical collections of the century was the Rev. James Granger's *Biographical History of England*, first issued in 1769 and later considerably augmented. Granger was traditional in his view and treatment of Donne, quoting Dryden, Drummond, Winstanley, etc., and commenting on Donne's

tled. For one aspect of their status in the earlier Neo-Classical Period, see my note, "The Relation of Cowley's 'Pindarics' to Pindar's Odes," *Mod. Phil.*, XIX (1921), 107-9. On the whole, not until relatively late in the eighteenth century were the odes of Cowley himself attacked—it was only those of his imitators. Even in 1749 when Gilbert West produced his translation of Pindar and pointed out the freedom of the Greek poet from the "witty extravagances, and puerile conceits of Mr. Cowley and the rest of his imitators" (see Chalmers, *Works of the Engl. Poets*, London, 1810, XIII, 144), he was careful to credit Cowley's great genius (*Month. Rev.*, I, 1749, 39-40). For later attacks on this "monstrous species of composition," see *Crit. Rev.*, XXVI (1768), 295, and *Gent. Mag.*, XLVI (1776), 172. Aaron Hill, however, stoutly maintained the immortality of Cowley's Pindaric fame (*Works*, London, 1754, III, 241). On the other hand, Francis Fawkes, translator of Anacreon in 1760, went farther than West, and denied the manner and spirit of Anacreon to Cowley also (Chalmers, XX, 331).

⁵⁰ Kames, *Els. of Crit.* (N. Y., 1858), pp. 187, 246, 372, 387-88.

⁵¹ Beattie, *Essays* (Edin., 1779), pp. 13, 17, 66 n., 92, 253, 329-30 n.

⁵² *Ib.*, pp. 15 n., 333; *Poet. Works* (London and N. Y., 1894), p. 153.

⁵³ Campbell, *Phil. of Rhet.* (Edin., 1816), I, 80; II, 95. The first passage was quoted with approval by the *Crit. Rev.*, XLII (1776), 4.

satires, his "prodigious richness of fancy," and his faulty versification.⁵⁴ His opinion of Cowley follows:

Cowley, who helped to corrupt the taste of the age in which he lived, and had himself been corrupted by it, was a remarkable instance of a true genius, seduced and perverted by false wit. . . . There is a want of elegance in his words, and of harmony in his versification; but this was *more* than atoned for, by his greatest fault, *the redundancy of his fancy*. . . . His "Burning-Glasses of Ice," and other metaphors, which are not only beyond, but contrary to, nature, were generally admired in the reign of Charles II. The standard of true taste was not then established. It was at length discovered, after a revolution of many ages, that the justest rules and examples of good writing are to be found in the works of ancient authors; and that there is neither dignity nor elegance of thought or expression, without simplicity.⁵⁵

Granger's Neo-Classical mind is also revealed in his comparing Donne and Cowley unfavorably with Waller in versification.⁵⁶

Cleveland, Granger (or probably Guthrie⁵⁷) wrote, "was justly esteemed a man of wit; but his writings abound with strained and far-fetched metaphors."⁵⁸ Quarles was praised "more as an honest and pious man" in spite of "a very considerable [contemporary] reputation as a poet." As for the *Emblems*, "which have been serviceable to allure children to read," and are not yet forgotten, we "sometimes stumble upon a pretty thought among many trivial ones in this book; and now and then meet with poetry in mechanism in the prints."⁵⁹ This sarcasm provoked one of the earliest defenses of Quarles's works, for the *Critical Review* replied that, in spite of the conventional attitude toward Quarles as a "despicable poet," it would

venture to say, that in some passages of his poetical paraphrase on Ecclesi-

⁵⁴ Granger, *Biog. Hist.* (London, 1824), I, 312-13; II, 60.

⁵⁵ *Ib.*, V, 244-45; see also III, 123-24.

⁵⁶ *Ib.*, III, 125.

⁵⁷ See *Crit. Rev.*, quoted in *Biog. Brit.*, (1784), III, 632-33 n.

⁵⁸ *Biog. Hist.*, III, 126-27. Reviewed in *Crit. Rev.*, XXVII (1769), 426-27.

⁵⁹ *Ib.*, III, 135-36. This was the contemptuous opinion also of Lord Chesterfield, in a letter to Harte, his son's tutor, in 1763 (see Chalmers, XVI, 313-14). Nevertheless, Harte himself admired "our venerable and religious poet," Quarles, and quoted him frequently (*ib.*, XVI, 382, 400, 401). Harte also predicted that Donne, although now forgotten, would be remembered (*ib.*, 377), and mentioned "our excellent and most learned poet, Cowley" (*ib.*, 361).

astes, . . . Quarles has not been exceeded by any English poet either in energy of thought, and what is still more extraordinary, (we say it with a proper deference to the memory of Mr. Pope) in harmony of versification.⁶⁰

Unfortunately, Granger's brief account of Carew (written in 1774),⁶¹ and of Herbert, aroused no such rebellion against established judgments. Herbert's character was such, "that we cannot but revere so great and good a man, as little as we esteem his poetry."⁶²

Perhaps the most crabbed of the essayists writing on the Metaphysical Poets at this time⁶³ was the Rev. Vicesimus Knox, who first published his *Essays, Moral and Literary* in 1778-79. Donne, a satirist and imitator of Juvenal, was in Knox's opinion rough in both verse and sentiment—indeed, he thought, Donne's and Cowley's neglect of "the graces of composition" will put them "on the upper shelf of some dusty and deserted library" in spite of their "great learning and ingenuity."⁶⁴ Cowley, however, although lacking in passion and carried away by wit, did write good Latin verse and good Anacreontics, and his *Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy* deserved to go along with Milton's *Tractate*.⁶⁵ Knox's estimate of Cowley, nevertheless, was on the whole so low that John Wesley, among others, was aroused to protest, in his *Journal* for 1780.⁶⁶ Cowley had always been a favorite with Wesley,⁶⁷ along with Herbert, and he quoted from both freely. Indeed, in 1756 he had prepared a letter to the attacking *Monthly Review*, in defense of Dr. Thomas Drummond, Herbert, and Norris, "who are by no means contemptible writers."⁶⁸

⁶⁰ *Crit. Rev.*, xxvii (1769), 349.

⁶¹ *Biog. Hist.*, iii, 131.

⁶² *Ib.*, ii, 353. Others at this time to esteem Herbert chiefly for his priestly office are referred to by *Crit. Rev.*, iii (1757), 552, and xxxvii (1774), 19.

⁶³ For another writer on Cowley, see the *Crit. Rev.*'s review of *Joineriana*, in xxxiv (1772), 451.

⁶⁴ Knox, *Essays* (London, 1787), iii, 167-68, 440.

⁶⁵ *Ib.*, ii, 349; iii, 170, 183, 480; and *Liberal Education* (London, 1781), p. 165 n.

⁶⁶ J. Wesley, *Works* (N. Y., 1853), iv, 534.

⁶⁷ *Ib.*, ii, 261, 482; v, 510; also in Geo. Crabbe, *Poet. Works* (London, 1801), p. 41.

⁶⁸ See *Month. Rev.*, xv (1756), 129, and Wesley, *op. cit.*, vii, 397-99.

But so far during this period no one seems to have thought of all these poets as forming a "school." Thomas Gray, one of the chief precursors of Romanticism, went the farthest before Johnson in mapping out such a group treatment, being confessedly influenced by Pope's rough sketch.⁶⁹ In a letter to Thomas Warton, explaining his abandoned plans for the history of English poetry which Warton was then engaged on, Gray set down his ideas thus, in part: "A *third Italian* school, full of conceit, begun in Q. Elizabeth's reign, continued under James, and Charles the first, by Donne, Crashaw, Cleveland, carried to its height by Cowley, and ends perhaps in Sprat. . . ." ⁷⁰ Since Gray's unproductive habits deprived the world of his history, this brief but provocative prospectus, supplemented by a few allusions to Cowley and by two or three "classical" remarks about Donne's consciously "uncouth" versification and deficient poetical sense in the Satires,⁷¹ is all that remains to indicate his opinion of the Metaphysicals.

This was the way in which the field had been prepared critically before the appearance of Johnson's "Cowley." There also had been a fair degree of activity in the matter of editions. Besides Hurd's volumes, the "Select Poems" of Cowley had appeared in vol. VII of Bell's *British Poets* in 1773, and the poetical works were reproduced in his series of 1777. In 1778 the Rev. Thomas Janes had exemplified the same tendency to select in his *Beauties of the Poets*.⁷² Bell had also reprinted Donne's *Poetical Works* in 1779; and the satires had come out in the same year as part of the so-called Johnson's *English Poets*. Carew's poems had been edited in 1772 by Davies, although without attracting much attention.⁷³

For other references to Herbert, chiefly to the "Church Porch," see *Works*, I, 519; II, 259, 270, 344; V, 55; VI, 144, 463.

⁶⁹ For Pope's conceptions, see my article in *Phil. Quart.*, *ut sup.*

⁷⁰ Gray, quoted in Chalmers, XVIII, 80. Pope's and Gray's plans, with the latter's letter to Warton, were printed in *Gent. Mag.*, LIII (1783), 100-1.

⁷¹ For Cowley, see Gray's notes to "The Progress of Poesy," for instance; for Donne, see C. S. Northup's ed. of Gray's *Essays and Criticisms* (Belles Lettres series, 1911), pp. 37 n., 48, 175.

⁷² See *Crit. Rev.*, XLVI (1778), 153-54.

⁷³ Percy had printed two stanzas of Carew's "Unfading Beauty" in his *Reliques* (Ser. I, Bk. II, No. 13), of 1765. In the next year Joseph Cockfield had commented on their beauty, calling Carew "an elegant

Quarles had continued to show remarkable vitality in the face of the contempt of the critics, and was reprinted in 1764, 1766, and 1777, the last edition containing recommendations by such well-known divines as Augustus Toplady and John Ryland; Ryland, indeed, described Quarles as "the *first*, as Herbert was the *second*, divine poet of the English nation."⁴

II. JOHNSON'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE "METAPHYSICAL POETS"

The main importance of Dr. Samuel Johnson's remarks on the Metaphysical Poets was therefore their authority. As an observer of the trends of English literature, Johnson may well have felt that the signs of an increasing, although apologetic, tendency to admire such "unclassical" writers were growing so strong as to demand consideration. His contribution, however, was simply in the form of a more rigorous analytical scrutiny of the Metaphysical style than it had ever received before; in fact, very little new in the way of criticism remained to be said—many readers and critics had been indicating its fundamental principles for almost a century. Johnson's place is unquestionably among the discriminative critics who emphasized the faults of the Metaphysicals more than their virtues; but it is also the most conspicuous place in the group.

Johnson's opinions on Donne, Cowley, and the rest are to be found in various of his writings, from the 'fifties to the 'eighties. His *Lives of the English Poets*, the publication of which began in 1779, was the chief repository of these ideas; and the "Life of Cowley," in addition to being the first of the series, was also the most important in this respect. According to Boswell, "The Life of Cowley he himself considered as the best of the whole, on account of the dissertation which it contains on the *Metaphysical Poets*."¹ These poets Johnson described as follows:

The metaphysical poets were men of learning, and to shew their learning

though almost forgotten poet" (see Nichols, *Illustrations . . . of the Eighteenth Cent.*, London, 1818, v, 771-72). In 1765 Percy wrote that Carew's "poems deserve to be revived"; in the third ed. (1775) he changed this to "whose poems have deservedly been revived," with reference to Davies' revival.

⁴ See Wm. Paterson's ed. of Quarles's *Emblems* (Edin., 1888), pp. 9-10.

¹ Boswell, *op. cit.*, iv, 38.

was their whole endeavour; but, unluckily resolving to shew it in rhyme, instead of writing poetry they only wrote verses, and very often such verses as stood the trial of the finger better than of the ear. . . .

If the father of criticism has rightly denominated poetry *τέχνη μιμητική*, an imitative art, these writers will without great wrong lose their right to the name of poets, for they cannot be said to have imitated any thing: they neither copied nature nor life; neither painted the forms of matter nor represented the operations of intellect.

Those however who deny them to be poets allow them to be wits. . . .

If Wit be well described by Pope as being 'that which has been often thought, but was never before so well expressed,' they certainly never attained nor ever sought it, for they endeavoured to be singular in their thoughts, and were careless of their diction. . . .

If by a more noble and more adequate conception that be considered as Wit which is at once natural and new, which though not obvious is, upon its first production, acknowledged to be just; if it be that, which he that never found it, wonders how he missed; to wit of this kind the metaphysical poets have seldom risen. Their thoughts are often new, but seldom natural; they are not obvious, but neither are they just; and the reader, far from wondering that he missed them, wonders more frequently by what perverseness of industry they were ever found.

But Wit, abstracted from its effects upon the hearer, may be more rigorously and philosophically considered as a kind of *discordia concors*; a combination of dissimilar images, or discovery of occult resemblances in things apparently unlike. Of wit, thus defined, they have more than enough. The most heterogeneous ideas are yoked by violence together; nature and art are ransacked for illustrations, comparisons, and allusions; their learning instructs, and their subtilty surprises; but the reader commonly thinks his improvement dearly bought, and, though he sometimes admires, is seldom pleased. . . .

It hardly needs to be said that Johnson also felt that the Metaphysical Poets could seldom move the affections and feelings, and that great and sublime thoughts were likewise beyond their range. Conceits and hyperbole and learning were their chief stock in trade.²

It was not, however, a merely meretricious importance which Johnson assigned his "Life" because of the cleverness and penetration of the critical remarks, for he clearly realized the extent of the influence of the Metaphysical style. His enumeration of those affected by it runs thus:

This kind of writing, which was, I believe, borrowed from Marino and his followers,³ had been recommended by the example of Donne, a man

² Johnson, "Cowley," *Lives*, I, 18-21.

³ In a later article I propose to discuss the reputation of the Continental writers—Marino, Gongora, and Du Bartas—in England.

of very extensive and various knowledge, and by Jonson, whose manner resembled that of Donne more in the ruggedness of his lines than in the cast of his sentiments.

When their reputation was high they had undoubtedly more imitators than time has left behind. Their immediate successors, of whom any remembrance can be said to remain, were Suckling, Waller, Denham, Cowley, Cleiveland, and Milton. Denham and Waller sought another way to fame, by improving the harmony of our numbers. Milton tried the metaphysick style only in his lines upon Hobson the Carrier. Cowley adopted it and excelled his predecessors; having as much sentiment and more musick. . . . The fashionable style remained chiefly with Cowley: Suckling could not reach it, and Milton disdained it.⁴

Although Johnson's Metaphysical "school" was not, then, in full accord with that of posterity, it was arrived at rationally and conscientiously, and takes its place with the relatively few preceding attempts to reach such a grouping—the attempts of Dryden, Pope, Oldmixon, and Gray.

Cowley, however, was the only one to receive any separate and extended treatment; Johnson's judgment of the others must be gleaned from various detached passages. Donne he described as "a man of very extensive and various knowledge," and, in commenting on several illustrative quotations, also pointed out his "medicinal knowledge," his "scholastick" trend, his "abstruse and profound . . . reflection upon man as a microcosm," his "*Confusion worse confounded*," his absurdity in certain figures, his indelicacy, his conceits, and so on.⁵ Most of these examples Johnson drew from Donne's lyrics and philosophical poems, but he also alluded to the satires indirectly through Pope's version, which, although full of "imbecillity," still gave Donne "smoother numbers."⁶ The same matter of imperfect versification always antagonized Johnson, just as it had antagonized practically all Neo-Classical readers, for he recurred to it in showing Dryden's early freedom from the influence of "Donne's or Jonson's ruggedness," although "he did not so soon free his mind from the ambition of forced conceits."⁷ Donne and Jonson had already been coupled in somewhat the same way in the "Life of Cowley."⁸

⁴ *Ib.*, I, 22.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 22 ff.

⁶ "Pope," *op. cit.*, III, 177.

⁷ "Dryden," *ib.*, I, 426.

⁸ Johnson's interest in Donne may be traced back to a period somewhat

The attitude of the Neo-Classicists toward the influence of two such different men as Donne and Jonson upon the Metaphysicals is of some importance. Johnson, as has been seen, was unwilling to discount entirely the authority of the latter poet, although so far as Cowley was concerned he excluded him entirely:

One passage in his *Mistress* ["Maidenhead"] is so apparently borrowed from Donne ["Love's Alchemy"] that he probably would not have written it, had it not mingled with his own thoughts, so as that he did not perceive taking it from another. . . .

Jonson and Donne, as Dr. Hurd remarks, were then in the highest esteem.*

It is related by Clarendon that Cowley always acknowledged his obligation to the learning and industry of Jonson, but I have found no traces of Jonson in his works: to emulate Donne appears to have been his purpose; and from Donne he may have learned that familiarity with religious images, and that light allusion to sacred things, by which readers far short of sanctity are frequently offended; and which would not be borne in the present age, when devotion, perhaps not more fervent is more delicate.¹⁰

Cowley, however, according to Johnson "was almost the last . . . and undoubtedly the best" of the Metaphysical "race."¹¹ In this opinion Johnson was also within the Neo-Classical tradition. He certainly knew Cowley better himself than he did any of the others, and his acquaintance also extended further back into his life than it did for the others. Essays in the *Rambler* and the *Idler* contain some of his first allusions, which are in most cases in the identical tone of his later work. In the sixth *Rambler* (April 7, 1750), however, he referred scoffingly to Cowley's plans for retirement outlined in his 1656 preface, and asserted that

before that of the *Lives*, but nowhere nearly so far as in the case of Cowley. The entry for Oct. 23, 1773, in the "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides" (Boswell, v, 346), for instance, noted the use of the word "quotidian" by Charles I and Donne; Boswell has also preserved Johnson's opinion, in 1776, that the account of Donne's vision of his wife, left out of later eds. of Walton, should be restored (*ib.*, II, 445).

* This paragraph was not in the first ed. The reference is to Hurd's comments in his 1772 ed. of Cowley. Johnson appears to have been influenced only to a minor extent by Hurd's estimate of Cowley.

¹⁰ "Cowley," *ib.*, I, 57-58. If Johnson had considered the plays, especially the *Cutter*, he would have discovered Cowley's debt to Jonson, as well as several expressions of admiration.

¹¹ *Ib.*, p. 35.

"he might have found, in his own country, innumerable coverts sufficiently dark to have concealed the genius of Cowley"; yet when he came to write his "Life" he softened his pronouncement a bit, so that it ran: "Yet let neither our reverence for a genius, nor our pity for a sufferer, dispose us to forget that, if his activity was virtue, his retreat was cowardice."¹² On the other hand, Johnson never altered his opinion of Cowley's versification. In a 1751 *Rambler* paper he attacked Cowley ("an author not sufficiently studious of harmony") for an "inversion of the accents" in the word "cover," appearing in a translation from Virgil.¹³ Eight years later, in the seventy-seventh *Idler* he again characterized Cowley's style: "Cowley seems to have possessed the power of writing easily beyond any other of our poets; yet his pursuit of remote thoughts led him often into harshness of expression." It was to Cowley's protection, indeed, that in 1779 he attributed the endurance of the older type of versification until the time of Dryden, in spite of the attempts of Waller and Denham.¹⁴ In 1773, however, he had said to Boswell, concerning the condensation of sense by different poets: "There is more sense in a line of Cowley than in a page (or a sentence, or ten lines,—I am not quite certain of the very phrase) of Pope."¹⁵

In the "Life," Johnson took up Cowley's work class by class, commending his Latin above Milton's, although preferring May's to both;¹⁶ stressing the "diversified excellence" of the "Miscellanies";¹⁷ following Addison in his attack on the mixed wit in the *Mistress*, together with its lack of real feeling;¹⁸ inveighing against the lack of genuineness in the Pindarics, although giving

¹² *Ib.*, p. 10.

¹³ *Rambler*, No. 86. Hurd, in his 1772 ed. of Cowley (II, 161 n.), flatly denied the justness of any such carping, defending the trochee here against the iambus, and held that "Dryden himself could not have expressed this idea better or more musically." He also called attention to the change of accent on words in different ages.

¹⁴ "Dryden," *Lives*, I, 421.

¹⁵ "Tour to the Hebrides," Boswell, v, 345.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, 12-13.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, I, 35 n. In the "Life of Milton" (I, 163), in a notorious passage, he even cited Cowley's elegy on Hervey in preference to "Lycidas."

¹⁸ *Ib.*, I, 40-42. Concerning the love poems of Prior ("Prior," *ib.*, II, 202), Johnson wrote, "They have the coldness of Cowley without his wit."

them some credit for knowledge and "fertility of fancy";¹⁹ explaining the just neglect of the *Davideis* by showing how Cowley "spangled with conceits" material already unfitted for poetic treatment;²⁰ dismissing the early plays; but wondering why the *Cutter* was not better known;²¹ and allowing himself a really enthusiastic warmth concerning the essays.²² The reasons for these opinions were scattered all through the latter portion of the account:

In the general review of Cowley's poetry it will be found that he wrote with abundant fertility, but negligent or unskillful selection; with much thought, but with little imagery; that he is never pathetick, and rarely sublime, but always either ingenious or learned, either acute or profound. . . .

His character of writing was indeed not his own: he unhappily adopted that which was predominant. . . .

His diction was in his own time censured as negligent. . . .

His versification seems to have had very little of his care. . . .

It may be affirmed without any encomiastick fervour that he brought to his poetic labours a mind replete with learning, and that his pages are embellished with all the ornaments which books could supply; that he was the first who imparted to English numbers the enthusiasm of the greater ode, and the gaiety of the less; that he was equally qualified for spritely sallies and for lofty flights; that he was among those who freed translation from servility . . . ; and that if he left versification yet improvable, he left likewise from time to time such specimens of excellence as enabled succeeding poets to improve it.²³

Johnson's view of Cowley was therefore far from being so distorted that he could discover nothing laudable in his works. At the same time, his emphasis on Cowley's faults is undeniable—indeed, it is what most succeeding readers of the "Life" have seized on, to the exclusion of the other aspect. The essential justness of Johnson's attitude may be summed up in one of his own sentences:

Cowley, like other poets who have written with narrow views and, instead of tracing intellectual pleasure to its natural sources in the mind of man, paid their court to temporary prejudices, has been at one time too much praised and too much neglected at another.²⁴

¹⁹ "Cowley," *ib.*, I, 44-48.

²⁰ *Ib.*, I, 49-51.

²¹ *Ib.*, I, 7, 14.

²² *Ib.*, I, 64.

²³ *Ib.*, I, 55-65, *passim*.

²⁴ *Ib.*, I, 18.

Yet even here his stress on "nature" reveals his Neo-Classicism at bottom.

The rest of the Metaphysical Poets, however, Johnson does not seem to have known so well. Cleveland he used twice for illustrations, quoting once from "Since 'Tis My Doom" to show the bringing together "in a very few lines" of "so many remote ideas," and once from the "Coal-Pit," which Cleveland paralleled with the sun.²⁵ He also, perhaps mistakenly, suspected Parnell of having borrowed a hint for his "Hymn to Contentment" (1713) from Cleveland's "Content."²⁶

Although Johnson did not class Herbert and Crashaw with the Metaphysical Poets, he mentioned them both: Herbert as an epistolary writer whose excellence was hardly known in Pope's day,²⁷ and Crashaw as "Poet and Saint"—the title which Cowley, for instance, had used to open his elegy on Crashaw.²⁸ As far back as 1751, moreover, he had accused Pope of copying Crashaw in his epitaph on Fenton (1730);²⁹ and he brought the same charge again in 1781. The passages, however, are void of critical value.

Such are the dicta on which a great deal of the modern hostile conception of a "Metaphysical School" is based. They are dicta which are far from containing the last word on the Metaphysical characteristics, nor do they contain as just and complete an idea of its hypothetical members as Pope had had (and Johnson probably had the manuscript of Spence in his possession before the life of Cowley was published).³⁰ But Johnson's assertions became widely current, and were rather generally accepted, although frequently objections were voiced. References to the disquisition on the "Metaphysical Poets" have been perennial ever since, following the paths of the eighteenth century reviews. The *Annual Register* for 1779 chose this passage, and one from "Dryden" containing

²⁵ *Ib.*, I, 27-29.

²⁶ "Parnell," *ib.*, II, 53-54. Other editors, however, have traced the source to Cardinal Bona's "Divina Psalmodia" (see Aitken's ed. of Parnell, 1894; also Mitford's).

²⁷ "Pope," *ib.*, III, 159.

²⁸ "West," *ib.*, III, 329.

²⁹ *Rambler*, No. 143; and "Pope," *Lives*, III, 267. Crashaw's lines are in his "Epitaph on Mr. Ashton."

³⁰ See my article in *M. L. N.*, *ut sup.*

a reference to Cowley, for reprinting.³¹ The *Gentleman's Magazine* did the same.³² Neither of these, however, commented on the ideas involved. The *Critical Review* complained that "In the Life of Cowley there is rather too much quotation from parts of his works that are not the most entertaining," but said nothing specifically about the Metaphysicals.³³ As late as the last five years of the century the subject was fresh enough for the *Gentleman's Magazine* to return to it in the following manner:

The first name on the list is Cowley. This writer is ranked among the metaphysical poets; his wit is factitious, his genius artificial. . . . But, admitting him to be really a poet, we might discover all the indiscretions of genius in his conduct; whilst we observed his officiousness in times of turbulence and peril, and the restlessness of his spirit in almost every situation.³⁴

The spleen of this writer was considerably more exaggerated than that of most of Johnson's followers; but even Joseph Warton as late as 1797, in spite of the developments between that year and the date of the publication of the *Lives*, could express his entire approval of Johnson's analysis:

It were to be wished that all the critical opinions of Dr. Johnson were as solid and judicious as are his admirable observations in the life of Cowley, on mixt Metaphors, false Wit, and what (after Dryden) he calls "Metaphysical Poetry."³⁵

III. FROM JOHNSON'S *Lives* TO THE "ROMANTIC PERIOD"

All of the literary biographers and historians, however, were not immediately affected by Johnson's pronouncements, nor indeed did they all agree with them. Joseph Warton spoke as he did in 1797 because Johnson had voiced opinions which he himself had been expressing for some time before, and not because he was convinced of any new truth. An examination of Warton's own remarks on the Metaphysical Poets in the second of the two volumes of his

³¹ *Ann. Reg.*, 1779, pp. 27-29, and 183.

³² *Gent. Mag.*, XLIX (1779), 505-6; LIH, 47.

³³ *Crit. Rev.*, XLVII (1779), 361. Cowley was referred to in the reprint of part of the "Life of Dryden" in the same year (*ib.*, p. 452).

³⁴ "Is Irregularity of Conduct Attached to Poetic Genius?" *Gent. Mag.*, LXV (1795), 17.

³⁵ J. Warton, *Works of Pope*, VI, 235 n.

Essay on Pope will show that his position was still what it had been in the first volume, and was taken independently of Johnson.

Of Donne he wrote in 1782:

But it was not in his numbers only that Donne was reprehensible. He abounds in false thoughts; in far-fetched sentiments; in forced, unnatural conceits. He was the corrupter of Cowley. Dryden was the first who called him a *Metaphysical poet*. He had a considerable share of learning.

Warton here seems to be tacitly trying to detract from Johnson's originality. Just before this he had approved of Pope's paraphrase of Donne's satires: "POPE succeeded in giving harmony to a writer, more rough and rugged than any of his age."¹ As for Cowley, Warton admitted that Pope imitated him early, but added concerning his witticisms:

It is painful to censure a writer of so amiable a mind, such integrity of manners, and such a sweetness of temper. His fancy was brilliant, strong, and sprightly; but his taste false and unclassical, even though he had much learning.

Like most people, however, Warton admired Cowley's prose and his imitations of Horace, but was moved to impatience by the Pindarics, like any true "lover of antiquity."² Most of these remarks, with additions, were preserved in Warton's edition of Pope in 1797.³ At this time he also ranked "our most eminent poets, with respect to their learning, in the following order:—Milton, Spenser, Cowley, Butler, Donne, Jonson, Akenside, Gray, Dryden, Addison."⁴ Crashaw, Herbert, Carew, Quarles, etc., were also mentioned in this edition—but especially Crashaw, because of the use Pope made of him.

It might well be expected that Joseph Warton's brother Thomas, being a more important figure in the "Romantic Revival," would take a more favorable attitude toward the Metaphysicals, but such was not the case. Indeed, since his *History of English Poetry* was

¹ Warton, *Essay on Pope* (ed. 1806), II, 349, 348.

² *Ib.*, II, 42.

³ These, with those of Warburton and others, were also reprinted in W. L. Bowles's ed. of Pope in 1806.

⁴ "Pref.," Warton's ed. of Pope (1822), p. 15. The *Crit. Rev.* for 1798 (new arr., XXII, 16) quoted from Warton, IV, 290, concerning Donne's ruggedness.

brought up only to the beginning of the seventeenth century, his attitude must be reconstructed simply from a few chance remarks. He had had both Pope's and Gray's plans to work on, but he had rejected both.⁵ Donne was the only one of the Metaphysicals whom Warton mentioned more than once or twice, and even these references were detached from any Metaphysical content. One remark placed the "English poems" of Donne with those of Raleigh, Holland, and "Foulke Grevile" as "not easily to be mended."⁶ Warton, however, dealt with Donne in detail only as a satirist, taking his start from Pope's version:

... Pope, who modernised Donne, is said to have wished he had seen Hall's satires sooner. But had Pope undertaken to modernise Hall, he must have adopted, because he could not have improved, many of his lines. Hall is too finished and smooth for such an operation. Donne, though he lived so many years later, was susceptible of modern refinements, and his asperities were such as wanted and would bear the chisel.⁷

Warton was as undiscerning in his perception of Donne's satirical virtues as he was inaccurate in his historical facts; for Hall's satires were first published in 1597 (possibly having been written in 1591), while Donne's earliest were dated, in one manuscript collection, 1593.

Warton hardly mentioned the younger Metaphysicals. In 1785 he replied, however, to Johnson on Milton's "Lycidas" by asserting that some of Cowley's ideas in his elegy on Hervey were just as unnatural as were Milton's,⁸ and also observed in 1782 that the

⁵ See T. Warton's "Pref.," *Hist. of Engl. Poetry* (London, 1840—written 1781), I, 5; and Warburton's letter to Hurd, July 18, 1752, in *Letters from a Late Eminent Prelate to One of His Friends* (London, 1809), p. 122. Hurd later passed Pope's paper on to Mason, who gave it to Warton. Warton was thus the first actually to embark on such a connected piece of literary history. Not deterred by his failure, others followed him, among them Robert Alves, whose *Sketches of a Hist. of Lit. the Crit. Rev.* for 1796 (new arr., XVIII, 409) criticized, mentioning the section on Cowley by name. Another account of Cowley may be found in the *Antiquarian Repertory* (see *Crit. Rev.*, XLVIII, 1779, 14), and one of Herbert in Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica* (see *ib.*, LVII, 1784, 476-77).

⁶ Warton, *op. cit.*, III, 229-30. See also note d, and III, 456.

⁷ *Ib.*, III, 438. For a short, but characteristically inaccurate, factual history of the satires, see III, 465.

⁸ Ed. of Milton's poems, p. 36; quoted by Hill, Johnson's *Lives*, I, 164 n. John Scott (*Crit. Essays on . . . Several Engl. Poets*) and the *Crit. Rev.*, LX (1785), 349-50, also had a disagreement on the same subject.

"Pindaric metre . . . was reserved for the capricious ambition of Cowley's muse."⁹ He likewise briefly described Carew's *Coelum Britannicum*, in his discussion of "Ancient Masques," in 1778.¹⁰ In the light of these fragments, then, it almost seems as if Thomas Warton would not have known the Metaphysical Poets at all had it not been for the requirements of his *History*, since he did not mention them in his work on Spenser's *Faerie Queene* or in his poems. What he and his brother both said, however, was quite in the spirit of the Neo-Classicists, in spite of their other Romantic tendencies.

The newer attitude of revaluation, however, is generally apparent in the anthologies, selections, and biographical works of the later century, although reversions to the older unfriendly attitude are also frequent. After the edition of Quarles in 1777, with the recommendations by Toplady and Ryland, little was necessary to popularize him once more except a defendant in the literary world. This man was found in William Jackson "of Exeter," a minor musical composer who also dabbled in essay-writing and achieved some fame with his *Thirty Letters*, first published anonymously in 1782. Letters XIX and XXX were on Quarles, and constituted an effective defense and revivification. As Jackson wrote, he

has a great deal of genuine fire, is frequently happy in similies, admirable in epithets and compound words, very smooth in his versification, so different from the poets of his own age; and possessed that great qualification of keeping you in perpetual alarm, so different from the elegant writers of the present times.¹¹

What Jackson aimed to do, therefore, was to recover "some of his shining passages" from the "heap of rubbish," and this, if one may judge from later commendations of his work, he did. Indeed, he did not hesitate to compare certain parts of the *Emblems* and *Hieroglyphics* with Shakespeare, Young, and Ossian—those Romanticists of other periods. He also praised Quarles's power of reasoning in verse; attacked the false wit in the "shaped" poems, but defended the poetical material; and concluded by again showing

⁹ See review of T. Warton's *Enquiry into . . . the Poems Attributed to Thomas Rowley*, *Crit. Rev.*, LIV (1782), 102.

¹⁰ *Hist. Engl. Poetry*, II, 538 n.

¹¹ Jackson, *Thirty Letters on Various Subjects* (London, 1783), II, 6.

his lack of respect for Pope's verdict.¹² The *Critical Review* for March, 1783, thanked him for correcting the false impression of Quarles given by Pope.¹³ Indeed, it was many years before Jackson was forgotten as the reviver of Quarles, for as late as 1797 Joseph Warton in alluding to Quarles remarked: "Who has lately been more favourably spoken of by some ingenious critics; particularly by the author of *Thirty Letters*."¹⁴

Another Romantic quality, the love of solitude and retirement, attracted William Cowper to Cowley, in *The Task* (1785):

Thee too, enamoured of the life I loved,
Pathetic in its praise, in its pursuit
Determined, and possessing it at last
With transports such as favoured lovers feel,
I studied, prized, and wished that I had known,
Ingenious Cowley! and though now reclaimed
By modern lights from an erroneous taste,
I cannot but lament the splendid wit
Entangled in the cobwebs of the schools;
I still revere thee, courtly though retired,
Though stretched at ease in Chertsey's silent bowers,
Not unemployed, and finding rich amends
For a lost world in solitude and verse.¹⁵

Cowper's moods of dejection also led him to read Herbert, from about 1752:

... I had need of something more salutary than amusement. . . . At length I met with HERBERT'S Poems, and Gothic and uncouth as they were, I yet found in them a strain of piety which I could not but admire. This was the only author I had any delight in reading. I pored over him all day long; and though I found not here what I might have found—a cure for my malady—yet it never seemed so much alleviated as while I was reading him.¹⁶

¹² *Ib.*, II, 8, 23, 109-13, 116.

¹³ *Crit. Rev.*, LV (1783), 165; see also LXI (1786), 26.

¹⁴ J. Warton, quoted in Bowles's ed. of Pope, IV, 219 n.

¹⁵ Cowper, *Task*, Bk. IV, ll. 718-30. Walpole, too, wrote in 1785 that Cowley "would have had grace (for his mind was graceful) if he had had any ear, or if his taste had not been vitiated by the pursuit of wit" (*Letters*, XIII, 282). Cowley's desire for solitude had long attracted others besides Cowper whose temperaments were similarly disposed—e. g., in Dodsley's *Museum* (1747), II, 249-50.

¹⁶ Cowper, "Aubiography," quoted in Grosart's ed. of Herbert, II, cxii. See also letter to Mrs. Unwin, Feb. 26, 1770, *Corres.* (London, 1904), I, 115.

Cowper also read Donne, partly because of their common religious spirit, and partly because of their family relationship.¹⁷

John Nichols's *Select Collection of Poems* (1780-82), like other similar anthologies of the time, illustrates the new historical and slightly antiquarian point of view which was being taken toward English poetry, as well as the new aesthetic tendencies in the public's tastes. Nichols was assisted by men like Joseph Warton, Bishop Percy, and Lowth. Donne was merely alluded to as being among the other "first men of the age" to admire Carew.¹⁸ Nichols printed two of Carew's own lyrics, calling their author "a poet of real elegance," and referring to Davies' 1772 edition.¹⁹ In 1780 he mentioned, in passing, Cowley's "beautiful imitation of Catullus,"²⁰ and in 1781 printed three of his juvenile poems, with a note by his friend Kynaston explaining his choice. His reason was to enable

the curious reader, to trace the first dawnings of genius in some of our first-rate poetic characters; and to compare them with the eminence they afterwards attained to. . . . Those of Cowley, here printed, abound with strokes of wit, some true, but the greater part false; which thoroughly characterise the writer, and may be justly pronounced to point out his genius and manner.²¹

Nichols made little of the religious Metaphysicals. He knew of "Mr. George Herbert the Poet," because he referred to him in a genealogy,²² but he gave him no space in his miscellany. He reprinted Crashaw's "On the Birth of a Princess," however, and "R." added a note telling how "This writer . . . was in his life-time honoured with the friendship of Cowley, and since his death by the praise of Mr. Pope, who condescended both to read his poems and to borrow from them."²³

The account of Cleveland trod in the older paths, just as that of Cowley and of Carew had done. Nichols seems to have included

¹⁷ See *Corres.* for 1790, III, 435, 478, and poem "To John Johnson" (1793).

¹⁸ Nichols, *Sel. Col. of Poems* (London, 1780-82), I, 282-83 n.

¹⁹ *Ib.*, I, 282-84, and n.

²⁰ *Ib.*, III, 236 n.

²¹ *Ib.*, VII, 70-75, and n. There is also a reference to a similar passage in the *Ann. Reg.* for 1779, p. 180.

²² *Lit. Anecs.*, I, 657 n.

²³ *Sel. Col.*, VII, 103-5 and n.

Cleveland in his collection for much the same reason that Thomas Percy, about this time, wrote Cleveland's life for the second edition of the *Biographia Britannica*—both of them traced their descent to Cleveland's family, a circumstance which was probably chiefly responsible for the main pieces of attention received by the poet during the period.²⁴ Nichols printed "The Rebel Scot" and fifteen other poems.²⁵ The biography he drew from Fuller, Wood, and other conventional sources. He explained his choice of "The Rebel Scot" to head his selection from Cleveland "as being in his time the most admired and famous of all his Poems," and mentioned the "purity and terseness of his Latin style," together with his celebrated "occasional Poems in English, especially on the breaking-out of the civil wars." In a note to "Newcastle Coal-Pits," he referred to his friend Dr. Johnson's "Life of Cowley" as follows: "This Poem is of that species, which a great Critic has aptly denominated 'Metaphysical,' abounding with witty rather than just images."²⁶ Kynaston, however, in 1782 wrote a much more significant note on this style:

"The Rebel Scot" seems to be the utmost effort of Cleiveland's genius. And it is truly characteristic of it. His fort was Satire. Nature had endued him with a masculine strength of thought; and the villainy of the times, cooperating with his own integrity and loyalty, made him direct that vigour of sentiment to the stigmatizing of the hypocrites of the age; and the more pointedly to disburthen the forcibleness of his ideas, he laboured, in all the throes of an imagination on the full stretch, after a style, that may not improperly be termed the GIGANTIC, to express them in. This style, unfortunately, became habitual to him; and from lashing The Rebel Scot, and all the leaven of Hypocrisy, Fanaticism, Rebellion, and Murder, he very injudiciously transferred it to subjects of the most innocent, nay, of the most chearful and pleasing nature.

He then compared Cleveland favorably to Statius in the *Thebaid*

²⁴ See the letter of 1780 from Nichols to Percy, *Lit. Anecs.*, II, 161 n.; also in ded. of *Sel. Col.* to Percy. Nichols abounds in such references: see *Lit. Anecs.*, III, 468 n.; VI, 209 n.; IV, 34 n.; and *Illustrs.*, VIII, 70; VI, 581. The *Crit. Rev.* for Feb., 1780, was skeptical, in reviewing the *Collection*, whether Percy's relationship to Cleveland could contribute to his own present fame (XLIX, 128).

²⁵ *Sel. Col.*, VII, 10 ff. Later on, however, he found that five of these were by P. Fletcher (*Sel. Col.*, VII, 376)!

²⁶ *Ib.*, VII, 10-48, *passim*.

for savageness, but not in the *Sylvae* for lightness.²⁷ However just his explanation of Cleveland's peculiar style may have been, Kynaston seems to follow his friend Nichols in a sort of admiration for the Metaphysical Poets in spite of an ostensible approval of Johnson's position.²⁸

A still more important work was the *Biographia Britannica*, the second edition of which was completed only a little beyond the D's by Dr. Andrew Kippis and others from 1778 to 1793. In most cases the biographical sections were reprinted with a few changes from the first edition, but critical passages and a great many entirely new lives were also added from the pens of fairly well qualified men. Perhaps the chief of these was the life of Cleveland by Percy. Percy began his work several years before the publication of the article, and evidently spared no pains to make it "very minute and particular." He turned up all sorts of historical and literary information "respecting that great ornament of this family the Poet Cleveland,"²⁹ and by June 19, 1783, had "pinned up the basket," although his main text had been ready for some time before.³⁰ Percy, however, was enough of a scholar and historian not to be misled by favoritism in his judgments; his article was therefore one of the most discriminative in the *Biographia*. Cleveland, he wrote, was "a noted Loyalist and popular Poet in the reign of King Charles I." In college, he was "in high repute, . . . for the purity and terseness of his Latin style. He also became celebrated for his occasional poems in English, and at the breaking out of the Civil Wars, is said to have been the first champion that appeared in verse for the Royal Cause." He was "much admired and caressed for his satirical poems on the opposite faction. . . ." After relating the facts of Cleveland's life (many of them newly discovered), Percy then quoted the few words Johnson had said about Cleveland, and finally advanced to his own estimate:

²⁷ *Ib.*, VIII, 310.

²⁸ In reviewing the first volumes of the *Collection* the *Crit. Rev.*, XLIX (1780), 127, complained that Nichols had printed several things not worth recovery, and quoted Pope on "Sprat, Carew, Sedley. . . . The mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease."

²⁹ Letter of Jan. 10, 1782, in Nichols, *Illustrs.*, VI, 569-70. For a letter of 1779 see VI, 564; for one of 1783 see VI, 577.

³⁰ *Ib.*, VI, 578, 571.

. . . Both his subjects, and his manner of writing, made his poems extremely popular among his contemporaries, but entirely forgotten and disregarded since. For his Manner, he excelled among that class of writers, so much admired in the last century, whom our great Critic had aptly termed "Metaphysical Poets." . . . Contemporary with Milton, . . . he was by some esteemed the best of the English Poets [refers to Edward Phillips]. But Cleiveland is now sunk in oblivion, while Milton's fame is universally diffused. . . .³¹

He concluded by enumerating fifteen editions to show how popular Cleveland had been in the Restoration, and printed "The Rebel Scot" as "a specimen of Cleiveland's manner."³² The profuse annotation of the article alone places it in a different class from most of its companion biographies. Yet Percy too was wholly Neo-Classical in his attitude toward Cleveland, the only Metaphysical whom he discussed at any length.

The *Biographia's* account of Carew was brief, but in the indiscriminately favorable tone of the seventeenth century biographers from whom it borrowed—Wood, Langbaine, Clarendon, and Suckling, as well as from Cibber in the eighteenth. It called Carew "a celebrated Poet of the last Century" and an "ingenious gentleman," mentioned his masque, and printed "Boldness in Love," "as his works may probably now be little known to many of our readers."³³

The life of Crashaw, delegated to another special writer, William Hayley, was, however, distinctly in the tone of the revival, since it had been prepared for, four years earlier, by Peregrine Philips's selections of *Poetry by Richard Crashaw* in 1785.³⁴ Philips, an attorney-at-law, had not, however, fared so well with the reviewers as had Jackson.³⁵ His purpose had been, he said, to rescue the works of an excellent author from the oblivion into which they

³¹ Percy, *Biog. Brit.*, III, 628 ff.

³² He also mentioned Butler's admiration of Cleveland's wit, and his copying "many of his images and thoughts" into *Hudibras*. "The learned and ingenious Dr. Farmer has in his possession a copy of Cleiveland's Poems, in which he has marked many passages that have been imitated in *Hudibras*" (*ib.*, III, 632 n.).

³³ *Biog. Brit.*, III, 235-36.

³⁴ The mention of this life as written by Hayley (*Crit. Rev.*, LXIX, 1790, 4) shows that his authorship was known from the first.

³⁵ The *Crit. Rev.*, indeed, accused Philips of plagiarizing a passage from Jackson (LIX, 1785, 257).

were sinking; but unfortunately at the same time he made broad charges of plagiarism from Crashaw against several favorite English poets, such as Pope, Milton, Young, and Gray.³⁶ It was unlucky for both Philips and Crashaw that he took this belligerent tone, for it was calculated to antagonize rather than to reconcile his readers. The *Critical* defended Milton's imitation, if it was one, on the ground of its superiority to Crashaw, but qualified its own blame somewhat by adding that "Though the description in Crashaw is turgid, bombast, and ridiculous, yet there are many lines which are truly sublime. . . ." It defended Pope, likewise, on the same basis, refused to see any similarities in Young and Gray, and ended by transcribing in approval Pope's letter to Cromwell concerning Crashaw's relation to Petrarch and Marino.³⁷ Hayley, too, in spite of his friendliness toward Crashaw, took exception to Philips's imputations, although he realized the value of a "judicious selection."³⁸ The most interesting conclusion to be drawn from the whole quarrel, aside from its connection with Crashaw's reputation, concerns the challenge which was constantly being made of Pope's authority in literary affairs. The reviewer of Hurd's Cowley in the *Monthly* had praised Cowley's works for "what Mr. Pope could not judge of"—their enthusiasm; and Hurd himself had taken a position far beyond that of Pope. Jackson had condemned Pope's opinion of Quarles, and few had objected. It was probably only Philips's personality, therefore, that evoked the criticism of his opinions on Pope; the value of his efforts in reviving Crashaw's poetry is unquestionable.

In his own account, Hayley attributed much of the "unmerited neglect" into which this "accomplished Scholar and devout Poet" had fallen, to the "peculiar turn of his compositions":

As the original verses of Crashaw are chiefly devoted to pious subjects, we ought to observe, for the honour both of Poetry and Religion, that the works of our Poet have been neglected not merely because they are devotional, but because their author has frequently fallen into the worst defects of style, in his mode of treating subjects that peculiarly require a chaste dignity of expression.

³⁶ Quoted by *Crit. Rev.*, LIX (1785), 255-56.

³⁷ *Ib.*, p. 256 ff.

³⁸ Hayley, *Biog. Brit.*, iv, 429 n. Grosart, in his ed. of Crashaw (II, lxi), however, is almost inclined to side with Philips rather than with Hayley.

Marino, he suggested, had something to do with this, but, more definitely, the "pious George Herbert" was evidently Crashaw's model; and he went on to give the *Biographia's* chief reference to Herbert by calling him "that very religious and once popular Bard." He finished his part in Crashaw's rehabilitation by quoting Car's old panegyric, which "does not appear extravagant," and by trusting that "this article will not be thought too long, when it is remembered that Crashaw, however neglected in later days, was the companion of Selden and the idol of Cowley."³⁹

Kippis himself revised the first edition account of Cowley, which itself had been encomiastic enough, in the spirit of the seventeenth century. But several things had been written about, and against, Cowley between 1750 and 1789, when Kippis's additions appeared; and against all of these Kippis appointed himself Cowley's champion, usually on purely subjective grounds.⁴⁰ He began, in a modest enough manner, by suggesting that Johnson had not been quite fair in his "Life." He then quoted from the *Rambler*, and from the favorable portions in Warton's *Essay on Pope*. Another quotation he drew from Mason.⁴¹ His resistance became still more marked when he reached Vicesimus Knox's *Essays*, but attained its highest point in his disagreement with David Hume, in his *History of England* (1759).⁴² After showing the injustice of Hume's attitude, he then quoted from Beattie's *Essays*, which were also hostile to Cowley for philosophical and rhetorical reasons. Finally, he wound up his article by referring to the much more discriminative and favorable attitude of Hurd, also giving part

³⁹ *Ib.*, iv, 427-32. In 1782, however, Hayley had written somewhat differently on Cowley as an epic and love poet (*Essay on Epic Poetry*, III, ll. 397-402):

"Ingenuous COWLEY, the fond dupe of wit,
Seems like a vapour o'er the field to flit;
In David's praise he strikes some Epic notes,
But soon down Lethe's stream their dying murmur floats.

"While COWLEY vanish'd in an amorous riddle,
Up rose the frolic Bard of Bear and Fiddle [Butler]. . . ."

⁴⁰ Kippis, *Biog. Brit.* (2nd ed.), iv, 366-82.

⁴¹ Mason, *Memoirs of Gray* (2nd ed., p. 4—1st ed., 1775). Mason had spoken of "rough Donne's" courageous satires as early as 1748 (see Dodsley's *Collection*, III, 311), but was silent on the other Metaphysicals.

⁴² For Hume's attack on Cowley, "a very indifferent poet," see *Hist. (ed. cit.)*, VII, 339

of the approving reviews of Hurd in the *Monthly* and the *Gentleman's*. The *Critical*, however, although commending in general the additions made by Kippis to the earlier lives, took issue with him in the matter of Cowley. While the reviewer called Cowley "the amiable, the sentimental," he held nevertheless that

Of the metaphysical poets in general, it is impossible to add to what Dr. Johnson has so ably said; but, of Cowley in particular, we may observe, that those who can read him without feeling an interest in his soothing melancholy, can have no hearts; those who can continue to read him without disgust, can have no taste.⁴³

The essence of the Classical and the Romantic points of view is summed up in that sentence.

To the account of Donne in the first edition Kippis likewise added some valuable critical material of his own:

The name of Dr. Donne is now more generally known as a poet than in any other capacity, though none of his poetical works are read at present, excepting his Satires . . . , being modernized by Mr. Pope. . . . His versification is allowed to be intolerably harsh and unmusical; but different accounts have been given of his genius as a poet. Dr. Birch observes, that his poetical works shew a prodigious fund of genius, under the disguise of an affected and obscure stile, and a most inharmonious versification.⁴⁴

But, in spite of his recognition of the neglect in which Donne still remained at the end of the century, Kippis dared once more to disagree with Birch and Johnson (whom he quoted on Metaphysical poetry), but especially with Joseph Warton, "a far superior arbiter in matters of taste" to Birch. Warton's question of 1756 concerning ten lines of poetry in all Donne's works provoked Kippis to reply thus:

We as confidently answer, "Yes;" and, for the truth of our answer, we shall only appeal to the four stanzas . . . in ["Valediction Forbidding Mourning"], where there are sixteen lines which, notwithstanding their quaintness, may be read without disgust, and have in them a true spirit of poetry.

He concluded by quoting from Granger, and by referring to Donne's *Biathanatos*, a prose work, because of Charles Moore's attack on

⁴³ *Crit. Rev.*, LXIX (1790), 386, 392.

⁴⁴ Kippis, *Biog. Brit.* (2nd ed.), v, 336-37. The passage in Birch's "Life of Tillotson" has already been referred to.

it in his *Full Inquiry into the Subject of Suicide* (1791). Kippis's defense of Donne against Warton, Johnson, et al., even as incomplete as it was, was one of the very few such defenses before the nineteenth century admiration of Coleridge, Lamb, Browning, etc.

The two editions of the *Biographia Britannica*, therefore, show several things. First, they show how the views of the seventeenth century, often in its own words, were still served up for the consumption of eighteenth century readers. Second, they show that in many cases Johnson's utterances on the Metaphysical Poets were not regarded as final, although they were frequently mentioned with approval. Last, they show how, especially in the cases of Cowley and Crashaw, and perhaps in that of Donne, the revival of a modified Metaphysical taste was gathering force.

Of only subsidiary importance when compared with the foregoing work were the *New and General Biographical Dictionary*, sponsored in 1784 by William Owen and William Johnston, and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, inaugurated in 1768 and completing its third edition between 1788 and 1797. Most of these works was a compilation from preceding articles. In the former, the note on Carew was based on Wood, Langbaine, and the *Biographia Britannica*;⁴⁵ that on Cleveland was a mosaic of Wood, Phillips, Lloyd, Granger, Nichols, the *Biographia*, Johnson, etc., the authors quoting "our great critic" admiringly on "Metaphysical Poets."⁴⁶ The biography of Cowley was drawn from Sprat, Wood, and autobiographical notes in Cowley's own works, an exhaustive list of these works being given, with some favorable emphasis on the prose and a rather ambiguous compliment to the *Mistress*.⁴⁷ The life of Crashaw came directly from Wood, and the comments from Nichols.⁴⁸ The authors were disposed to emphasize Donne as a "divine" rather than as a poet, although they referred to Dryden and Pope on the latter subject.⁴⁹ Herbert, also an "English poet and divine," they described as now little read, although formerly valued, and based their life on Walton.⁵⁰ The influence of Jackson

⁴⁵ *New and Gen. Biog. Dict.* (London, 1784), III, 147-48.

⁴⁶ *Ib.*, III, 467-74.

⁴⁷ *Ib.*, IV, 165-70.

⁴⁸ *Ib.*, IV, 184-85.

⁴⁹ *Ib.*, IV, 469-78.

⁵⁰ *Ib.*, VII, 49-50.

is perhaps discernible in the account of Quarles, although only Langbaine, Winstanley, Fuller, and Wood were mentioned by name: "Some have esteemed him a good poet; and perhaps he was not entirely destitute of genius, which would have appeared more to advantage, if it had been duly and properly cultivated."⁵¹

By the time of its third edition, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* was already adopting a tone of coldly impartial criticism, which was usually content in giving the salient facts of a poet's life and a general idea of his productions and reputation. Since most of its material, however, is to be found in biographies already quoted, it is unnecessary to say more than that more or less impersonal accounts of Donne, Cowley, Cleveland, Carew, Herbert, Crashaw, and Quarles may be found in it.

A man of some importance in the Romantic Revival, particularly on its antiquarian side, was Joseph Ritson. His chief contribution to the Metaphysical "Revival," however, was in reprinting a few of the shorter lyrics of the group, and in incidental critical notes. His earliest work of any importance was *A Select Collection of English Songs . . . : and a Historical Essay on the Origin and Progress of National Song* (1783). Several of the Metaphysicals were qualified for inclusion in such a work, as well as in his *English Anthology* of 1793-94. In the Essay preceding the *Collection* Ritson wrote that "Dr. Donne's imitation of Marlowe, and other pieces, intitle him to a place in the list," which he then accorded him.⁵² Cowley, for the same reasons, demanded inclusion in both works. In the former, Ritson stated: "Cowley . . . is likewise to be considered as a song-writer of this reign. His 'Chronicle' is an admirable performance, and, had his judgment and taste been equal to his vivacity and wit, would not have been the only song he had left us to commend."⁵³ In the latter, nevertheless, he printed four other short lyrics, of a semi-Romantic cast.⁵⁴ More than either Donne or Cowley, however, Carew might be expected to appear in such works. Ritson did include him, but not without

⁵¹ *Ib.*, x, 515-16.

⁵² Ritson, *Sel. Col. of Engl. Songs*, (London, 1813), I, lxxix. For specimens and other references see I, 86, and *Engl. Anthol.* (London, 1793-94), I, 20-21.

⁵³ *Sel. Col.*, I, lxxx.

⁵⁴ *Engl. Anthol.*, I, 74-78.

slight criticism: "The poems of Carew afford many excellent songs: a little more simplicity might have considerably increased the number." None the less, he reprinted four of Carew's songs; and in 1793 two more.⁵⁵ The other English Metaphysicals seem to have had no appeal to Ritson, since he did not mention them.

Although this emphasis on the lyrical side of the Metaphysicals by Ritson and others was important, it was not so important as the more complete work of several later men. The first of these was Henry Headley, a young and enthusiastic admirer of older English poetry, who had come under the influence of Thomas Warton while the latter was fellow at Trinity, Oxford. Headley's *Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry* (written in 1787, when he was twenty-two years old) and his contributions to the *Gentleman's Magazine* as "C. T. O." were both well known in the period. In the introduction to his *Select Beauties* Headley composed a scale of writers who "shone" from the accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration, under certain classes. Remarkably enough, in the face of Johnson's use of the term none of the so-called "Metaphysical Poets" appeared in his group entitled "Philosophical and Metaphysical." Donne was placed among the satirists, Cowley and Carew among the amatory writers, and Crashaw among the translators. The others were not mentioned among these most prominent men, but were treated in the body of the work.⁵⁶

Headley explained his purpose plainly. Since some preceding compilations, "under a variety of quaint and affected titles, selected from authors far too well known (as Cowley, Dryden, Waller, Denham) to stand in need of such partial and disjointed recommendation, and who in fact hold a most distinguished rank in the school of the people," he intended to confine himself to "some of the better parts of the unfortunate few who still remain unpopular. . . ." ⁵⁷ He then went on to illustrate by "for a moment" recol-

⁵⁵ *Sel. Col.*, I, lxxix, 91, 121, 127, 137; *Engl. Anthol.*, I, 25-26.

⁵⁶ Headley, *Sel. Beauties of Anc. Engl. Poetry* (London, 1810), I, x-xi. The *Quarterly Review*, XII (1814), 80-82, complained specifically of applying the term "metaphysical" "improperly" to men like Cowley, Herbert, Quarles, Davenant, Wither, etc., when there existed a "class of writers to whom it is strictly appropriate, such as Sir John Davies, Lord Brooke, . . . and Henry More." Headley had chosen Davies, the two Fletchers, and More.

⁵⁷ *Ib.*, I, iii-v.

lecting "the fate of Cowley . . . [et crimine ex uno Disce omnes]":

As the unnatural relish for tinsel and metaphysical conceit declined, his bays gradually lost their verdure; he was no longer to be found in the hands of the multitude, and untouched even in the closets of the curious: in short, the shades of oblivion gathered fast upon him. In consequence, however, of many detached parts of him which teem with the finest pictures of the heart, Bishop Hurd undertook his well-known edition, in which the most exceptionable poetry (that had operated like a mill-stone and sunk the rest) is omitted, and the generality of his charms preserved, he has now a dozen readers where before he had scarce one.⁵⁸

This was the reason why Headley printed none of Cowley, and perhaps—though he does not state so specifically—why he printed none of Donne, although Donne still needed such a champion. He mentioned Cowley again in other places, however—as a writer of "unrivalled" prose, and, with Crashaw and others, as a writer of such "Latin verse as any country might with justice be proud of."⁵⁹

Headley showed his opinion of Cleveland by giving no specimens from his poems, and by referring to him only incidentally, without considering him of enough importance for comment.⁶⁰ The account of Carew, however, was much more valuable, with its combination of both the Neo-Classical and Romantic vocabularies and taste:

The consummate elegance of this gentleman entitles him to very considerable attention. Sprightly, polished, and perspicuous, every part of his works displays the man of sense, gallantry, and breeding; indeed, many of his productions have a certain happy finish, and betray a dexterity both of thought and expression much superior to any thing of his contemporaries, and, on similar subjects, rarely surpassed by his successors. Carew has the ease without the pedantry of Waller, and perhaps less conceit. He reminds us of the best manner of Lord Lyttleton. . . .

He then went on to praise Carew's versification and his reaction against satire and panegyric, and to point out the evidence of his sublimity "in his beautiful Masque," and of his pathos "in his Epitaph on Lady Mary Villiers." He finished by quoting Suckling, Lloyd, Clarendon, E. Phillips, the *Biographia Britannica*, and Percy, and reprinted three of Carew's poems.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Ib.*, I, v-vi.

⁶¹ *Ib.*, I, xxxiv-vi.

⁵⁹ *Ib.*, II, 150; I, lix.

⁶⁰ *Ib.*, II, 60, 77.

Headley's treatment of the religious Metaphysicals was very complete. He printed Herbert's "Church Monuments" and said that its author was

A writer of the same class, though infinitely inferior to both Quarles and Crashaw. His poetry is a compound of enthusiasm without sublimity, and conceit without either ingenuity or imagination. The piece I have selected is perhaps the best in his book. When a name is once reduced to the impartial test of time, when partiality, friendship, fashion, and party, have withdrawn their influence, our surprise is frequently excited by past objects of admiration that now cease to strike. He who takes up the poems of Herbert would little suspect that he had been public orator of an University, and a favourite of his sovereign; that he had received flattery and praise from Donne and from Bacon; and that the biographers of the day had enrolled his name amongst the first names of his country. . . . The additional poems, intituled *The Synagogue*, are attributed by Granger to Crashaw; but they are unworthy of him. The title of Crashaw's poems might have been borrowed from Herbert.—Herbert's Life has been written, with his usual trifling minuteness, by honest Isaac Walton.⁴²

Headley's imperfect sympathies here are manifest, but he was not alone at the time in his attitude toward Herbert. His rejection of Herbert's "enthusiasm without sublimity, and conceit without either ingenuity or imagination" is a good indication of what he and many of his contemporaries were looking for in the older English poets.

Headley's interest in such poetry led him to enter every controversy which happened to arise upon the subject. In consideration of his admiration of Crashaw, it would hardly be expected that he should abstain from the discussion aroused by P. Philips's edition and charges of plagiarism. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1786, therefore, he was to be found attacking Pope for his lack of imagination, but giving him credit for "almost superior merits as a moralist;" and referring to the "late edition" of Crashaw, which unfortunately omitted the "Poems upon Theological subjects," for in this way many of Crashaw's "beauties" were lost. "Readers, who concern themselves with Crashaw, concern them-

⁴² *Ib.*, LIV-v. In II, 166, he also spoke of the "whimsical and ridiculous play upon words" in Herbert's "Heaven," repeating the last part of preceding words in new lines. W. Browne and Erasmus were guilty of the same "affectation," which Butler "has treated . . . with his usual humour."

selves with him not as a Divine, but as a Poet." He then cited several parallel passages between Pope and Crashaw.⁶³ In this way he prepared the ground for his section on Crashaw in 1787:

A poet who deserves preservation for better reasons than his having accidentally attracted the notice of Pope. He has originality in many parts, and as a translator is entitled to the highest applause. Of this, Milton was sensible, as every reader of his *Sospito d'Herode* will instantly perceive. With a peculiar devotional cast, he possessed one of those ineffable minds which border on enthusiasm, and, when fortunately directed, occasionally produce great things. But he had too much religion to devote his whole strength to poetry; he trifled for amusement, and never wrote for fame. To his attainments, which were numerous and elegant, all his biographers have borne witness. . . .⁶⁴

He printed, however, only part of the translation of Marino, to which he added an interesting note: "Of the *Sospetto D'Herode*, it is to be lamented that poetical readers in general know so little; from the specimen here produced, every English reader must be inclined to wish for more." He then proceeded to refer to an article in *Maty's Review* for March, 1785, on Philips's edition, which had alluded to the 1685 translation of "the famous poet the Cavalier Marino." This translation the correspondent believed "superior to Crashaw"—a piece of praise which so aroused Headley that he wrote: "Surely this translation would be highly worth republishing, particularly if executed in a superior style to Crashaw, which seems to me hardly possible."⁶⁵

Headley was even responsible for what was apparently the first mention of Vaughan for many decades, although his allusion was of no critical value:

In Carew's Poems there are three copies of verses addressed to Davenant; and, in the *Olor Iscanus*, Lon. 1651, by H. Vaughan, there are verses on his Gondibert.⁶⁶

Headley also occupied an important place in the revival of

⁶³ *Gent. Mag.*, LVI (1786), Pt. 1, 311-13. Headley wrote as "C—T—O."

⁶⁴ *Sel. Beauties*, I, xxxvi.

⁶⁵ *Ib.*, I, 130. The *Crit. Rev.* for 1788, in commenting on Headley, advocated the republishing of Crashaw thus: "The translation of the first book of Marino's *Sospetto d'Herode*, by Crashaw, is in the same grand style. A new edition of the translation of Marino would be a valuable acquisition to the public" (LXV, 52).

⁶⁶ *Ib.*, I, xlviii.

Quarles, although he was chiefly a supporter of Jackson, to whom he referred in a letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1786. In April of the same year he had spoken of the versification and the "energy and compression in some of Quarles' lines."⁶⁷ His second letter, however, giving specimens from the *Meditations* and *Job Militant* as "a proof of his real genius," and quoting passages in which he thought Goldsmith, Young, Pope, and Blair might have been indebted to Quarles, stirred up a rather hasty reply from a correspondent, "Sharp," which jeered at the vain efforts of both "the Author of 'Thirty Letters' . . . and 'C. T. O.' " to disturb "Poor sleeping Quarles." "Sharp," however, apparently believed that Quarles was primarily a writer of "shaped" verses, and even then seems to have confused his poems with the "quaint and dainty devices of wings and altars in poetry," which really are to be found in Herbert.⁶⁸

Headley also treated Quarles in the same spirit and at some length in his *Select Beauties*, considering him, much as he had considered Cowley, as a victim of unjust fate. His most important critical ideas follow:

. . . He too often, no doubt, mistook the enthusiasm of devotion for the inspiration of fancy. . . . Yet, as the effusions of a real poetical mind, . . . will be seldom rendered totally abortive, we find in Quarles original imagery, striking sentiment, fertility of expression, and happy combinations; together with a compression of style that merits the observation of the writers of verse. Gross deficiencies of judgment, and the infelicity of his subjects, concurred in ruining him.⁶⁹

He then went on to quote from various earlier writers on the same subject, and printed nine of Quarles's poems. These were not sufficient for Headley, however, and so in a supplement he also reproduced a number of selected passages from *Job Militant*, *Queen Esther*, *Othello*, and the *Emblems*; this was necessary because "many of his beauties" were often mixed "with the most unpardonable vulgarisms; . . . in order however that the elegance and exactness of some of his similies . . . may not be overlooked, I take the opportunity of introducing them to the reader here, and should think that critic more fastidious than clear-sighted, who

⁶⁷ *Gent. Mag.*, LVI, Pt. 1, 312-13.

⁶⁸ *Ib.*, LVI, 666-67; and Suppl., 1106.

⁶⁹ *Sel. Beauties*, I, lx-xii.

should be displeased with them." ⁷⁰ Headley's praise of Quarles's "similies" and his highly developed trait of selection were both typical of the attitude toward the Metaphysicals in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Headley's part in nourishing a liking for the Metaphysical Poets, then, was as important as any in the period. He admired their enthusiasm and their imaginative ingenuity, although he protested against their conceits when supported by nothing else; he also, like Ritson, praised many of their more Romantic lyrics. Most important of all, he discriminated in his choice, pointing out not only the "beauties" in the actual poems, but also the commendable qualities in the poets' styles.

The two other editors and anthologists before the nineteenth century who deserve consideration were both indebted to Headley for much of their attitude and material. These two were George Ellis, whose *Specimens of the Early English Poets* appeared first in one volume in 1790, was enlarged to three volumes with critical notes in 1801, and was revised in 1803, and Robert Anderson, whose *Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain* came out in London and Edinburgh between 1792 and 1807. References to each show that both collections were popular.

Ellis's 1790 volume consisted of little more than the texts themselves, with a few meager biographical data; but the enlargements as to poets included, and the type of criticism, by the time of the new editions, show the growth of the public's interest in such ventures.

Ellis failed to take a very advanced position in regard to Donne. In 1790 he merely reprinted two poems, with no biography at all. In the second edition he outlined Donne's life, alluding to Walton's approval of Donne's pulpit oratory, quoting Dryden on his satires, and commending Pope's rendering of the latter; and in the third edition he substituted one different poem.⁷¹ His low opinion of Donne he showed most clearly in another passage on poetry under James I: ". . . but the wretched spirit of

⁷⁰ *Ib.*, II, 145-48.

⁷¹ Ellis, *Specimens* (London, 1803), II, 383. Walton's *Lives*, including those of Donne and Herbert, was re-edited in 1797 by Thomas Zouch, and reviewed by the *Crit. Rev.*, new arr., XIX (1797), 21 ff.

criticism which prevailed in the closet is evinced by the multiplied editions of Donne, Herbert, and similar versifiers. . . ." ⁷²

Ellis's treatment of Cowley was much more modern. In 1790 he simply reprinted ten poems, and did not add any biography until later. He did, however, describe Flatman as "a miserable imitator of Cowley." ⁷³ In his enlarged editions, on the other hand, he explained the improvement of poetry under Charles I, as compared to that under James, by saying:

. . . we are not surprised that the scholastic pedantry of the former age should have given place to a more rational and manly style, equally adapted to the sublime conceptions of Milton, to the various and sparkling imagination of Cowley, and to the wit and sagacity of Butler. ⁷⁴

These reiterated allusions to the pedantry of the age of Donne make it pretty certain that his curious learning had much to do with his neglect; Cowley's imagination was more understandable. Nevertheless, in the pages devoted to Cowley, Ellis gave only the dates of his birth and death (perhaps thinking other information superfluous by this time) and printed extracts from ten poems, mostly from the *Mistress*. ⁷⁵

In 1790 he printed ten of Carew's poems, adding his comments later. These were all favorable, bearing on the poet's ease and delicate fancy, and drawn mostly from Headley, Clarendon, and Wood. Carew's quota was also expanded to fourteen. ⁷⁶

"Life" was the only one of Herbert's poems used by Ellis; it appeared in all editions. In the later ones, however, the editor gave one or two facts of Herbert's life, based on Fuller, and described the poet thus:

. . . Nature seems to have intended him for a knight errant, but disappointed ambition made him a saint. Walton tells us that no less than 10,000 copies of his poems were sold; a circumstance which proves the religious zeal, much more than the good taste, of his contemporaries.

There is less reason to wonder at the popularity of his "Priest to the Temple" . . . , in prose, a work of unpretending practical utility. . . ." ⁷⁷

⁷² *Ib.*, III, 4. Ellis's dates, like Thomas Warton's, were a bit shaky.—He also referred to Donne in III, 113 (1803 ed.), and 116 (91 in 1801 ed.), and to Walton's lives of Donne and Herbert in III, 127 (101 in 1801 ed.).

⁷³ *Ib.* (1790), p. 300.

⁷⁴ *Ib.* (1801), III, 127-28.

⁷⁵ *Ib.*, III, 253 ff.

⁷⁶ *Ib.*, III, 130. For another allusion see III, 281.

⁷⁷ *Ib.*, III, 99 (1st paragraph; 2nd added 1803, p. 125).

Although the influence of Headley was perhaps present in Ellis's low estimate of Herbert, it was acknowledged in his account of Crashaw. He had omitted Crashaw entirely in the 1790 edition, but later printed three of his poems, and summarized him as follows:

Author of "Steps to the Temple, with other Delights of the Muses," 1646, seems to have resembled Herbert in his turn of mind, but possessed more fancy and genius. His translations have considerable merit, but his original poetry is full of conceit. . . .

His Latin poems were first printed in 1634, and have been much admired, though liable to the same objections as his English. For more particular information respecting Crashaw and his works, consult Headley, Dr. Anderson, and Mr. Hayley's account in the *New Biog. Brit.*⁷⁸

Again it is clear that to this new type of reader the conceits of the metaphysicals were not their prime characteristics, but that their other real poetical qualities were becoming recognized.

In his later editions Ellis even discussed Vaughan, although he did not seem to have known him in 1790. Ellis's position as a pioneer will appear in the kind of his appreciation, which was very hesitating:

He was designed for the law, but retiring to his home at the commencement of the civil wars, became eminent in the practice of physic, and was esteemed by scholars (says Wood) *an ingenious person, but proud and humorous*. . . . The principal [of his works] are the "Silex Scintillans" (sacred poems), second edition, 1655, 12mo. and "Olor Iscanus," . . . from the latter of which the following lines are taken, being perhaps the most favourable specimen that can be selected, though even these are too much marked by quaintness and conceit.⁷⁹

The lines quoted were from "To the Best and Most Accomplished Couple."

By the end of the century it was the fashion to "vindicate" certain poets, chief among whom was Quarles. Ellis followed here too in the footsteps of his predecessors, referring in his later editions (he did not include Quarles in 1790) to Headley, Jackson, and Anderson, and praising both Quarles's prose and various enumerated poems. He then quoted from the "Song of Anarchus" in the *Shepherd's Oracles*.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ *Ib.* (1801), III, 197.

⁷⁹ *Ib.*, III, 304.

⁸⁰ *Ib.* (1803), III, 121. Only the last part of this appeared in the 1801 ed., III, 96.

Ellis's work was interesting particularly insofar as it showed the spread of the new doctrines and standards of taste, and because his revisions and additions showed the development of his own interest and study. Anderson's was more important, however, chiefly because of its greater completeness. In a preface dated 1795 (although the individual volumes were dated from 1792 onward), Anderson laid out his plans:

The first collection of English Poetry which appeared in these kingdoms, was formed by Dr. Blair [Edinburgh, 42 vols., 1773] ⁸¹ . . . , containing the works of Milton, Cowley, [etc.] . . . The contracted list of authors marked out by Dr. Blair, includes none of those who have justly obtained the distinction of being denominated our older classics, except Milton and Cowley. Nor do the contents of the work correspond with its title, many long and valuable pieces of Cowley, Parnell, Swift, and Shenstone, being omitted. . . . Cowley, Parnell, Swift, and Shenstone, are far too well known to stand in need of such partial recommendation, and, in fact, hold a most distinguished rank in the "school of the people." ⁸²

Anderson then went on with his historical survey, mentioning Bell's *Collection of English Poetry* (1776-87), which added Donne, among others. Johnson's selection he criticized (somewhat unjustly to Johnson himself) since it was not easy to guess why "Carew, Sedley, Hopkins, Marvell, and Oldham were refused" when others were admitted. Anderson himself had wished to add, among others, Donne, Quarles, Carew, Crashaw, etc., but the lack of support in his backers had made him omit Quarles and a few more. With the apology that the life of Cowley and several more were by two gentlemen who wished to be anonymous, he then concluded his preface. ⁸³

In 1793 Anderson issued Donne's works, using as a motto the passage in "Dr. Brown's Essay on Satire," beginning "'Twas then plain DONNE. . . ." Donne's life was given in fair detail. In

⁸¹ I have been unable to trace this collection, or to find out anything about it. Blair must have been behind Bell's *British Poets* of this date.

⁸² Anderson, *Poets of Great Brit.* (London and Edin., 1792-1807), I, 1 ff. For the phrase, "school of the people," cf. Headley.

⁸³ The *Crit. Rev.* for 1799 reviewed Anderson's plans in some detail, although suggesting that perhaps "To collect all the English poets may be impracticable . . ." (new arr., xxv, 42-43), and noting the editor's regrets that the lives of Spenser, Milton, Cowley, and Waller, by anonymous authors, were carelessly done (*ib.*, p. 46).

his youth, he "seems, however, to have divided his studies between law and poetry; for, about this time, he composed most of his love poems, and other levities and pieces of humour, which sufficiently established his poetical reputation. . . ." After more biography, Anderson then went on: "Donne is better known as a poet, than as a divine; though in the latter character he had great merit." He criticized Walton's "Life" as written in "a strain of vulgar credulity and enthusiasm," and called the *Pseudo-Martyr* the best of Donne's prose.

All his contemporaries are lavish in his praise. Prejudiced, perhaps, by the style of writing which was then fashionable, they seem to have rated his performances beyond their just value. To the praise of wit and sublimity his title is unquestionable. In all his pieces he displays a prodigious richness of fancy, and an elaborate minuteness of description; but his thoughts are seldom natural, obvious, or just, and much debased by the carelessness of his versification.

Anderson ended by quoting Dryden, Pope, and Johnson, all of whose opinions he himself reflected to some extent.⁸⁴ The value of his own estimate may be sufficiently judged from his remark about Donne's "love poems, and other levities and pieces of humour." In this century Donne was not to find such a defendant as had come to the rescue of even Crashaw and Quarles.

The writer of Cowley's life revealed the same Neo-Classicism in his attitude toward his subject. It must be remembered, however, that Anderson later deplored the work of his anonymous assistant, although the latter's opinions are nevertheless not to be disregarded, since they represent the ideas of at least one reader. The article first praised Cowley for the "vernal maturity" of his precocious intellectual powers, and illustrated the point by referring to Cowley's early plays and poems by name. The *Mistress* was described as "an amorous effusion to an ideal Fair-one, where metaphysical subtlety and far-fetched conceit, usurp the sentiments of passion and of nature." Moreover, although Johnson preferred Cowley's Latin poetry to Milton's, the former's "conceptions are just the same in Latin as in English; and if these seem exotic and uncouth in their native soil, how must they appear in a foreign one?" And so on, to the peroration:

⁸⁴ Anderson, *Poets of G. B.*, iv, 1-5.

The poetry of Cowley has had its full share of Praise during the life of its author. And the rambling measure of his odes, which was called Pindaric, inundated the regions of poetry for half a century after his death, in violation of taste, correctness, and nature. Though unable to recognize wit by any of its definitions, every one readily perceives where it is not; no one therefore can ever mistake the conceits of the metaphysical poets (as Doctor Johnson terms them) for wit; of these, Cowley was the chief; he found their poetry the fashion of his day; and he preferred it to the pure models of antiquity, which he was so well acquainted with. It is to be lamented, that so much genius and learning has been lavished, now, to so little purpose; for, those who read Cowley, must be content to admire rather than to be pleased. From this however, in his voluminous works, there are many exceptions. His anacreontics in particular, are peculiarly delightful, perhaps equal to their ancient models; and their diction is so finely polished, that the rust of time has not as yet been able to tarnish their lustre."

The tone of the whole account, in spite of its grudging praises, is so reactionary, so at variance with what was being said about Cowley by most writers of the period, that it is in itself the best evidence of the change in attitude which had taken place. All that is necessary to put it in its proper perspective is to compare it with Anderson's own remarks in his preface.

Anderson's introduction to Carew's *Poems* and *Coelum Britannicum* returned to the newer viewpoint, although nothing original was said. The editor merely quoted from Phillips, Wood, Percy, Clarendon, Davenant, Suckling, Lloyd, Pope, and Headley, but showed his own tastes by adding: "Of the modern testimonies to his excellence, that of Mr. Headley alone is equal to his deserts."⁸⁰ Anderson too had been carried away by Carew's lyric charms.

Anderson's debt to Headley was particularly prominent in his essay on Crashaw. To this essay he prefixed Cowley's elegy, and gave a biography taken chiefly from Wood, ending it with "This is all that is known of Crashaw, an accomplished scholar, and a devout poet; whose writings have not, hitherto, received so much attention as they deserve." He then criticized Johnson's criticism of Cowley's poem, and gave an account of editions, including that of P. Philips: "Though the poetry of Crashaw was sinking into utter oblivion, when his merits were asserted by Mr. Philips, yet his genius and probity obtained him the admiration of his con-

⁸⁰ *Ib.*, v, 201-4.

⁸¹ *Ib.*, iii, 673-74.

temporaries." To show Crashaw's "amiability" of character he quoted from "St. Teresa," and then quoted at considerable length, though without acknowledgment, from Headley's comparison of Crashaw, Herbert, and Quarles. In the same manner, he borrowed his ideas on the *Sospetto* and on Marino from Hayley's article, and commended Crashaw's Latin verse, which he believed modeled on Ovid. To conclude everything, he quoted from Winstanley and Headley, this time using quotation marks.⁸⁷ In spite of all this lack of originality, however, Anderson put himself undeniably in the Romantic group.

Quarles was the last of the Metaphysicals to be discussed by Anderson, even though no selections of his poems were given. As the editor explained:

The best pieces of Quarles would bear republication, and were selected for that purpose; but could not be received into this collection, without enlarging the proportion originally assigned by the proprietors, to the works of our older poets.

For this reason, Anderson introduced into his life of Phineas Fletcher a defense of Quarles, calling him "the most popular poet of his time, and a man of true poetical genius." The rest of his criticism, however, it is unnecessary to repeat, since once more it was borrowed without acknowledgment from Headley and influenced a bit by Jackson.⁸⁸ The one extract for which he made place, he introduced by the following sentence:

The critic must be more fastidious than clear-sighted, who can be displeased with the following description of the "Goddess of Night," in his "Argalus and Parthenia," which rivals the fanciful and sublime manner of Milton.

To compare Quarles and Milton! And to praise a poet for fancy and for sublimity in the same breath! The two things are the best proofs possible of the change in poetic taste which had grown up in the last three decades of the eighteenth century—a change which had come about partly through the fusion of the aesthetic with the scholarly and antiquarian powers in certain critics, students, and editors of those years, and partly through the development by the public of new poetical appreciative faculties.

⁸⁷ *Ib.*, iv, 699 ff.

⁸⁸ *Ib.*, iv, 378. The review in the *Critical* for Jan., 1799, agreed that "The two Fletchers, Randolph, and May, if not Wither and Quarles, were men of uncommon genius, deservedly celebrated in their own times, and strangely neglected at present" (new arr., xxv, 41).

It will hardly be denied, therefore, that the "Metaphysical Poets" played their part in the early Romantic Movement, even though that part was a comparatively minor one. Dr. Johnson did his best to stem the tide here, as in other directions, but although his efforts were approved by many fellow Neo-Classicists who had long maintained the same attitude themselves, these efforts had relatively little effect in moulding any really new public opinion. His chief influence, indeed, was in perpetuating the idea—a mistaken one perhaps—of an actual "school" of "Metaphysical Poets," with certain conscious and clearly defined characteristics. Nevertheless, the stigma attached to the term through his authority later unconsciously became more and more widely accepted, especially after the Romantic impulse had again begun to die down; but during his own age he was unable to prevent, in many quarters, what may not unjustly be designated a "Metaphysical Revival."

The Romanticists and their precursors may have had various motives for such a revival. Some of them were probably patriotically inspired with a desire to recover and preserve anything of value in the past of British literature. Some of them were antiquarians, whose efforts resulted from the same investigative spirit which produced the "Medieval Revival" in the same period. Some of them had minds of a historical inclination, which wished to see exactly what stages British literature had passed through before it had reached its modern status. But most of them were appreciative critics who had succumbed to the charm and quaintness of this older literature, and who reflected the true Romantic spirit in their reaching out for the far-away and in their attraction by the unusual. Early seventeenth century poetry experienced the same revival as did early seventeenth century drama and, perhaps more slowly, early seventeenth century prose. It was not impossible for the *Critical Review* in 1797 to couple Cowley and Milton again in the same class; for Herder off in Germany to choose Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Cowley, Waller, Pope, Young, and Thomson as his illustrations in an appreciative analysis of English poetry; and for the *Critical* in 1799 to refer to Quarles as "a poet whose reputation seems to be now recovering from a long and unmerited neglect."⁹

⁹ See *Crit. Rev.*, new arr., **XXI** (1797), 137; 506-7; **XXV** (1799), 109.

It was not what the Neo-Classicists had considered the salient feature of Metaphysical poetry, however, which the Romanticists revived. Exaggerated wit and monstrous conceits appealed to neither kind of reader. *Recherché* learning, on the other hand, was a little more to the later taste; the new age loved the thing out of the ordinary walks of life so long as absolute obscurity did not result. It liked the piquancy of obsolete terms and the magic of a forgotten phraseology and an antiquated construction. For two reasons it did not object to what the Neo-Classicists had labelled "ruggedness": first, because it saw that an irreconcilable roughness was not there, since higher and more varied rhythms than the old arithmetical "smoothness" could usually be discovered; and second, because it itself cultivated experiments in form, shaping the old to new ends. More important still, it saw that the poets were in search of a higher goal than mere metrical perfection, and that their language was a fitting medium for the concentration and intensity of their ideas. Finally, to sum up all, it perceived the genuine lyric power of the Metaphysical Poets, approving the lightness and courtly grace of a Carew and the fire and conviction of a Crashaw, as well as the more conventional smoothness of a Quarles and the simplicity or enthusiasm or melancholy in different kinds of verse of a Cowley. Even the difficulties of a Donne began to find a few understanders, although the piety of a Herbert kept his better qualities from recognition until later, and the perverse knottiness of a Cleveland has hardly yet recommended itself. The good among all these qualities were things which had been known to initiated readers all along, but which had been neglected by the general public. In the instance of Cowley, especially, it was very often the same compositions which had survived the sifting process of the preceding Neo-Classical period that now came to be appreciated by the Romanticists for these new reasons.

Genuine lyric emotion, then, whether on sacred or secular subjects, was once more able to communicate itself as a result of the shift of taste between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The break from the authorities of Pope and Johnson was nowhere better illustrated than in the pre-Romantic and Romantic criticism of the Metaphysicals. Headley, in 1787, expressed the rebellion against the "spurious taste" of Pope's school thus:

But the consequences that have ensued to the cause of Poetry, from the sway of Pope, are not the happiest: in proportion as his works were read, and the dazzle of his diction admired, proselytes, who would not originally have been scribblers of verse, were gained, and the art of tagging smooth couplets, without any reference to the character of a poet, is become an almost indispensable requisite in a fashionable education. Founded upon this prevailing habit, hence has arisen, and been gradually making its way, a spurious taste, which, as it reprobates and sets at defiance our older masters, bears no real relation to the maker or inventor. . . ."

The strength of the "new movement," which extended itself even so far as imitation, is revealed perhaps most clearly in the fear which it aroused in the conservative and reactionary group. The solid *Critical Review* in 1791 was uncertain whether or not to lament the new school of poetry which was springing up, characterized by an attempt to be new and original:

Its tendency to produce affected singularity of thought and obscurity of diction, cannot be doubted. The attempt at originality is in all pursuits laudable. . . . But . . . there is danger, lest, in carrying this propensity too far, we fall into the same error with Cowley, and the rest of those abstract metaphysical poets, who striving to leave the common herd of mankind at humble distance, both in thought and expression, have at different times soared so high or dived so low, that, to the generality of readers, their works constitute a sort of perpetual puzzle or enigma, which is not to be solved without a competent share of erudition."¹

In the same category would likewise go Francis Jeffrey, who in his sarcastic critique of Southey's *Thalaba* for the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802 wrote of a new school of English poetry, most of which had sprung from imitation of several older writers, one source being the "homeliness and harshness of some of Cowper's language and versification, interchanged occasionally with the *innocence* of Ambrose Philips, or the quaintness of Quarles and Dr. Donne."² Again, the *Eclectic Review* for 1816 presented a specific instance of the influence which it half approved, half dreaded: "Mr. Wordsworth exhibits the singular combination of the metaphysical poet, and the enthusiastic lover and minute observer of external nature."³

Wordsworth's debts to Vaughan are well known; and he was also

¹ *Sel. Beauties*, I, xvii-viii.

² Review of Mrs. Robinson's *Poems*, *Crit. Rev.*, new arr., II (1791), 309.

³ Jeffrey, *Edin. Rev.*, I (1802), 64.

⁴ *Eclectic Rev.*, new series, V (1816), 36.

favorably acquainted with Donne and Cowley.⁹⁴ Coleridge's explanation and defense of Donne's metrics and ideas are perhaps even more important.⁹⁵ De Quincey in 1828 called Donne the "first very eminent rhetorician in English literature," and referred to Johnson's "inconsiderate" classification.⁹⁶ But most interesting of all are those passages in the most beloved Romanticist of them all—Charles Lamb—who wrote to Coleridge of the "delicious" prose and verse of his "very dear" Cowley; who described passages in Donne to Hazlitt with great gusto as "delicious"; and who lamented "O tempora! O lectores!" when he was able to pick up a copy of the *Emblems* of "old Quarles" for ninepence.⁹⁷

With these ideas the Victorian era, in general, found it hard to agree. But today there are many signs of another revival of interest in the Metaphysical Poets. They themselves were a transition group between the imagination and emotion of the Elizabethans and the intellectualism of the Neo-Classacists, and combined the qualities of both. When England became tired of Neo-Classicism, a new interest in the Metaphysicals was one of the signs of the approach of another age of Romanticism. Does the same token hold good in stamping the present period another one of transition between the classicism of the Victorians, and the romanticism of the coming era?⁹⁸

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⁹⁴ See Wordsworth, *Prose Works* (London, 1876), II, 80, 114-15.

⁹⁵ See, for instance, Coleridge, *Notes Theological, etc.* (London, 1853), pp. 249-50.

⁹⁶ De Quincey, *Blackwood's Magazine*, XIV (1828), 892.

⁹⁷ See, respectively, Lamb, Letter to Coleridge (Jan. 10, 1797), *Works* (London, 1903), VI, 82-83; quoted in Hazlitt's "On the Conversation of Authors," *Plain Speaker* (c. 1814); Letter to Southey (Oct. 18, 1798), *Works*, VI, 124. Hazlitt himself thought Cowley "melancholy and fantastical"—"a great man, not a great poet," and knew little of Donne "but some beautiful verses to his wife . . . , and some quaint riddles in verse, which the Sphinx could not unravel" (*Lectures on the Engl. Poets*, 1818, Everyman ed., pp. 84, 83). Other references by Lamb to Cowley's verse and plays may be found in *Works*, V, 284; IV, 100, 432; to Donne's elegy "On His Mistress," *ib.*, IV, 295; to Quarles's play, *The Virgin Widow*, *ib.*, IV, 420-21.

⁹⁸ For a treatment of this "psychological rhythm" applied to English literature up to the time of the war, see Louis Cazamian, *L'évolution psychologique et la littérature en Angleterre, 1660-1914* (Paris, 1920).

TO THE MEMORY OF
THORNTON SHIRLEY GRAVES
"ELIZABETHAN"
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH
IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
WHO DIED MARCH 6, 1925

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SHAKSPERE'S UNQUESTIONED AUTOGRAPHS AND THE ADDITION TO *SIR THOMAS MOORE*

BY SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM.

In the following pages I shall deal with the interesting and important question whether one of the several additions to the MS. play of *Sir Thomas Moore* (now in the British Museum and known as *Harl. MS.* 7368), written on three pages, folios 8a, 8b, and 9a, and consisting of 147 lines, is in the handwriting of Shakspeare himself.

The theory that it is a Shakspeare holograph was first put forward in 1871 by the Reverend Richard Simpson,¹ a frequent contributor to the *Publications of the New Shakspeare Society*, the editor of the valuable *School of Shakespeare*, and the author of two interesting books on Shaksperian topics. He declared several sections of this play (folios 8 and 9, dealing with the insurrection of the London apprentices, as well as folios 7b, 11bb, 12, 13a, half of 13b and 14aa) to be Shakspeare's, mainly on literary evidence (to wit: "the Shakespearian flavor" of More's speech to the insurgents, his reflections on his sudden preferment, and the unprecedented humor and naturalness of two comic scenes with Fawkenner), but also asserting that "the way in which the letters were formed is absolutely the same as the way in which they are formed in the signatures of Shakspeare." The following year James Spedding,² the eminent editor of Francis Bacon's works, announced his agreement with Simpson as to folios 8 and 9, in which More quells the riot, but not as to the rest. It is generally agreed now that the

¹ *Notes and Queries*, July 1, 1871, pp. 1-3.

² *Notes and Queries*, Sept. 21, 1872, pp. 227-8; also "Reviews and Discussions," London, 1879, pp. 376-384.

person—designated as "C" by Dr. Greg—who wrote the other pages mentioned was only a copyist and, probably, a stage director.

Since 1908, when Mr. C. F. Tucker Brooke reprinted this old and, in all probability, unacted chronicle play in his very serviceable edition of the *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, it has received a great deal of attention. Recently a number of England's ablest scholars (A. W. Pollard, E. M. Thompson, J. D. Wilson, W. W. Greg, and R. W. Chambers), under the distinguished editorship of Professor Pollard, have united in producing a very plausible and instructive book (*Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More*, Cambridge, 1923) which sets forth the respective writers' arguments in favor of the claim that in these three folio pages we have what has been called "the most valuable manuscript in the world," a genuine Shakspeare holograph.³

The "Moore" MS. is undated. Dyce, one of the most learned and industrious Shaksperians of the last century, edited this play for the (old) Shakespeare Society in 1844 and assigned it to "about 1590 or perhaps a little earlier"; Simpson, to 1587; Fleay, the noted scholar and chronicler of the Elizabethan drama, to 1590;⁴ Mr. W. J. Lawrence, whose knowledge of the Elizabethan stage and stage history is the envy of scholars, thinks it was acted in 1589 and written in the late 1580's; "Greg, the editor of a most scholarly edition of the play for the Malone Society, in 1911 assigned the play to "some such year as 1592 or 1593" but now favors a slightly later date,—between 1598 and 1600, although in 1913 he thought such a late date would be fatal to the Shaksperian attribution."⁵ The studies of the group of scholars included in the

³ An only fairly good collotype facsimile of the whole of *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore* was published in 1910 under the supervision and editorship of the late John S. Farmer. The three pages of "the Addition" (as the three pages under consideration have been designated and as they will hereafter be referred to), i. e., folios 8a, 8b and 9a, have been somewhat better reproduced, but by no means so well as they might be, in Sir Edward M. Thompson's artistically printed book, *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, Oxford 1916.

⁴ F. G. Fleay, *Shakespeare Manual*, 1876, p. 98, but in 1890 he assigned it to 1594.

⁵ In a recent letter to me Mr. Lawrence writes: "The belief in me grows stronger and stronger that Shakespeare had nothing to do with the [Addition]. I very much doubt if he and Munday ever wrote for the same company."

⁶ *Modern Language Review*, 1913, Vol. 8, p. 89.

recent publication referred to above, assign the Addition to "late in 1593 or early in 1594, possibly a year later," i. e., when Shakspeare was in his thirtieth year.* The matter of the date will prove of some importance in this investigation even from a caligraphic viewpoint.

The determination of the question at issue is one of the most difficult and important graphiologic problems that have arisen recently in the domain of letters.**

The six unquestioned Shakspeare signatures constituting our standard for comparison were all written within the poet's last four years, between May 11, 1612, and March 25, 1616. Now, it is a principle in the science of "bibliotics"—as Dr. Persifor Frazer has designated the study of documents and the determination of the individual character of handwriting—that a questioned document must be compared with unquestioned writings of the same species, i. e., signatures with signatures, scribbled notes with scribbled notes, formal writing with formal writing, etc. Notwithstanding this, however, it must be admitted that with enough writing of one species as a standard of comparison, it is not impossible to reach a positive conclusion as to the genuineness or non-genuineness of a questioned specimen of another species. But—and this bears repetition—there must be enough standard writing available. What is to be considered enough in any particular instance depends on the quantity and the quality of the standard writing. This means a group of standard (undisputably authentic) specimens showing a sufficient number of the writer's individual

* Professor L. L. Schücking of Breslau who at one time assigned the play to 1604-5 now argues for 1601 or 1602. Cf. *The Review of English Studies*, Lond., Jan. 1925, pp. 40-59. He attributes the Addition to Heywood.

** Three weeks after the acceptance of this essay for publication the news reached me that Messrs. Cecil Palmer & Co., of London had just brought out a book on *Shakspeare's Signatures and "Sir Thomas More"* by Sir George Greenwood.

* For a detailed discussion of these and other important principles involved in the study of handwriting, the reader is referred to Mr. A. S. Osborn's authoritative works on the subject, *Questioned Documents*, Rochester, 1910, and *The Problem of Proof, especially as exemplified in Disputed Document Trials*, N. Y., 1922, as well as Dr. Frazer's book, *Bibliotics, or the Study of Documents*, Philadelphia, 1901.

peculiarities to enable one to identify him or distinguish him from other possible claimants. By quality is meant writings of the same kind, *i. e.*, of the same species, written under similar circumstances (*e. g.*, while in motion, while lying in bed, etc.), with the same kind of pen and on the same kind of medium, etc.

That these conditions are not fulfilled in regard to the acknowledged Shakspeare signatures¹ is obvious from the following considerations: "Deposition" was written hurriedly and impatiently with a bad quill or with very watery ink (hence the blot in the *W*); "Guildhall" was written on a narrow strip of parchment under circumstances which called for no particular hesitation or reflection; "British Museum" was written on insufficiently cured parchment which took the ink so poorly that the signature had to be "printed" (hence the letters are almost vertical, disjointed, and fragmentary); and the three will-signatures were written, in all probability, with the testator propped up in bed, the document placed before him on a yielding surface, and he liable at any moment to be seized with an attack of faintness or giddiness.

The difficulties in the comparison of the writings in question would be even further increased if it were a fact, as some writers have maintained, that from 1612 to the time of his death Shakspeare suffered from some form of nervous disease, *e. g.*, locomotor ataxia, or from the neurosis known as "scrivener's palsy" or "writer's cramp." Those who maintain this theory in one form or another (Dr. Nisbet, Dr. Leftwich, Mr. Thompson), offer no plausible evidence other than the broken curves at the base of Shakspeare's capital *S*'s (Thompson does not include "Deposition" in this category) and the faltering manner in which "T2" and

¹ For convenience of reference I have named the signature discovered by Professor Wallace, "Deposition"; that on the Blackfriars conveyance, preserved at the Guildhall Library, "Guildhall"; that on the Blackfriars mortgage-deed at the British Museum, "British Museum"; that on the first page of the will, "T1"; etc. Inasmuch as the genuineness of the Shakspeare signature in the British Museum's copy of Florio's translation of Montaigne is still in question, I make no reference to it in this study, though I am convinced it is a genuine Shakspeare autograph. These signatures, enlarged to twice or thrice their natural size, so as to enable the student to become easily acquainted with Shakspeare's handwriting peculiarities, are shown in facsimiles 2-9. Such half-tone facsimiles of these signatures as have been heretofore published are all but worthless in such an investigation as that in which we are now engaged.

Wyle : am
Egortypor

No. 6

Wyle : am
~~Egortypor~~

No. 5

Wyle : am
Egortypor

No. 4

Wyle : am
Egortypor

No. 7

Wyle : am
Egortypor

No. 3

By Mr. William E. Jackson

No. 9

one after
W. E. J.
Aug. 10 1898

No. 8

W. E. J. E. J.

No. 2

the last three or four letters in "T3" were written. But the facts or "signs" relied upon by Sir Edward and the other writers mentioned are not pathognomonic of writer's cramp, and those that are so do not occur in the Signatures; the assumption that Shakspeare suffered from "the spastic or spasmodic form of writer's cramp" is, therefore, nothing but assumption. (How utterly worthless Dr. Leftwich's testimony on this subject must appear even to Sir Edward is implied in the fact that he considers the "Deposition" signature a specimen of Shakspeare's handwriting when the poet was in perfect health, *i. e.*, free from scrivener's palsy, although Dr. Leftwich⁸ finds in this signature no less than nine of his fourteen "symptoms," more than in any of the others!) And, furthermore, in the presence of a sufficient number of unquestioned specimens, the distortions in a writing caused by writer's cramp would not be an obstacle to the palaeographer who avails himself of the technique of the modern handwriting expert: writer's cramp does not change a person's writing habits (*i. e.*, the ideal patterns of the letters, flourishes, and words as they live in his mind) but the skill with which he executes the desired patterns. And in a handwriting examination the criteria are not merely or essentially the forms of the letters, the skill with which a particular curve or stroke is executed, but the writing habits shown in the documents under investigation.⁹

The task of reaching a conclusion concerning the Shaksperian authorship of the Addition is made still more difficult by the fact that we have to compare unlike words with one another. Of the four words *By—me—William—Shakspeare* that we have in Shakspeare's hand,¹⁰ one ("Shakspeare" or "Shakspere") does not

⁸ *Shakespeare's Handwriting and Other Papers*, Worthing, n. d., †1918.

⁹ Sir Edward's assertion (*l. c.*, p. 67) that Shakspeare's cramp asserted itself as soon as he came up to the base curve in "the initial letter of his surname [which thus became] the nerve-centre of the disease" is as untenable as the absurd assertion by a recent writer that "the old English script was more likely to give rise to writer's cramp than the Italian script." Writer's cramp has its origin in an individual's mind, and has nothing to do with the alphabet he employs. That this is so is evident from the fact that spastic cramps affect also typists, pianists, etc.

¹⁰ The suggestion that the words "By me" or "By me William" were not written by the testator (*i. e.*, the person who wrote the other Shakspeare signatures) is too fantastic, too certainly contrary to the facts, too utterly at variance with known legal practice, to warrant serious consider-

occur at all in these three "Moore" pages, one ("William") occurs only once (if we exclude the word "Williamson" which also occurs once), one ("me") occurs four times, and one ("by") ten times (not once with a capital *B*). Moreover, the names "William" and "Williamson" are not in the handwriting of the person who wrote the dialogue of the Addition but in the hand of a subsequent reviser of the manuscript. Further, it is well-known that most persons write their names differently from other words (usually larger, less legibly, more ornately, and almost as a stereotype); hence signatures as a rule furnish at best uncertain standards for comparison with other matter written "currente calamo."

The kind of alphabet employed in the standard and the questioned specimens is, of course, also of the greatest importance; a specimen in a modern German script would hardly be worth comparing with a specimen in our Roman script, etc. To one who is familiar with the old English script, the writing in the Shakspeare signatures looks much more modern (*i. e.*, more nearly Italian) than the writing of the Addition, as might be expected from the large admixture of Italian letters in the signatures.

The matter of age does not, broadly speaking, affect the discussion in any way. A difference of fourteen or eighteen years (between 1594 or 1598 and 1612) in the handwriting of a person who has attained maturity, and whose handwriting habits have become fixed, does not matter in a handwriting investigation. Even though an old man's writing may be so poor, because of tremulousness, as to be largely illegible, his writing habits are so unalterable a feature of his personality that the handwriting expert has no great difficulty in establishing its identity with specimens written at an earlier age.

In the present investigation the expert must reach one of three conclusions: (1) the evidence is sufficient to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that Shakspeare wrote the 147 lines of prose and verse which constitute the Addition; (2) the evidence proves beyond a reasonable doubt that Shakspeare did not write them; (3) the evidence is not sufficient to enable one to reach a positive conclusion either way. To be of value such an investigation must be

ation. (*Of. a convincing letter on this subject, by K. E. T. Wilkinson, in the London Times Literary Supplement, July 1, 1920.*) *Of. Note on facs. 9.*

conducted with the thoroughness that the conscientious expert would devote to a legal controversy involving the gravest issues. The fact that only a question of authorship is at stake does not excuse a slipshod comparative study of a questioned document.

These preliminaries being cleared away, we are prepared to enter on our examination of the handwriting in the *Thomas Moore Addition* with the purpose of determining whether the personal handwriting characteristics apparent in Shakspeare's unquestioned autographs reappear in those pages. If they do, Shakspeare himself wrote the Addition; if they do not, he did not.

The most competent paleographic or calligraphic argument that has yet been made in favor of the Shaksperian authorship of the Addition was made by Sir Edward M. Thompson, dean of English palaeographers (*Shakespeare's Hand*, 1923, pp. 71-112, *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, Oxford, 1916), who, realizing the "hazardous undertaking" of attempting "to extract evidence from a scanty gleanings of signatures," makes no further claim than that he has made out a case which, "though it may not at once carry conviction, yet claims the right of being duly weighed." Notwithstanding the admirable moderateness of Sir Edward's claim, many distinguished scholars on both sides of the Atlantic speak of the Addition as a "genuine" or "probable" Shaksperian autograph.

Sir Edward's points of identity between the Signatures and the Addition may be tabulated and discussed as follows:

1. In "Deposition" (cf. facs. No. 2) we find a peculiar open (old English) *a* formed "with a spur at the back which is no essential part of [the letter] but seems to be a personal mark of [Shakspeare's] hand." In the Addition we find "instances of the open *a* formed with the horizontal spur," especially in the word "that" in line 105. Notwithstanding "constant watch for the occurrence of this spur in numerous documents of the period," neither Sir Edward nor Mr. J. P. Gilson, keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, has yet observed it in any, except in "Deposition" and in the Addition. (*Shakespeare's Hand*, p. 72.)

The significance of this *a* with the deeply-curved back and the horizontal spur at the base is not underestimated by Sir Edward. Its presence in the Addition and in one of Shakspeare's signatures is certainly a unique coincidence, if it is merely a coincidence. That it may be nothing more than that would be inferable from

the facts of its non-occurrence in the other signatures and its occurring in the Addition only once. (Sir Edward, it is true, mentions five other instances of this peculiar ligature in the Addition, on lines 12, 102, 117, 135, and 127, but I cannot discover a horizontal spur in a single one of them. It is surely not unreasonable to maintain that if the horizontal *a*-spur was such an individual characteristic of Shakspeare's calligraphy as to have persisted throughout all the years from c. 1595 to 1612, it would occur more than once in three long sheets of writing.) It seems the most natural thing to suppose that if Shakspeare often made the old English open *a* (largely resembling a modern "2" followed by an additional minim) and was in the habit of linking it up with a preceding loop, he might sometimes, when writing rapidly and making a larger bow than he intended (as when he wrote the "Deposition" signature), be in a position to be compelled to make a horizontal spur to get away from under the overhanging curve.¹¹ (All writers at times make unique strokes, characters, or linkings which look strange even to themselves.) The occurrence of a single such unique handwriting characteristic in a questioned document is sufficient to establish identity of authorship only if it is not negated by other evidence.

Horizontal *a*-spurs must, as a matter of fact, have been quite common in the handwriting of persons who made their old English open *a*'s with a curved instead of a straight stem. Numerous examples of such *a*'s occur in the few documents reproduced by Halliwell-Phillipps (*Outlines*, ed. 10, vol. 1, p. 242; vol. 2, p. 233, etc.), Netherclift, and others. Elizabethan penmen often linked their English *a*'s to preceding *h*'s, *y*'s, *p*'s, *x*'s, *z*'s, and *s*'s, in such a manner as to produce a supra-linear oval or circular arch and impart a more or less horizontal "spur" to the *a*. The striking feature in the *ha*-ligature in "Deposition" and in the word "that" in the Addition (l. 105) is really not the spur but the way in which the union of the two letters results almost in a perfect circle. A slightly curved horizontal spur occurs in the word "hazard" in the *Thomas Moore* manuscript on the second line from the bot-

¹¹ That this is exactly how such spurs came to be made is strikingly shown by the occurrence of a unique horizontal *o*-spur(!) in the word "so" in the fourteenth line of Thomas Cranmer's letter to Thomas Cromwell. For this *o*-spur and his *a*-spurs cf. facs. No. 12.

that it shall not be appere greater what grace and worship
table furre you have don unto godde and the King, nor yet
shall furre be done to your good. For, beside godde herselfe
you shall obtaine perpetuall memorie for the same man that
Katherine shall be for me, so may we be in your bondman
for ever. And
I have be told to say, so may we be in your bondman
I give my Lord. Ever your hartely furre you move. At
Horse the 20th day of Auguste

No. 12

The names, of the Tolares And by night Cingunney plon¹
 them year after ffoloweth: Dis All so night mactes, and Cunn²
 will to goe illi present presented before ffoloweth in this year. 16³

Yallomas; myge was presented with in ffoloweth before ffoloweth⁴

No. 13

tom of p. 11bb (written by C!). Ben Jonson's writing must have often contained horizontal spurs if we may judge from some of his *a*'s in the MS. of the *Masque of Queenes*. Unquestionable horizontal *a*-spurs occur in Thomas Cranmer's letter to Thomas Cromwell (*B. M. Cotton MS., Cleop. E. V., fo. 329*,—reproduced *in toto* in Netherclift's *Autograph Miscellany*, London, 1855), especially in the words "and" (l. 6), "*a*" (l. 10), "acceptable" (l. 12), and in the first *a* of the signature, "T. Cantuarien." Innumerable horizontal *a*-spurs occur in the recently discovered Spenser documents (*Cf.* H. R. Plomer, "Edmund Spenser's Handwriting," *Modern Philology*, Nov., 1923.) Sprawling *a*'s with curved backs and horizontal spurs are the rule in the handwriting of John Knox, *e. g.*, in his letter to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton on Aug. 6, 1561.

We must bear in mind that it is easy to find similarities in almost any two specimens of writing, especially if they emanate from persons writing the same calligraphic system, to point to apparent identity, though we know from other characteristics that they were indisputably written by different persons. So, for example, it would be easy to find "proofs" that (as some have really thought) C wrote the Addition as well as the Shakspeare signatures.¹² (*Cf.* Farmer's facsimile.)

2. "Shakspeare makes use in his few signatures of three out of the four forms of the letter *k* which appear in the Addition" (*l. c.*, p. 73).

As to this Sir Edward is grievously in error. Shakspeare's *k*'s are not those of the author of the Addition; the latter (D) makes some of his *k*'s with the normal (*i. e.*, prescribed) horizontal base-stroke which extends slightly to the left and then slightly to the right of the vertical stem. In "Guildhall" the *k* has an arched stem (convex to the left) which curves slightly around and up to the right at the bottom, without any attempt at extension to the left at the base. Sir Edward therefore errs in characterizing this letter (*l. c.*, p. 94) as "of the normal scrivener's type."

Neither is the *k* in "British Museum" of "the normal scrivener's type," for it lacks the horizontal base stroke altogether.

¹² It would, as a matter of fact, be a much easier matter than in the case of D (the alleged Shakspeare hand) to "prove" that C's handwriting is that of Shakspeare. *Cf.* Alexander Green, "The Apocryphal Sir Thomas More," *American Journal of Philology*, 1918, pp. 249-252.

Though Sir Edward errs in his description of the making of the *k* in "T2" (l. c., p. 94), he is right in identifying it with some of the *k*'s in the Addition and in considering it significant; but as evidence of identity of authorship it is more than offset by the facts that the *k* of "Guildhall" occurs nowhere in the Addition and that the so-called normal scrivener's *k* of the Addition does not appear in the Signatures. Small *k*'s somewhat resembling that of "T2" and made in the same general way are not uncommon in Elizabethan manuscripts, as may be seen by reference to Halliwell-Phillipps's *Outlines* (vol. 1, pp. 36, 40, 248; vol. 2, pp. 226, 225, 221) or, even better, to Richard Gethinge's *Calligraphotechnia*, 1616. Also *cf. facs.* 18.

The *k* in "T3," says Sir Edward, appears to be D's fourth type (i. e., shaped like a modern cursive *l*), whose base-curve terminates in a minute bow, the letter being thus completed without a cross-bar. But Sir Edward has overlooked the essential fact that the writer of the Addition makes these *k*'s very much more like a modern cursive *b* or capital *C* than an *l*; the *k* in "T3" is nothing like that.

3. "Various shapes which the letter *p* assumes in the Addition are found also in the Signatures," says Sir Edward.

This would prove absolutely nothing even if it were literally true; the *p*'s found in the Addition are like the ordinary letters found in innumerable documents of the period (*cf.* Bacon's letter to Sir John Puckering, or John Knox's letter to Throgmorton, or the List of Plays prefixed to the Revels Account for 1611-12).¹⁸ Besides, there is at least one type of *p* employed by D (e. g., that in the word "ampler" in line 101, in "captaine" in line 114,—*cf. facs.* No. 11), having an acute angle between the initial upstroke and the beginning of the curve of the head-loop, which does not occur in the Signatures. And, furthermore the *p* of "Guildhall," with its long, straight, slanting, heavy descender, is wholly unlike

¹⁸ *Cf.* Ernest Law's *More About Shakespeare 'Forgeries,'* facsimile facing p. 11, especially the words "Cumpany" (l. 1) and "presented" (l. 4). It may, of course, be objected that inasmuch as the genuineness of these Play-Lists is still in question, they ought not to be referred to in this connection; in reply to this it may be said that the forger, if there was one, as I am sure there was and as I shall prove in another essay, must have had models for his forgery. For these *p*'s *cf. facs.* No. 13. Besides, Sir Edward accepts these documents as genuine.

any *p* in the Addition. In "T2" Shakspeare's *p* has a characteristic compound curve in the descending stroke which is nowhere to be found in the Addition.

4. In "British Museum" there are two letters—*p* and *e*—which, Sir Edward says, are "exact replicas" of the *p* in the first two words ("peace, peace") in line 50 and of the final *e* of the second word in that line (*l. c.*, pp. 73-74). Sir Edward calls this an "abnormal" *p* and describes it thus (p. 73): "a short, truncated letter, not unlike an ordinary printer's Roman lower-case *p*, having a short vertical stem commencing with a small hook or serif on the left, then a short horizontal cross-bar is drawn to form the base of the head-loop, which is completed by the addition of the necessary curve." The letter *e*, he goes on to say, "is of the set form of that letter, composed of two disconnected concave curves."

Sir Edward makes entirely too much of the occurrence in the Addition of a single short, vertical-stemmed, truncated *p*, such as occurs in "British Museum." Why he calls this letter—which he describes incorrectly—"abnormal" does not appear; the reader will find it depicted as a standard form in de Beau Chesne's table of "The Secretarie Alphabet" in the book previously referred to, and he will have no difficulty in finding examples of it in Elizabethan documents written in the 'Secretary' hand. (*Cf. facs. No. 1.*) There are two fine specimens in the pages of "Moore" written by C,—the first in the word "open" on line 22 of folio 7b, the second in the word "express" on line 3 of folio 14aa; there are two characteristic examples in Bacon's letter to Puckering in the words "expectacon" (line 3) and "respect" (in the subscription); and there are several fine examples in Thomas Cranmer's letter to Thomas Cromwell (*Cotton MS. Cleop., E. v. f., 348*).¹⁴ Several *p*'s of this type may be seen in Mr. Law's reduced facsimiles of the List of Plays prefixed to the Revels Account for 1611-12 and the List of Plays presented before King James in the winter of 1604-5. (*Cf. "Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries" and "More About Shakespeare 'Forgeries'."*) The occurrence of this *p* in the Addition therefore proves no more than that as far as this letter goes, Shakspeare and D might have been one and the same person.

¹⁴ The majority of the letters referred to in this essay are reproduced in facsimile in vol. 1 of the *Universal Classics Library* edited by Oliver Leigh.

But it must also be noted that Shakspeare's *p* (in "British Museum") differs from the one in the Addition in at least two possibly important details: it begins with an ascending hairline (instead of with a heavy, horizontal stroke) and the terminal horizontal bar is a graceful curve (instead of a straight stroke).

The statement that the final *e* in the second "peace" (in the fifth line of folio 8b) resembles that in "British Museum" in being "the set form of the letter, composed of two disconnected curves," is incorrect insofar as both these letters are only the common cursive English *e* in which the ascending curve, as frequently happens, failed to register. *Cf. facss. 12 and 18.*

5. "It seems more than a coincidence that the only Italian letter to be found in the lines of the Addition is the long *s*—which occurs in the word 'seriant' (l. 17, marg.) and is added in a minute size as a correction to the word 'warre' (line 113)" and was "the only letter of the Italian alphabet [Shakspeare] adopted in his signatures" (l. c., p. 76).

This Italian long *s* is so characteristic a feature of Shakspeare's unquestioned signatures, occurring in at least three and more than probably in four of them, that it was to be expected that the champions of his authorship of the Addition would do everything in their power to find such an *s* in these three folios. This expectation is realized in Sir Edward's discovery of a long *s*—whose minute structure he does not examine!—in two words. In his first study of the Addition (*Shakespeare's Handwriting*, pp. 35, 61) he found an additional instance of this letter—which he characterized (p. 19) as "one of the keys for the identification of the poet's handwriting"—in line 102 (the seventh line on folio 9a). He said then that "There can be no question" that the poet changed the word "only" into "souly" (i. e., "solely") by squeezing a long *s* in under the line of writing in front of the initial *o*. As to this he now concedes that he had erred owing to a lack of opportunity to examine the passage in the MS. closely (*"Shakespeare's Hand,"* p. 76). For this "only" *cf. facs. 11* (2d line).

Further examination of the MS. by Sir Edward will, I am sure, convince him that he has also erred in the matter of the alleged Italian long *s* in the words "warres" (l. 113) and "seriant" (l. 17, marg.). In the former case the poet—he was a poet, who-

ever he was—changed the word “warre” to “warrs” by superimposing the common English final *s* (exactly like that at the end of the word “throts” on l. 120)¹⁵ over the terminal *e*. (It is a pleasure to add that Dr. Greg agrees with me as to this,—*l. c.*, p. 243.) This “final *s*” really looks nothing like the mesial long *s* or the Italian *s* employed by Shakspeare (*cf.* facsimile 11, ll. 113 and 120).

As to the word “seriant” (sergeant) it is sufficient to say that our English confreres have failed to recognise the obvious fact that this word is one of the marginal additions made by C.¹⁶ Our facsimile of C’s handwriting shows that this *s* is identical with his *s* in the word “Erasmus.” That it was C who wrote the word “seriant” is clinched by the fact that in this word we have a modern form of the letter *r* which is common in his handwriting but does not occur even once in the writing of D. *Cf.* facs. 14 and 17.

The absence of the Italian long *s* from the Addition speaks strongly (but of course, not conclusively) against its Shaksperian authorship.

6. “The initial *W* in [“T3”] is remarkable in being unusually long and in leading off with a finely-drawn narrow opening which resembles an elongated needle-eye, a formation so rare that it suggests a personal peculiarity of the writer. . . . By a happy chance this elongated needle-eye occurs in a single instance in the Addition, in the word ‘needs’ (l. 130).” This, says Sir Edward,

“Concerning this “small, round, looped” *s*, Sir Edward makes the slightly misleading statement (*Shakespeare’s Hand*, p. 98) that it was the form of the letter “used at the end of a word.” Queen Elizabeth at least used it also initially and mesially. So too the old English long *s*, which Sir Edward says was “employed at the beginning or in the middle of a word,” was sometimes used as a terminal letter, *e. g.*, in Cardinal Pole’s letter to Queen Mary (*Cotton MS. Titus B. ii.* 177).

¹⁶ An error of the same kind was made by Mr. J. A. Herbert in *The Library*, Jan., 1917, p. 100. He finds a connecting link between the Addition and the Signatures in the fact that “on page 1 [*sic*] of the play ‘Willian’ is written for ‘William,’ a similar blunder to that noticed in the signature to the deposition.” Mr. Herbert failed to note not only that the word “Willian” (in the margin of l. 10 of folio 8a) is in the handwriting of C but also that the first name in “Deposition” reads “Wilm,” not “Willian.” For this “Willian” *cf.* facs. 14.

may "be considered sufficient to identify the writer of the Addition with the writer of the Signatures" (*l. c.*, p. 80).

As to this it is sufficient to say that the occurrence of such a hook proves absolutely nothing as to the writer's identity. Hooks of all kinds occur in innumerable manuscripts of the period in the writings of people who indulged in the common trick of beginning their words with these long straight or curved ascending strokes. The reader will find such upstrokes and just such a hook in Greene's diary referring to the Enclosure projects of 1614 (*cf.* facsimile in Halliwell-Phillipps, *l. c.*, vol. 1, p. 248. Note especially the word "nor" in the third line). There is a long fine needle-eye hook in the word "Moor" in the margin of line 31 of folio 13b of *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*.

7. "The same delicate style [in the initial upstrokes] is maintained in both documents."—This proves nothing; such delicate upstrokes are common in manuscripts of the period.

8. "It is also a curious coincidence that *m* and *w*, the two letters which, as we have seen in surveying the upstrokes in the Addition, are, of all the amenable letters, those most subject to have the attachment of upstrokes, should happen to be the two letters carrying upstrokes in ["T3"]." The argument from the occurrence of the upstrokes in the single *m* proves nothing because the upstroke could be added to almost any minuscule. Sir Edward's argument is as invalid as it would be to contend that Shakspeare did not write the Addition because his unquestioned initial *m*'s all have initial upstrokes and only two-thirds of those in the Addition are provided with them.

9. "In many of the examples of the capital *S* both in the Signatures and in the Addition there is a tendency to sharpen the [central horizontal] curve projecting to the right, with the result of suggesting a caricature of a human chin drawn in profile. The action of the hand in this particular is common to the writer of the Signatures and the writer of the Addition" (*l. c.*, p. 109). As to this it is sufficient to say that very few writing peculiarities are more common in Elizabethan manuscripts than this chin-like formation in the capital *S*. (For examples *cf.* the pages of the *Thomas Moore* written by C and others.) Besides, it is lacking in at least three of Shakspeare's *S*'s.

Sir Edward has unquestionably made out as strong a case as

possible for those who believe that in the Addition we have almost a whole scene in Shakspeare's handwriting. In the absence of much stronger evidence to the contrary, he would be entitled, on the evidence of the circular *ha*-ligature in the surname of "Deposition" and possibly the *k* in "T2," to a verdict. But the more detailed comparison of the two writings in question which follows will, I am certain, prove that the revision of the troublesome insurrection scene on folios 8 and 9 of *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore* was not written by William Shakspeare. Whether he dictated it to a scrivener is a question which does not concern us now.

1. The writing of the Signatures is, on the whole, especially as regards the small letters, on a larger scale than that of the Addition.

2. In the Signatures the writing is not only larger than in the Addition but is spread out more; in the Addition it is not only smaller but more compressed, huddled, close-knit. This is shown in the Addition not only in individual words but even in such combinations of letters as "ill" and "will" (throughout), "sper" in "desperate" (l. 107), "pea" in "peace" (l. 109), "ha" (throughout), "me" (ll. 90, 51, 1), "spor" in "transportacion" (l. 76), "spe" in "gospell" (l. 88), "spa" in "trespas" (l. 124), "spur" in "spurne" (l. 135), "spea" in "speake" (ll. 57 and 41), "eare" in "heare" (l. 57), "ks" in "backs" (l. 75), "shake" in line 14, etc. Cf. facs. 11.

3. As compared with the Addition, the writing of the autographs is cramped and stiff; Shakspeare evidently never developed a freedom at the wrist and wrote wholly with a finger movement and rather slowly as compared with D and C. The writer of the Addition has a freedom and a swing in his writing, most conspicuous in his capitals, in the reversed loops of his *d*'s and in the long loops of his *y*'s and *h*'s, which is wholly unlike the writing in the unquestioned signatures. The effect of this constraint in the movements of the writing fingers is shown characteristically in the substitution of angles for curves where the writing of the period requires curves. Note the angularity at the top of the terminal bow and the acute angles at the top of the first and second sections of the *W* in "Deposition,"—an angularity which is also conspicuous in the *W*'s of "Guildhall," "British Museum," "T1," "T2," and "T3." This difference in the handwritings under consideration is

nowhere shown more strikingly than, for example, in the final whip-lash loops of the *W*'s in the Signatures and the final loops made by *D* in his capital *P* (l. 1), capital *W* (l. 35), his mesial *s*'s, etc. A decided angularity is shown also in the *S*'s, *l*'s, *e*'s, and *h*'s of some of the Signatures. I am, of course, not referring to acute angles at the tops and bases of old English letters which required such angles. Lest it be advanced that this abnormal angularity was caused by the poet's alleged nervous malady, it need only be pointed out that this angularity occurs very conspicuously in "Deposition" (dated May 11, 1612) which Sir Edward says was written before there were any manifestations of writer's cramp. With a surprising degree of positiveness—and in silent contradiction of Dr. Leftwich—he says (*l. c.*, p. 65): "Here there is no symptom of nervous disease."

But it is, of course, possible that Sir Edward erred and that Shakspeare did suffer from writer's cramp as early as May, 1612, and even that this may have had something to do with his alleged early retirement from active dramatic work in London. All this is possible, but there is not a particle of evidence extant to support it. Writer's cramp makes it difficult, sometimes impossible, for a person to write, but it does not change his curved strokes into angular ones. That the reader may form his own judgment as to this, I reproduce herewith a specimen of the handwriting of a person suffering for many years from severe spastic writer's cramp. (*Cf. facsimile 10.*)

It may not be amiss to repeat here that even if a nervous malady, *e. g.*, shaking palsy, does interfere with a writer's successful accomplishment of intended calligraphic strokes, it does not change the patterns of the letters or the combinations of letters in the individual's mind.

4. The relative contrast between the light and heavy strokes in the Signatures is less striking than in the Addition; in other words, Shakspeare's light strokes are heavier than *D*'s.

5. Shakspeare's ascending strokes are much heavier than *D*'s. Note, for example, the three heavy ascending strokes in the *W* of "Deposition," two heavy upstrokes in the *W* of "Guildhall," the upstrokes in the *W* of "T3," etc. These contrast effectively with corresponding upstrokes in the Addition, *e. g.*, in the *L* of "Linco"

No 88 Another Remembrance
against Slavery. Bradford
addition to Francis Sears
meeting. Pass-and-Please those
know me not as much right
to this freedom as you know
1840. When Slaves?

(l. 142, marg.), in the *m* of "moor" (l. 144, marg.), in the *L* of "Let" (l. 90), etc.

6. Shakspeare's initial and final curves almost all begin and end bluntly and abruptly instead of in a fine hair-line. Note the beginnings and ends of the *W* and the *S* in "Deposition"; the beginning of the *W* in "Guildhall," as well as the beginning of the first *i*, of the *s*, of the *p* and of the flourish in this signature; the end of the *W* and of the *m* in "British Museum," and, above all, the beginnings and terminations of the letters in "T3," especially the various strokes in the *B*, the end of the *W* and the final *m*, the beginning and end of the *S*, etc. An examination of the facsimiles of the Addition will show that D's free hand indulged in curved initial strokes which began with a very fine point and grew heavier and heavier, and that his final curves tended to fade out in a fine point, *e. g.*, in the *W* and the *d* of the word "Wisdom" (ll. 35 and 37), in the *h* of "both" (l. 34), in the *y* of "my" (l. 42), in the *d* of "woold" (l. 125), etc. Cf. facs. 16.

7. It may be worth pointing out that Shakspeare seems to have been very careful not to entangle his letters with the descending strokes of the letters in the line above which he was writing. This is shown in "T2" in which he employed a broken line between the *i* and the *l* so as to avoid the descender of the *f* in the line above, distorted the upper loops of the *h*, *k*, and *s* so as to avoid the *h*, *e*, and *t* of the line above, and introduced a gap after the first *e* so as to avoid the loop of an *h*. The writer of the Addition shows no trace of such meticulousness (*cf.* ll. 105 and 106 in facs. 11).

8. As far as his unquestioned autographs show, Shakspeare never dotted an *i*, certainly not in his signatures; D almost never failed to dot one.

9. Shakspeare's Signatures show a very marked tendency not to link his letters, *e. g.*, in the "Shakspe" of "Guildhall," in "British Museum," in "William" of "T1," and in the surname of "T2" and "T3." D, on the contrary, loved to write whole words without a pen-lift, *e. g.*, "humanity" (l. 140), "gentlemen" (l. 145), "elements" (l. 136), "straingers" (l. 119), "captaine" (l. 114), "desperat" (l. 107), "Justyce" (l. 99), "certainly" (l. 97), etc. Cf. facs. 11.

10. In his Signatures Shakspere made use of several varieties of characters to indicate abbreviation (*cf.* "Deposition," "Guildhall," "British Museum," and "T2"); D employs only light horizontal curved strokes in the two instances ("uppō" in ll. 19 and 61) in which he has need for them. It may also be worth pointing out that when D made a long horizontal stroke he began it with a little curved vertical serif, and that Shakspere did not do so in the two instances ("Deposition" and "T3") in which he introduced a flourishing horizontal stroke above his Christian name.

11. Shakspere's *W*'s are so wholly unlike those of D (in lines 35, 37, 38, 53 and 59) as to exclude the possibility of a common authorship. The former are cramped, angular, stiff, and slowly made; whereas the latter are sweeping, fluent, flourished, large-curved and rapid. Two of D's capital *W*'s (in ll. 37 and 59) are only "elaborate minuscules" serving as capitals. The dot in the terminal loop of the *W* of l. 35, reminding us of the dots in three (perhaps four) of Shakspere's *W*'s, is of no significance inasmuch as such "ornamental" dots were a regular feature of the old English 'Secretary' hand, as may be seen by reference to de Beau Chesne's book.¹¹ The initial curved strokes of Shakspere's *W*'s are almost straight, vertical, ascending strokes and nothing like the sweeping, heavily shaded, descending curves, in D's capital letters. *Cf.* facs. 16.

12. Concerning Shakspere's *i*'s it remains to be added that, unlike D, he linked his *i*'s to the succeeding letter by means of a curved stroke which has its convexity downward and swings away from its stem or by means of a slanting straight stroke making a small acute angle with the vertical minim; D almost invariably "post-linked" (to use Sir Edward's excellent term) his *i*'s by means of curved strokes which hugged the main stem and had their convexity upward (*cf.* the word "this" in l. 101 or "his" in l. 102 of facs. 11). Such inconspicuous tricks of custom in a handwriting are of the greatest importance in the identification of the writer of a questioned document. Sir Edward, overlooking the distinguishing characteristic described above, draws the pointless

¹¹ Sir George Greenwood, the clever "anti-Stratfordian," is certainly in error when he says (*Shakspere's Handwriting*, 1920, p. 35) that "'Shakespeare' does not appear to have used ['the ornamental dot'] in the Harleian MS.!"

11 more.

31041

No. 17

June to Cyman house of Mr. Smith & Co. opening day of October 1891
sent to Mr. Conditon 70 lbs of the farinami / 1 lb 1/2
send a yard of flannel like velvet at 20¢ a yard.

No. 18

et les Infants en
Diabète

conclusion that in the Addition, as in the Signatures, "both curved and pointed bases appear" (*l. c.*, p. 93).

13. The diversity of letters employed by Shakspeare is as conspicuous in his *l*'s as in his other letters. The conventional type, resembling a modern *l*, is found in "Deposition" and in "Guildhall," but those in the three will-signatures differ markedly and characteristically from the stereotyped letter. In all but "Deposition" the *l*'s in the Signatures are heavily shaded at the top and at the bottom; those in "Guildhall" are conspicuously angular (instead of curved) at the top and the bottom; the first *l* in "T1" is uniformly heavy in the vertical stem and has a large round head; the second is extremely short (to avoid entanglement with the head of the preceding *l*?), heavy, and terminates in a heavy horizontal flourish;—the *l*'s in "T2" show an ornamental waviness or indentation in the vertical downstroke such as is depicted in some of the old books on handwriting (de Beau Chesne, Gething) and which we find exaggerated in the first *l* of "T3." This waviness in the *l*'s is an ornamental touch, not a manifestation of a nervous tremor or deterioration.¹⁸

The *l*'s made by D, especially when they are doubled, are much more curved than Shakspeare's, have no broken curve at the top, and are shaded only on the descending vertical stem; their shading gets heavier and heavier as the writer approaches the base line when it either fades away gradually or the line ends abruptly and post-links with the next letter by means of a straight upward stroke or by a curved stroke resembling that of the *i*'s. (*Cf. facsimile 17.*) The difference in shading indicates an habitual difference in pen-position, not merely a difference in the kind of pen employed. The absence of even a single instance of an indented *l* in these three folio pages of manuscript is almost in itself sufficient to disprove a Shaksperian authorship for them.

14. Shakspeare's six unquestioned signatures contain ten *a*'s,

¹⁸ Almost identically indented *l*'s occur in abundance in the 1611-12 "List of Plays prefixed to the Revels Account." *Cf. Law's More About Shakespeare Forgeries*, p. 11, especially the words "followeth" (l. 2), "whitehall" (l. 4), "Called" (l. 6), etc. The trick of indenting the *l*'s and of coalescing or twinning a double *l* (as in "T2") is shown as the prescribed standard in Johannes Baptista Palatino's text-book of handwriting, published in 1540. *Cf. facs. 18.*

one in "Deposition," two in "Guildhall," one in "British Museum," two in "T1," one in "T2" and two (probably three) in "T3." Seven of these are the modern Italian letter; one (in "Deposition") is the old English letter, which, in this instance, was provided with a more horizontal spur than was customary; the second *a* in "Guildhall" is the old English letter, wanting the customary spur altogether; the somewhat blurred but not indistinguishable *a* in the surname of "T1" is the modern German letter (a type of *a* which was rather commonly employed in Shakspere's day).¹⁹

The modern *a* in D and in Shakspere is such a stereotyped letter that one can discover no differential characteristics (other than a difference in size) in the two writers. The German *a* in "T1" differs from D's letter in that the second element (resembling an *i*) is at a greater distance from the first element (resembling an *o*); but the letter was so poorly made that it may not be representative. The spurless old English *a*, perfectly round at the base, does not occur in D, although he often reduced the spur to a mere point. The *a* with the remarkable horizontal spur occurs only once in the three folio pages written by D.

The Addition furnishes us with two examples (ll. 92, 93) of a peculiar *a*, a composite of the old English *a* and the modern German *a*, which does not occur in the Signatures. Sir Edward (*l. c.*, p. 83) says: "This composite letter is found nowhere else and may be a freak of carelessness." But Sir Edward is certainly in error: many examples of this *a* may be seen in Mr. Law's facsimiles of the Revels Account for 1611-12 (cf. *More About Shakespeare Forgeries*, p. 11, the words "what" in l. 1, "hereafter" in l. 2, "att" in l. 3, "att" in l. 4).²⁰ Cf. facs. 13.

15. The letter *m* furnishes one of the simplest and most convincing means of distinguishing Shakspere from D; the former terminated his final *m*'s (of which the Signatures contain five)

¹⁹ How unreliable in matters of minute details the old traced facsimiles of signatures are in comparison with modern photographs is strikingly shown by a comparison of our facsimile of "T1" with those made under the supervision of Malone in 1776 and by Chalmers in 1796. Cf. facs. 5-7.

²⁰ Inasmuch as Sir Edward accepts Mr. Law's conclusions as to the genuineness of the questioned Play-lists, there is certainly no impropriety in citing these documents against him even though I consider them forgeries.

either with a small, light, straight upstroke making a sharp angle with the third minim (in "T2" and "T3"), or with a terminal little downward flourish after the third minim (in "British Museum" and in "T1"), or with a long, sweeping backward flourish over the *m* (in "Guildhall"), or with a slightly upward-curving final minim (in "Deposition"), but not once did his final *m* end abruptly in a heavy perpendicular or slightly curved downstroke. D's final *m*'s and *n*'s (of which there are some sixty examples in the Addition) never end in the manner characteristic of Shakspeare's letter, but always end in an elongated, blunt-pointed, heavily-shaded, vertical or slightly curved minim, *e. g.*, in "him" (ll. 103 and 105), "liom" (l. 121), "nation" (l. 131), "in" (l. 132), or in a slightly upward-curving final stroke, *e. g.*, in "gentlemen" (l. 144), resembling the final stroke he imparts to his *l*'s and *i*'s. That the final stroke in the *m* of "British Museum" is not merely an "accidental final tag" (Thompson, *l. c.*, p. 95) but a characteristic of Shakspeare's handwriting is shown by its recurrence in "T1."

The initial upstroke on the *m* in "T3" is of no significance because such ornamental upstrokes were added to many letters of the alphabet, even to some capitals, by almost all writers.

16. Shakspeare's capital *S*'s differ from D's in two important respects; their base curve is rather heavy, whereas those of D are always light,—an indication of differences in pen-position, pen-pressure and rate of movement; they sometimes (as in "T3," probably also in "British Museum" and probably also in "T1") terminate without an overhead arch. Both Shakspeare and D made very conventional capital *S*'s, such as was prescribed by the writing masters of the period (*cf.* de Beau Chesne, *l. c.*), but there can be very little question (on the testimony of "T3" and "T1") that Shakspeare sometimes made an old English *S* which omitted the overhead terminal arch and ended within the upper curve,—a type of *S* which was extremely common in Elizabethan documents. D, unlike Shakspeare, but like a great many Elizabethan penmen, professional scribes and others, occasionally inserted an ornamental dot into his *S*'s (*cf.* l. 26, margin, and "Shrewsbury" in l. 32), as he did into his *P* (l. 1), his *T* (l. 30, 55), his *A* (l. 43), and his *W* (l. 35). The dot in these and even other letters is shown in de Beau Chesne's book and in numerous manuscripts of the time.

17. The small *h*'s made by Shakespeare in his unquestioned autographs also furnish positive means of distinguishing his handwriting from that of D. The latter made use of two varieties of the letter, one resembling an elongated and distorted "8" (shown in the words "him" in l. 4 and in the word "heare" in l. 13)²¹ and another resembling a large inverted "3," which do not occur even once in the Signatures.

The *h*'s employed by Shakspeare in "Deposition" and in "Guildhall" differ from the same variety of letter employed by D in these important respects: they are more vertical; they do not extend so far to the left below the line of writing; the first part of the descending stroke swings to the right or straight down (instead of to the left); the final return upstroke makes an acute angle with the second part of the descending stroke, and the first half of the descending stroke is heavy. D wrote more rapidly than Shakspeare and held his quill in such a position that he used the corner of the left nib more than Shakspeare.

The *h* in "British Museum" resembles that in the word "the" in line 24 of the Addition but differs from it in a peculiar Shaksperian characteristic: it terminates in a heavily shaded tag which is very like the tag at the end of his long *s*'s.

The *h*'s in "T2" and "T3," one with the initial head-loop and one without it, differ strikingly from the same type of *h* in D (*e. g.*, in the words "them" in l. 52, "the" in l. 51, "heare" in l. 1) in lacking the swinging movement and the fine curve of the loop below the line, in being almost horizontal at the heavily shaded base-curve, in having a slightly dextro-concave downstroke in the first part of the pendant loop and in having a larger and less distinctly curved element between the head-loop and the infra-linear loop.

It is worth mentioning that in five (83.3%) of his unquestioned autographs Shakspeare did not link the *h* to the *a* in his surname. The early facsimiles of "T1" show that this was the case in that signature too. In the three pages of the Addition the ligated *ha* occurs sixty-six times and only in fourteen instances (21.2%) are the *h* and the *a* disconnected.

18. That the *k*'s in the Signatures, excluding the faltering one

²¹ This variety of *h* seems to have wholly escaped Sir Edward's scrutiny.

in "T2," furnish no warrant for attributing the Addition to Shakspeare has already been shown.

19. As to the Italian long *s* employed by Shakspeare, it needs only to be added, to what has been previously said, that he seems to have had a fondness for terminating it and similar letteres (*e. g.*, the *h* without a pendant bow) with a heavy tag. It is a curious and unquestionably a significant fact that though D has no less than twenty English final *s*'s, somewhat resembling the long Italian *s*, *e. g.*, in the words "thats" (l. 88), "freinds" (l. 90), "things" (l. 68), "betts" (l. 50), "elaments" (l. 136), "Comforts" (l. 137), and ending with a short curve to the left, he does not once present us with such a heavy final. It is important to notice in this connection, that all but two of these *s*'s are very heavily shaded. The hand that made these heavy *s*'s about 1595 was not likely to have written the light, graceful long *s*'s of the second decade of the seventeenth century.

20. How utterly different Shakspeare's handwriting is at times from that of D, is easily apparent if one focuses his attention on the letters *spe* in the Signatures and compares them with the same combination of letters in the Addition, *e. g.*, in the words "desperat" (l. 107), "gospell" (l. 88), "speake" (l. 57). The writer of the former could not have been the writer of the latter.

21. As to the *p*'s nothing need be added to what has already been said concerning them. The *per* (or unique *sper*) symbol employed in "Deposition" is, except for the head-loop, very much like that which was in general use in Shakspeare's day. It may be seen on almost any page in the play of *Sir Thomas Moore*.

22. The *e* in "Guildhall" and "British Museum" is the common letter with the reversed loop which was used by all Elizabethan penmen and presents nothing distinctive. The letter is incomplete and we are therefore in no position to compare it with the final *e*'s which "often terminated in a flourish and a dot." The cursive *e*'s in the three will-signatures differ from D's in the acute angle at the base and in the terminal loop being "blind or slurred."

23. Shakspeare's signatures to the will offer us three left-shouldered *r*'s which do not resemble D's left shouldered *r*'s in their minute structure.

24. Though the *y* in "T3" is not as gracefully curved as the *y*'s of D, it is such a conventional letter that it is of almost no value as a means of distinguishing one writer from the other.

25. Sir Edward (*l. c.*, p. 105) invokes Shakspere's infirmity (a combination of writer's cramp and his final illness) to account for the differences between his *B* (in "T3") and the six *B*'s in the Addition in the words "Bushell" and "Bbeff"²² (l. 3), "But" (l. 37), "Brother" (ll. 43, 59), "Bett" (l. 70, margin) and "Betts" (l. 89). Shakspere's *B* is a firmly, fairly rapidly and beautifully made letter, showing not the slightest trace of wavering, hesitation or infirmity. Its structure differs from that of D's letter—*cf.* facs. 15—because one was Shakspere and the other was not; the two men had learned to make different kinds of *B*. Infirmity, it is hardly necessary to say at this stage of our inquiry, does not alter the patterns, the framework or skeleton, of a writer's letters.

The *B*'s made by D were essentially a combination of a large modern "2" with a straight or curved horizontal base-line and a large "3" plus a vertical straight or curved stroke through the centre; sometimes he made the first two parts with one movement of the pen, sometimes with two. In this he was following the pattern prescribed by de Beau Chesne. That Shakspere's *B* was wholly differently conceived is apparent from a study of that letter in "T3," as has also been pointed out by Mrs. Stopes and the Rev. M. A. Bayfield (in *The Times Literary Supplement*, June, 1919).

Summing up the results of this study of the two writings in question, we must say, then, that on the basis of the six unquestioned signatures the weight of the evidence is overwhelmingly against the theory that in folios 8 and 9 of *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore* we have a Shakspere holograph.²³

New York.

²² There is no more question that this word is "Bbeff" (not "Beeff") than that in l. 21 the word is "quescion" and not "question," Sir Edward to the contrary notwithstanding.

²³ Inasmuch as I have referred to the Shakspere signature in the Montaigne as a genuine autograph, I may inform the reader that that signature, written probably in 1603, thoroughly bears out the conclusion I have reached on the basis of the six unquestioned signatures.

NOTES ON THE FACSIMILES.

These facsimiles, all but Nos. 1, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 17, were made by the half-tone process (Nos. 13, 14, 15 and 16) and by the line etching process from photographs of the originals, not from other facsimiles of the originals. No process has yet been devised for making faithful colotype reproductions of handwriting facsimiles from photographs of old and faded originals. The half-tone process omits and distorts the microscopic characteristics; the line process makes the light lines heavier than they are, eliminates evidences of fine tremor, tends to fill up fine loops, besides converting dotted or interrupted strokes into continuous lines. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the following facsimiles are as fine and faithful as can be desired or as modern methods make possible.

- No. 1.—This is the alphabet universally employed by English penmen in Shakspeare's day as depicted by de Beau Chesne in his book on handwriting, "A Booke / Containing Divers Sortes / of hands, as well the English as French secretarie / . . . Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautrouillier / dwelling in the blackefriers. / M.D.LXXXI." The most advanced scholars and many of the nobility were also writing the Italian script at this time. This facsimile shows the ornamental dots in a number of capital letters (C, D, H, O, P, Q, S, T and W, though they occur also in other letters), the long initial upstrokes on some of the small letters, as well as the large number of variations permissible in Elizabethan script.
- No. 2.—"Deposition." This signature, enlarged to thrice its natural size, occurring on a deposition dated May 11, 1612, was recently discovered by Professor Wallace. It shows Shakspeare as a fairly rapid and fluent penman who wielded his pen with facility. The signature reads, "Wilm [or "Willu"] Shaks" (or "Shakper," or, most probably, "Shaksper").
- No. 3.—"Guildhall." This is the signature (enlarged $\times 3$) appended to the purchase deed of a house in Blackfriars on March 10, 1612-13, and preserved in the Guildhall Library, London. The little curved stroke to the right of the flourish above the "e" is not a part of the original signature. This is also true of the slightly curved vertical stroke to the right of the "e" and at the very edge of the parchment strip, as well as of the vertical "w" just below and to the right of the "e." This signature seems to have been tampered with at its right end by some early owner or investigator. In some spots the parchment did not take the ink well.
- No. 4.—"British Museum." This is Shakspeare's signature (enlarged $\times 2$) on the deed mortgaging his house in Blackfriars on March 11, 1612-13. The original is preserved in the British Museum. The writing strokes present a dotted appearance because the parchment was so greasy that it did not take the ink well and the letters had to be "printed." There is hardly any doubt that part of the signature at the extreme right was cut away by the attorney or his clerk to make the label fit into the slit in the document. The "m" has not been reproduced so well as it might be.
- No. 5.—This is the remnant of "T1" (enlarged $\times 2$) as it appeared in 1916.
- No. 6.—This is "T1" (enlarged $\times 2$) as depicted by Steevens and Malone in 1776. It differs from No. 5 in a number of minute details, espe-

cially the angle at the top of the W-loop, the headloop of the first l, the slant of the first l-stem, the a, the minims and terminal flourish of the m, etc., but it is sufficiently faithful to its original to show that it was traced from it.

- No. 7.—This is "T1" (enlarged $\times 2$) as depicted by Chalmers in 1796. This "very perfect facsimile" (as Chalmers called it) differs from the original and from the Malone-Steevens facsimile in a few details, especially as to the first l, the m-minims and flourish, the protruding chin on the S, the r, and the final e. On the whole, Chalmers's is the more nearly faithful of the two drawings.
- No. 8.—This is "T2" (enlarged $\times 2$) and but for the heavy upstroke of the p an almost perfect facsimile of the original.
- No. 9.—This is "T3" (enlarged $\times 2$) and but for the slight thickening of Shakspeare's fine ascending lines and the omission of the thickening or doubling of the lowest point of the initial m-stroke as fine a facsimile as can be desired. That the words "By me William" were written by William Shakspeare himself is proved beyond the possibility of doubt by the fact that the writing agrees with that of the surname and the other signatures in rhythm, size, shading, pen pressure, alignment, slant, spacing, proportions, pen position, etc. Cf. Osborn's *Questioned Documents* for an explanation of these terms.
- No. 10.—This is a slightly enlarged facsimile of the writing of a cultured person who suffered for years from severe writer's cramp. Lack of pen control is evident throughout. Note especially the conversion of the u into an m in "Quaker," the difficulty of writing "in" in "against," the cramped "ess" in "address," the huddled "e" in "friends," the incomplete "y" in "yearly," the omission of an "e" in "Paper," the misspelling "negers" (not due to ignorance), the failure to cross the "t" in "to" (l. 6), the almost unrecognizable "their" and the misplaced t-crossing, the distorted "have to" at the end of l. 6, etc. Note also the comparative ease with which this man made his curved letters, e. g., the "Q," the "R," the "B," the "f" (in "freedom," l. 6).
- No. 11.—This is a facsimile (slightly reduced) of a part of the third page (folio 9^a) of the Addition. It reads:
- amd to add ampler matie to this
 he [god] hath not [le] only lent the king his figure
 his throne [hisyour] sword, but gyven him his owne name
 calls him a god on earth, what do you then
 rysing gainst him that god himsealf enstalls [105]
 but ryse gainst god, what do you to yor sowles
 in doing this o desperat [ar] as you are
 wash your foule mynds wt teares and those same hands
 that you lyke rebells lyft against the peace
 [xxxx]
 lift vp for peace, and your vnreuerent knees [110]
 [that] make them your feet to kneele to be forgiven
 [is safer warrs, then euer you can make]
 [in in to yor obedienc]
 [whose discipline is ryot], [why] [euen yor warre(s)] [hurly]
 TELL ME BUT THIS
 [cannot proceed but by obedienc] what rebell captaine

as mutynes ar incident, by his name [115]
 can still the rout who will obay [th] a traytor
 or howe can well that proclamation somde
 when the[i]r is no adicion but a rebell
 to quallyfy a rebell, youle put downe atraingers
 kill them cutt their throts possesse their howses [120]
 and leade the matie of lawe in liom

- No. 12.—Part (ll. 12-19) of a letter by Thomas Cranmer to Thomas Cromwell (B. M., Cotton MS., Cleop., E. V. fo. 329) showing numerous horizontal a-spurs. It reads: "that it shall well appere hereafter with high and accep//table service you haue don vnto godde and the king, whiche / shall somoche redown to your honor. that, besides goddes rewarde / you shall opteyn perpetuall memorye for the same wthin this / Realme / And as for me, you may reckon me your bondeman / for the same, and I dare be bold to say, so may ye do my Lorde of wurceiter / Thus my Lorde. right hartely faire you well / att / fforde the xiii day of auguste/." There is an interesting o-spur in the word "so" on line 3. Note also the two kinds of h in the word "high" (l. 1), two kinds of r in "hereafter" (l. 1), the e's without the ascending stroke at the right in "appere" (l. 1), the *ser*-symbol in "service" (l. 2), the final *es* symbol in "goddes" (l. 3), the *per*-symbol in "perpetuall" (l. 4), and the dot in the capital T in "Thus" (l. 7).
- No. 13.—This is the upper part of page 3 of the disputed Revels Accounts of 1611-12. It is of interest as showing characteristically indented *l*'s (e. g., in the words "ffolloweth" and "Allso" in line 2) as well as small *p*'s resembling Shakspeare's letter in "British Museum" (e. g., in the word "Cumpany" on line 1).
- No. 14.—This is part of the left margin of folio 8^a of the Addition. It shows the names of the dramatis personae written by "D" (?Shakspeare) and altered by "C" (the stage director?). Thus "other" is crossed out and "GEO BETT" substituted in line 1. "Linco[ln]," the main personage's name, is unchanged; in line 3 "other" is changed to "BETTS CLOW" (i. e., Betts the Clown); in line 5 "oth[er]" is changed to "WILLIAN," and in line 7 "CLOWN. BETTS" is substituted for "o[ther]." Then follows the stage direction "ENTER SERIANT" in C's hand which Sir Edward Thompson mistook for D's and on the basis of which he said that D's and Shakspeare's Italian *s* are identical.
- No. 15.—This is a fragment (the upper left-hand corner) of folio 8^a of the Addition. It shows D's capital B (in the word "Bushell" in the 3d line), wholly unlike Shakspeare's letter in "T3."
- No. 16.—This is part of folio 8^a of the Addition. It shows three fine examples of D's capital W in the words "Wisdom" (lines 3 and 5) and "Weele" (one with a conspicuous dot in the final loop), his capital B (in the word "But" at the beginning of the fifth line), his *ha* ligatures, initial upstrokes, characteristic *h*'s, mesial *s*'s, small *p*'s, unindented *l*'s, etc.
- No. 17.—This is a rather poor facsimile of a part of folio 13^a of the play of "Sir Thomas Moore" and is in the handwriting of "C," in all probability the stage director of the company that was to produce the play. It reads:

pardon thou reverent germaine I have mixt
 so slight a Jest to the faire Entertainment

SHAKESPEAREAN AND OTHER FEASTS

BY OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON

In repeating recently Shakespeare's praise of sleep (*Macbeth* II, ii, 36-40) I paused, not on the expression "the raveled sleeve of care" which has received almost a surfeit of explanation, but on a following clause, "great nature's second course." I asked myself, with more of curiosity than ever before, why *second course*? What was the ordinary Elizabethan meal which made this specific reference so appropriate that Shakespeare did not hesitate to use it in this famous passage?

The eighteenth century Shakespearean, Theobald, was sufficiently puzzled by the expression "second course" in this passage to propose *source* for *course*, though as he later withdrew the emendation we must not make too much of it. A more modern critic made another proposal. He objected to considering "that *course* belongs to the metaphor of 'life's feast,'" on the ground that "Shakespeare's word for a course in a meal was *service*." He therefore concludes that "Nature (i. e. life, existence) is here compared to a race with two courses or rounds, which are respectively the waking state and sleep." But the point of the comment vanishes when we find that, whether *course* is here used for part of a meal or not, *service* is used by Shakespeare but a single time in that sense, as in *Hamlet* IV, iii, 25 ff. It is the speech of Hamlet on poor Polonius:

Not where he eats, but where he is eaten. . . . Your fat king and your lean beggar is but variable service, two dishes, but to one table.

On the other hand, *second course* is used twice elsewhere in Shakespeare (*Henry V*, IV, iii, 106, and *Coriolanus* I, v, 17), but in both cases for part of a battle, as "a second course of fight" in *Coriolanus*. If therefore, we were to reason as Mr. Grey has done too carelessly, we should assume that "great nature's second course" meant the second round of a fight.

¹ Arthur Grey in *Notes and Queries*, Ser. VII, Vol. vi, p. 343. The article, cited by Schmidt in the *Supplement* to his invaluable *Lexicon*, is not included in the index to the volume or that to the series, nor does Schmidt give the page reference.

Most school editions of the play, English and American, do not comment on this *Macbeth* use of *course*. Richard Jones (Appleton ed., 1898) explains *second course* as "the chief course at a feast." and Schelling (Holt. ed., 1911) makes the somewhat more definite statement: "In the second course of Elizabethan meals the most nourishing dishes were served." Neither commentator cites any authority for his statement, and therefore does little more than interpret the expression from the context, especially the "chief nourisher of life's feast" in the next line. The Furness Variorum *Macbeth* quotes the ms. notes of Professor Allen, that is George Allen, Professor of Latin in the University of Pennsylvania from 1845 to 1876, and an active member of the Shakespeare Society of Philadelphia. Professor Allen's note is to the effect,

that *Pudding* was the first course, and that the second course (then what the first course is now, Roast Beef etc.) was the chief nourisher. See Butler, *Hudibras* Part I, canto ii:

But Mars, who still protects the stout,
In pudding-time came to his aid!

Cited by Johnson (*Dict.*) with the explanation: 'the time of dinner; the time at which pudding, anciently the first dish, is set upon the table.'^a

A casual interest in this note of Professor Allen might lead one to wonder what relation Mars had to pudding or dinner-time, when he should have been helping, and in fact did help Hudibras in the fight. Johnson's *Dictionary* makes all clear, for Johnson does not cite *Hudibras* to illustrate dining, or meal-time at all. In defining *pudding-time*, which he was the first to cite and explain, Johnson gave two meanings:

1. The time of dinner; the time at which pudding, anciently the first dish, is set upon the table.
2. Nick of time; critical moment.

It is in explanation of this second meaning only that Johnson cites the *Hudibras* lines, Mars having assisted the hard-pressed Knight at a critical time in his contest. The quotation from Butler has no place in an explanation of the *Macbeth* passage.

The first part of Johnson's definition is more important. Pudding, in Johnson's time and earlier, meant a meat concoction

^a The *Hudibras* lines are 864-5 of Part I, canto ii.

encased in a skin, boiled in a bag, or prepared in the form of a pie; see *pudding-pie* in the *New Eng. Dict.*³ Either the pudding or the pie, or a similar preparation as we shall see, was often used as a first course at dinner, sometimes at other meals. Later a pudding was made of flour or meal, with suet, milk, eggs, sometimes fruit, but still boiled in a bag like the old meat pudding. Still later developed the pudding of more modern make. A Yorkshire pudding still preserves something of its original character. since it is cooked with the meat and receives the meat drippings.

Incidentally, according to the *Eng. Dial. Dict.*, *pudding-time* is still used for 'dinner-time' in several English districts, as West Yorkshire, Lancashire, South Cheshire, Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire. In those parts of England, too, pudding may still begin the meal, and is sometimes reckoned a convenience in saving the meat course.⁴ Notwithstanding this continued use the *New Eng. Dict.* does not recognize *pudding-time* as specifically 'dinner-time,' and its quotations illustrate only the figurative use of the term, that is 'a time when one is in luck.' This ignoring of the principal definition of the great lexicographer Johnson is the more remarkable, too, because Bailey had defined *pudding* as "a sort of food well known, chiefly in England."⁵ *Pudding* in

³ The casing of a pudding in a skin accounts for several Shakespeare allusions; see *All's Well* II, ii, 22-9: "As fit . . . as the pudding to his skin." Three allusions to Falstaff's stoutness depend upon this idea. Thus in *Merry Wives* IV, iv, 30-1 Mrs. Page says of him, "reveng'd I will be, as sure as his guts are made of puddings"; in *1 Henry IV* II, iv, 497-8 the Prince describes Falstaff as "that stuff'd cloak-bag of guts, that roasted Manningtree ox with the pudding in his belly"; and again in *Henry V* II, i, 91-2, the Hostess says of Falstaff ill: "By my troth, he'll yield the crow a pudding one of these days." Finally, in *Measure for Measure* IV, iii, 17 "Lusty Pudding" is clearly a very stout person.

⁴ For something like the last idea compare Thomas Tusser's recommendation in his *Points of Huswiferie*:

In June buttered beans saveth fish to be spent.

See the *Eng. Dial. Soc.* ed. of Tusser's *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie*, p. 229.

⁵ Can it be the *NED.* does not wish it to be known that an English dinner once began with a pudding? If so, it will be confounded by the names Pudding Lane and Pie Corner in London, which proclaim to every casual visitor that a pudding or a pie of the meat order was once the natural dish an Englishman sought for his refreshment.

this sense of a first course at a meal has not been reported for America, but Mr. Thayer of the John D. White Library in Cleveland tells me a pudding sometimes begins the meal in Pennsylvania mining communities, and is there often used to save the meat course, the children especially being advised to eat heartily of the pudding.

But even Johnson's first definition of *pudding-time* helps us little with the *Macbeth* passage. How many courses at dinner were there in Shakespeare's age, and how does "second course" stand related to the number? For it is proper to assume, in preliminary discussion, that the ordinary dinner of his time suggested to Shakespeare the figure which, though it holds only a general meaning for us, was at once clear to a theater goer of the age of Elizabeth and the First James. Only so could "great nature's second course" have seemed appropriate to the great dramatist.

Fortunately considerable information concerning early English meals is accessible, and some of it not only illuminates the *Macbeth* passage with which we began, but throws light on many another in our early literature. For instance, Dr. Furnivall edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1867, and the next year for the Early English Text Society, several *Books of Nurture* as they were called, dealing with dinners and feasts of older time.* In another Early English Text Society's volume (No. 91) are reprinted *Two Fifteenth Century Cookery Books*, and in one of these of about 1420 are various menus, one of the late fourteenth century. There is preserved in the London Philological Society's publications a fifteenth century *Liber Cure Cocorum*, a late Middle English version in rime of recipes and of some dinner services. Still more important is the *Collection of Ordinances and Regulations . . . of the Royal Household* from the time of Edward III to William

* *Manners and Meals in Olden Time*, or the *Babees Book* is the general title in the *E. E. T. S.* ed., No. 32. It is peculiarly appropriate that Furnivall should have edited these and other similar books, since he was not ashamed to combine the broadest and even slightest human interests with his literary endeavors. Nor is it wholly inappropriate to the subject of this paper to remind the reader that the great man, when he had discovered a new ms. of Caxton's *Book of Courtesye*, "drank seven cups of tea and eat five or six large slices of bread and butter in honor of the event." See his edition of Caxton's work, *E. E. T. S.*, extra ser. No. 3.

and Mary, published by the London Society of Antiquaries in 1790. The next year, too, was issued the *Antiquitates Culinariae, or Curious Tracts relating to the Culinary Affairs of the Old English*, by Rev. William Warner.

To these may be added some minor sources of information. For example, Minsheu's *Dialogues*, in the first volume of his *Dictionary in Spanish and English* (1599), has some allusions to meals in Shakespeare's more immediate time. Andrew Boorde's *Dyetary of Helth* (1542)⁷ has some important notes on foods, as have also William Vaughan's *Natural and Artificial Directions for Health* (1602) and Sir John Harington's *Schoole of Salerne, or the Englishman's Doctor* (1608).⁸

In these books there are recorded numerous course dinners or feasts from the fourteenth to the early eighteenth century. Yet in all of them, there are only two meals of more than three courses, and these two of four courses only. The first of these four-course dinners is one of fish in John Russell's *Boke of Nurture*, from a ms. of the last half of the fifteenth century.⁹ In this, fruit was served as a fourth course. The second four-course dinner is in a reprint of a Davenport Bromley ms. of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. It describes a "feste for a bryd"¹⁰ in which, as in the Russell example, the fourth course is made by splitting what would ordinarily have been the third. These two examples, out of many which are recorded, seem to show that as a rule even the most elaborate feasts consisted of no more than three courses.

And now we may be reminded that the feast of the great Cambinskan in Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*, a feast

so solempne and so riche
That in this world ne was ther noon it liche,

was of three courses only. For it was "after the thridde cours," as Chaucer tells us, when the king was

Herkeninge his minstrelles hir thinges pleye,

that the knight rode in upon the "stede of bras," bearing the magic mirror, the ring, and the sword, of which we have only a

⁷ *E. E. T. S.*, ex. ser., No. 10.

⁸ *The Babees Book*, pp. 166-8.

⁹ *The Babees Book*, pp. 249-59.

¹⁰ *The same*, pp. 375-7.

partial history in the incomplete *Tale*." Further evidence for the three-course dinner as the normal one for elaborate occasions in the time of Chaucer is also indicated by five such dinners outlined in a MS. called *Ancient Cookery*.¹² That this MS. belongs to Chaucer's time is shown by its being preceded by a chronological list of events from 1326 to 1399, the reigns of Edward III and Richard II exactly.

Yet even before Chaucer's time, and perhaps on ordinary occasions in his age, the two-course dinner was well known. In 1317, in order to prevent extravagance as we are told, Edward II had ordained, with the advice and consent of his Council,

that great men of his kingdom should have only two courses of flesh meats served to their table; each course consisting of two kinds of flesh meat; except Prelates, Earls, Barons, and the Great men of the land might have an intermeat [so the translator glosses the Anglo-French *entremesse*] of one kind of meat if they pleased. On fish days they should only have two courses of fish, each consisting of two kinds, and an intermeat of one kind of fish, if they thought fit. And those who should transgress this ordinance should be severely punished.¹³

What was the effect of Edward Second's ordinance, or how long it continued to be observed,, does not appear. Yet we may conclude from Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*, and from other sources to be

¹² On the other hand, it was after "þe fyrst course" in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* that the latter rode into Arthur's hall and offered his challenge to the court. But all this was in accordance with Arthur's pleasure, for "he wolde never ete" without some such marvel said or done; see lines 91 ff., 467 ff. After the Green Knight's challenge, and Gawain's successful wielding of the ax, the Christmas feast continued, but there are no further references to courses in the meal.

¹³ *Ordinances of the Royal Household*, pp. 423-73.

¹⁴ Ryley's *Placita Parliamentaria*, p. 553, as given in *Ordinances of the Royal Household*, p. viii, from the Close Roll of Edward II. The original in Ryley reads:

Primes que les grantz Seignurs du Roialme ne facent servir lor hostels forsqe des dens cours des chars, a quatre manere des chars, ceste asavoir, lun et lautre cours double, saunz plus fors pris les Prelatz, Countes, Barouns, et les altres plus grantz de la terre eient une entremesse dune manere de charc a lor tables si lor plest. Et ausint facent servir lor hostels des jours de peisson de dieux cours, et quatre manere de peisson, saunz plus, ouc une entremesse dune manere de peisson si lor plest. Et qi autrement le serra, soit grevousment punie par nous.

presently mentioned, that the elaborate feast of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries reached its "customary limit," as W. C. Hazlitt calls it, in not more than three courses.¹⁴ There were but three courses at the coronation dinner of Henry IV in 1399, a feast which perhaps Chaucer attended; at that when Henry married Joan, or Joanna of Navarre in 1403; at the nuptial feast of Henry V and Katherine of France in 1421; at the funeral of Nicholas Bubbewith, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and at the installation of his successor, John Stafford, in 1423; at a dinner of some Lord Grey of the time, and at the wedding of some earl of Devon.¹⁵ All but one of these great feasts, with their menus at length, are preserved in *Two Fifteenth Century Cookery Books* of about 1425.¹⁶ The account of the nuptial feast of Henry V may be found in the *Antiquitates Culinariae*, pp. xxv-vii.¹⁷

Here again, however, two-course dinners appear. At the funeral of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, at the installation of his successor, and at the wedding dinner of the earl of Devon two-course dinners were provided "pro viris religiosis" in the first one, and "pro inferiore parte Auli" in the last two. A *Boke of Nurture*, the ms. of which is of 1460-70, but the author a John Russell, "sometime servande with Duke Umphrey of Gloucester" who died in 1477, while it gives a "dynere of flesche" of three courses and the exceptional four-course "dinere of fische" already mentioned, outlines "a fest for a Franklyn"¹⁸ in two courses only. The editor of the *Antiquitates Culinariae* also notes that "in the fifteenth century a very considerable alteration began to take place in the domestic economy of the English nobility." "They gradually emerged" from the "boundless hospitality" of their predecessors "to something more of order and frugality."¹⁹

¹⁴ *Old Cookery Books* (Elliot Stock ed. 1902), p. 240.

¹⁵ Perhaps Hugh Courtenay, who succeeded to the earldom in 1419.

¹⁶ *E. B. T. S.*, No. 91, pp. 57 ff. The editor, Thomas Austin, assumes a date of about 1420, but one of the dinners was of 1423 as noted above.

¹⁷ In the *Antiquitates Culinariae* the nuptial feast of Henry IV and "Jane of Navar" is made to consist of six courses, three of flesh and three of fish. This must be a mistake, however, either two dinners being intended, or dinners for two sets of people, as in some other cases. For example it was not unusual to furnish a fish dinner for the clergy when flesh was served to other people.

¹⁸ *Babees Book*, pp. 170-71.

¹⁹ Pp. xxxv-vii.

For the remainder of the fifteenth century two-course dinners become increasingly frequent. Of three dinner menus given in the *Liber Cure Cocorum*, which is placed not earlier than Henry Sixth's reign beginning in 1422, one is of two courses. In the rules of the house of the dowager Princess Cecily, mother of Edward IV, an ordinance seems to imply a second course only at dinners and suppers. The ordinance reads:

When my Lady is served of the seconde course at dynner, at supper, the chamber is rewarded, and the hall, with breade and ale.²⁰

The clear implication is that the second course closed the Princess's meal. Nor must we fail to mention the famous Boar's Head Carol, *Caput Aprî Defero*, of the Christmas feast, most if not all versions being of the fifteenth century. This carol, sung at the bringing in of the boar's head in the first course of the dinner, naturally has little to do with other parts of the feast. Yet one version makes mention of a second course, with the implication that this course was the only remaining part of the Christmas repast. The stanza reads:

Then comes in the second course with mikle pride,
The cranes, the herons, the bitterns by their side,
The partridges, the plovers, the woodcocks and the snipe,
With hey, hey, hey, hey,
The boar's head is armed gay.²¹

Again the Bromley ms., already mentioned for the four-course "feste for a bryd," in its principal directions "for to serve a lord" mentions a first and a second course by name, the latter being the more important. Mention is also made of serving wafers, fruit, and wine after the second course, but not as a third course. These elements of a dessert, as we should call it, often belong to the second course, as shown by numerous early menus, or were served separately from the regular meal as we shall see later.²²

²⁰ *Ordinances of the Royal Household*, p. 38.

²¹ *Babees Book*, p. 397, where two versions are given; *Ancient English Christmas Carols*, by Edith Rickert (Ld., 1914), pp. 256-61, where are given the seven versions mentioned above and the one from which the quotation is made. In the third line an *and* following *partridges* renders the meter less perfect and is perhaps a later addition. "Armed" in the last line is of course "larded."

²² For this part of the Bromley ms. see *Babees Book*, pp. 366 ff. The

With the beginning of the sixteenth century a very considerable amount of information shows that the two-course dinner had come to be the rule. For the installation of William Wareham as archbishop of Canterbury in 1504 at least twelve menus are on record, only one of three courses. In 1513 Wynkyn de Worde printed the *Boke of Kervynge*, which outlined course dinners for most of the year. They include dinners from Easter to Whitsunday, with a special Easter-day feast; dinners from Pentecost, that is Whitsunday, to Midsummer; dinners from the Nativity of St. John, that is Midsummer's day, to Michaelmas; dinners from Michaelmas to Christmas. Now all of these are clearly two-course dinners, except that once, for a fish dinner, three courses are mentioned.²³ Besides, the *Boke of Kervynge*, in its discussion of service at table, begins with "Fyrste sette ye forthe" etc., that is the first course, and then cites the dishes appropriate "For standard" as it is called, that is the second and final course of the meal.

In 1526 Henry VIII had prepared "Articles devised by the King's Highness, with the advice of the Council, for the establishment of good order and reformation of sundry errours and misuses in his most honourable Household and Chamber." It recounts how at the beginning of his reign Henry had been engaged in wars "for the defense of the church" and "for the weal of Christendom," and only now was able to look after the "good order of his household." In these "Articles," among other things, are arranged what are called "Dietts" "for the King's Majesty and the Queen's Grace," and for numerous retainers of both king and queen. They are worked out for flesh days and fish days, that is for the first five days of the week on the one side, and for Friday and Saturday on the other. They fill most of sixteen quarto pages of the *Ordinances . . . of the Royal Household*. They are made out for both dinners and suppers, yet in all cases, except for certain

heading "How to serve Dessert" does not belong to the *ms.*, but was presumably inserted by Furnivall. Only the "first cours" and the "seconde cours" are mentioned by name in the directions, even though the servant is advised to serve the wafers etc. after clearing the table of the second course.

²³ See the reprint in the *Babees Book*, pp. 274-80. It may be that three courses of fish were served because fish was not thought so satisfying as flesh. That would also account for the four-course fish dinner previously mentioned, at a time when three courses were the rule.

less important people to whom one course only was served, they are for two-course meals.²⁴ Now if there was any English ruler of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century in whose case we should have expected an elaborate table service, that ruler was Henry VIII. Yet to the end of his reign in 1547, less than twenty years before the birth of Shakespeare and a little more than fifty before the writing of *Macbeth*, the practice, even of the royal household, was confined to a two-course meal. The inference is almost inevitable that Shakespeare's figure, "great nature's second course," was based on the final, as well as the more elaborate part of the ordinary dinner or feast of his time.

In the *Ordinances of the Royal Household* no more course dinners are outlined, as in the *Ordinances* of Elizabeth, James I, Prince Henry, son of James I, Charles II, or William and Mary, with which the book closes. Yet the menus which are given, though not divided into courses, are much the same as those of Henry VIII, at least until those of William and Mary, which are much simpler. The inference is not unreasonable that the ordinary meal was still served in not more than two courses. This seems also implied in Hugh Rhodes's *Boke of Nurture*, printed in London in 1577. In the directions on the "Manner of Serving a Knight, Squire, or Gentleman" it is said: "If so be ye have any more courses than one or two, ye may make the more hast in voyding," that is in clearing the table. The implication is that, in serving men of some consequence, not more than two courses were customary.²⁵

Again in Minshew's *Dialogues* of 1599 conversation regarding a meal is illustrated in Spanish and English. In English, Peter, the entertainer, says to the servant as he and his friend John enter for breakfast:

Bring in a pie and a quarter of roasted kidde.

Later, Peter gives the additional order:

Bring us some olives for the third course;

²⁴ *Ordinances* as above, pp. 175-91.

²⁵ Even the barbacue of the "roasted Mannington ox with the pudding in his belly," to which Shakespeare refers in *1 Henry IV* II, iv, 497-8, suggests the Shakespearean feast of two courses, the pudding doubtless being first eaten, and then the roasted flesh.

upon which the friend says:

This is to be called a dinner and not a breakfast.

Here is a meal of two principal courses, the pie, or meat-pie, as we should call it, for the first course, the roasted kid for the second and principal dish. The olives, called a third course, were evidently not expected by the guest and seem almost an after-thought. At least they scarcely militate against the idea that the ordinary meal was of two courses, of which the second was "the chief nourisher" at the feast.

The elaborate dinner still reached its limit in three courses, as indicated by Massinger's *City Madam* of 1632, in which Holdfast says:

The dishes were raised one upon another,
As woodmongers do billets, for the first,
The second, the third course."

Yet the same character had said in the first scene of the first act:

When my master got
His wealth he lived on roots and livers,
And necks of beef on Sundays;

that is at most two dishes or courses on ordinary occasions, and those of the cheapest sort. This two-course meal is also the explicit testimony of a foreigner in England toward the last of the seventeenth century, one, moreover, who fully supports the pudding course of Johnson's *Dictionary*. He writes:

Among persons of the middle condition of which I am speaking, they have ten or twelve sorts of common meat which infallibly come round in their turns at different times, and two dishes of which their dinner is composed, as for instance a pudding and a piece of roast beef."

The "two dishes" are evidently the two courses of the ordinary meal.

Discussion of these ancient feasts would not be complete without some exemplification of the courses and their contents. Yet Chaucer carefully refrained from describing all of Cambinskan's great feast in the *Squire's Tale*, explaining by the line,

Ther nis no man that may reporten al,

"*City Madam*, Act II, sc. 1, near the beginning.

"Wright's *Homes of Other Days*, p. 470.

and I shall follow his example. If curiosity should prompt one to know what was served at the nuptial feast of Henry IV and Joan of Navarre, or of Henry V and Katherine of France, they may be found in the *Antiquitates Culinariae* to which I have already referred. I take as an example a two-course dinner from the *Ordinances of the Royal Household* as served to Henry VIII. The first "dynner on a flesh day" is set down as follows, except as I add some explanations here and there:

First Course: Cheat Bread and Manchett, that is 'wheat and fine white bread'; Beare and Ale; Wyne; Flesh for Pottage; Chines of Beef; Ram-muners in stew or capers, that is perhaps 'remnants in stew or capers'; Venison in brewz' [brewets] or multure, that is 'in broth or ground,' say 'hashed venison'; Pestella, that is 'legs' of Reed Deere; Mutton; Carpes or Yong Veale in arm' farced, that is 'larded and stuffed'; Swanne, gr' [gray] Goose, Storke, or Capons of gris, that is 'young'; Conyes of gris; Fryanders, that is 'dainties'; baked Carpe; Custard garnished, or Fritters.

Second Course: Jelly, Ipoeras, Creame of Almonds; Pheasant, Herne, Bitterne, Shovelard, that is 'duck'; Partridges, Quailles or Mewz', that is 'sea-mews'; Cocks, Plovers, or Gulls; Kydd, Lambe, or Pigeons; Larkes or Rabbetts; Snyters, that is 'snipes'; Pullets or Chickens; Venison in fine past; Tarts; Fritter, Fruit with powder or piscards, that is 'with spice, or biscuits'(?); Butter and Eggs.²⁰

I vouch for the accuracy of this menu, so far as the printed record is concerned. I have used *or* wherever it occurs as an indication of alternatives in the dishes served, but in order that we may retain some slight respect for this ancient Defender of the Faith let us hope that not all the remaining dishes of either course were served in any one day, or that King Henry said "no, thank you" to several as they appeared. Perhaps the heading "Diett for the King's Majesty" implies this. Otherwise, as one contemplates the repast, he exclaims at once and with great solicitude, "God save the King."²¹

²⁰ *Ordinances etc.*, p. 174.

²¹ Solicitude for former kings is not wholly out of place, since the dinner served the king by the Squire of Low Degree, in the poem of that name belonging to the middle of the fifteenth century, is almost as elaborate as that of Henry VIII. The passage (lines 315-26) begins with the Squire in his duties as servitor; I follow the Copland text as printed by Mead (Albion Ser. 1904), but with some slight changes in punctuation:

Comparison might be made with this dinner upon a flesh day of Prince Henry, son of James I, in 1610, when Shakespeare had still a half dozen years to live. Here no separation into courses is made but, for reasons I shall soon give, the separation should doubtless be made after the boiled dishes. Thus the first course would be:

Manchets fine, Cheate fine, Cheat course, that is 'coarse'; Beere and Ale, Wine; Mutton boyled; Veale boyled; Chickennes boyled; Pignons boyled.

And the second course:

Beefe; Veale; Shoulder of Mutton; Legge of Mutton; Conyes; Goose; Capon; Chickens; Partridges; Conyes; Lambe; Lapwings; Conyes to bake; Peares; Chewets; ** Custerd Tart.²¹

By the time of William and Mary the "Diett," as it was still called, was somewhat reduced in number of dishes, and the service had apparently gone back to the three-course dinner of earlier times. Or rather, the "Desert," as it is now named in the *Ordinances*, was now first served as a separate course. Yet the main dinner is still of two courses as shown by the heading: "A Declaration of their Majesties Diett of Ten Dishes of Meate and three plates at Dinner." As "Desert Plate" heads the last, or dessert course, the rest of the menu is to be divided as that of Prince Henry. The first course was:

Pottage of Capons, or Pulletts, or Chickens or Partridges, or Beef boiled.

And sone he sat hym on his knee,
And served the kynge ryght royally,
With deynty meates that were dere;
With partryche, pecoche, and plover,
With byrdes in bread ybake—
The tele, the ducke, and the drake,
The cocke, the curlewe, and the crane;
With fesautes fayre, theyr were no wane.
Both storkes and snytes ther were also,
And venyson freshe of bucke and do,
And other deyntes many one,
For to set afore the kynge anone.

²⁰ "Small pieces of chopped up livers of pigs, hens, and capons, fried in grease, mixed with hard eggs and ginger, and then fried or baked."—*Babees Book*, p. 287.

²¹ *Ordinances*, p. 317.

And the second course:

Mutton roasted; Turkey, or Goose large, or Capons fatt; Chickens fatt, or Pidgeons tame, or Pheasants, or Partridges, or Cocks, or Quails, or Buck baked quarter, or Ham Pye; Tarts of Sorts.

Dessert:

Morelles, that is 'mushrooms,' or Trouffles; Jelly, or Asparagus."²²

The mention of dessert in the dinners of William and Mary, and the failure to note anything of the sort in earlier dinner usage, needs a word of explanation. The term dessert, as we might infer from the accent of the word on the last syllable, is a comparatively late borrowing from French. According to the *NED*, the word first appears in the *Art of Cookery* by William King in 1708, a humorous adaptation to a different subject of Horace's title, the *Art of Poetry*. Thomas Wright tells us, in his *Homes of Other Days*, that the term began to be used after

the abandonment, in the middle of the seventeenth century, of an old custom. In the earlier part of that century and in the century previous, when the company rose from the dinner-table, they proceeded to what was then called the banquet, which was held in another apartment, or often in an arbour in the garden or, as it was called, the garden-house. . . . At the banquet the choice wines were brought forth, and the table was covered with pastry and sweetmeats, of which our forefathers at this period appear to have been extremely fond. A usual article at the banquet was march-panes, or biscuits made of sugar and almonds in different fanciful shapes, such as men, animals, houses, etc."²³

²² Numbers occurring after certain dishes, indicating the quantity of food, have been omitted. Thus the "Pottage" of the first course was made up one capon, two pullets, four chickens, or three partridges. What strikes one especially in these menus is the almost total absence of vegetables. Yet this seems characteristic of the times. In some 250 recipes of *Ancient Cookery* only 11 are for cooking vegetables. Comparison with modern times may be made. Our Ambassador Walter Page, writing from London to his son who was making a garden in North Carolina, enumerates nineteen vegetables and fruit he would have cultivated. He adds of London, "It rains every day and meat, meat, meat is the only human idea of food."—*Life and Letters* II, 333. Again (*Same* II, 88) "for dinner we had six kinds of meat, two meat pies, and potatoes and currants"—eight varieties of meat to one vegetable and one fruit dish. A little more than a century earlier J. Farrington wrote of dinners of the Benchers in the Inner Temple, London: "No vegetables are allowed to roast meats—They are paid for separate."—*The Farrington Diary*, Vol. I, p. 221.

²³ *Homes of Other Days*, pp. 471-2. Something like this after-dinner

This serving in another apartment of what we should call dessert goes back to the early fourteenth century at least. Robert Mannyng of Brunne, in his *Handlyng Synne* of about 1303, inveighs against what he calls *rere-sopers*, a translation of OF. *rere soupers*, that is 'after-suppers.'⁸⁴ The more general term *rere-banquet* was used for a similar dessert after dinner or supper in the sixteenth century.⁸⁵ The custom probably explains some passages in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, on which I believe there has been no comment. In the first and more explicit case, after Gawain's dinner the first night at the Green Knight's castle and attendance upon chapel, it is said of the two ladies:

pay tan hym bytwene hem, wyth talkyng hym leden
 To chambre, to chemne, & chefly pay asken
 Spyce; þat unsparely men speded hom to bryng;
 & þe wyne-lych wyne þer-with uche tyme.

Twice after supper on successive evenings the Green Knight and Sir Gawain retire to a chamber as it is called, and sit by the chimney or fireplace while they drink wine and converse before retiring for the night.⁸⁶

Perhaps Chaucer meant an after-dinner of this sort in line 255 of the *Shipman's Tale*, where Daun John took the chapman apart and asked for the "hundred frankes," after which they drank together and conversed much as did the Green Knight and his guest. Certainly Shakespeare had in mind this meaning of the word after-supper in *Midsummer Night's Dream* V, 33-4:

this long age

Between our after-supper and bed-time;

and perhaps in *Richard III* IV, iii, 31-2, when Richard says,

banquet is perhaps intended in Hugh Rhodes's *Boke of Nurture* (1577), in the part headed "The Manner of Serving a Knight, Squyre or Gentleman." There it says, "If your mayster will have any conceites after dinner, as appels, Nuts, or creame, then lay forth a Towel on the board," etc.—*Babees Book*, p. 68.

²⁴ *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 7260 ff.

²⁵ *New Eng. Dict.* under *rere-banquet*.

²² See lines 977-80, 1402 ff., 1664 ff. Note also in the *Ordinances of the Royal Household*, that Henry Eighth's *Ordinances* were prepared for "his most honourable Household and Chamber."

Come to us, Tyrrel, soon at after-supper,
When thou shalt tell the process of their death.²⁷

On the other hand Chaucer seems to use *after-supper*, *after-dinner*, *after-mete* 'after-meat' rather as periods of time, in just the way that *fore-supper*, *after-supper*, according to Jameison, are used in Lanarkshire.²⁸

Yet in general we must assume that what we would call dessert, as the "custerd" and "tart" in the dinner of Prince Henry already described, was regularly a part of the second course in early times. So it usually appears in the *Ordinances* of Henry VIII and in other two-course meals. Thus, for example, must be explained the passage in *Merry Wives* I, ii, 11-12. When Sir Hugh Evans says, "I will make an end of my dinner; there's pippins and cheese to come," we may be sure he was finishing the second course of the ordinary dinner of the time. That is, "is . . . to come" means 'is coming, is at hand.'²⁹

The separation of the later menus of the *Ordinances of the Royal Household* into a first course of boiled or stewed meats, as I have

²⁷ The first is Staunton's suggestion, while Schmidt makes it only 'the time after supper,' a less explicit and less reasonable sense approved by the Variorum. Shakespeare also uses *banquet* in this sense of *after-supper*, as noted by Schmidt in his *Lexicon*. It is certainly so used in *Rom. and Jul.* (I, v, 125):

We have a trifling foolish banquet toward,
the supper being over, as mentioned by Benvolio, in the previous scene (I, iv, 105). So doubtless in *Timon* I, ii, 160:

Ladies, there is an idle banquet attends you,
the principal meal, also called *banquet* at the head of the scene, having been served. The passage Schmidt cites from *Shrew* (V, ii, 9) seems to me not so clear a case.

²⁸ See my note on some of these words in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* ix, 460-2, the criticism by Dr. Bradley, and my rejoinder in following numbers. The words cited from Jameison are in the revised edition of the *Dictionary* by Longmuir and Donaldson.

The Davenport Bromley ms. mentions providing guests with "chere of newelties in the chamber, as luncate, cheryes, pepyns, and such neweltees as the tyme of the yere requereth; or ellis grene ginger comfetta, with such thyng as wynter requereth; and swete wyne as ypocrasse, Tyre, muscadell, bastard vernage of the beste that may be had." This follows the removal of the dinner service, and is without doubt to be regarded as a *rere-banquet*. See the *Babees Book*, p. 373.

²⁹ See Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 356.

done in one or two instances above, is after the practice and the philosophy of the dining service in the Elizabethan age. Andrew Boorde, in his *Dyetary* of 1542, had pointed out quite rightly that "boyled meate is lyghter of digestyon than rosted meate," and again that "Potage," that is boiled or stewed meat, "is not so moch used in al Crystendom as it is used in England."⁴⁰ In one of Minsheu's *Dialogues* (1599) Gusman the Spaniard asks Rodricke about table customs in England:

What is the manner of England?

To which Rodricke replies:

To eate their sodde [that is, boiled or stewed] meate first before their roast.⁴¹

William Vaughan, in his *Natural and Artificial Directions for Health* (1602) has this as part of his tenth direction:

In the beginning of meales eate such meates as will make the belly soluable, and let grosse meate be the last.⁴²

Similarly, Sir John Harington's *School of Salerne or the Englishman's Doctor* (1608, 1624) advises:

Beginne alwayes your dinner and supper with the more liquid meates.⁴³

These directions, as well as the practice shown in the dinner and supper menus quoted or referred to already, confirm the definition of *pudding* by Johnson, and explain the meat-pie in the first course of Minsheu's *Dialogues*. The boiled or stewed meat regularly preceded the heavier dishes of the second course. The custom is very old. Thus, it is indicated in *Piers Plowman* B XIII, 61 ff., when the "doctoure on the heigh dese" is satirized for his gormandizing as follows:

He eet many sondry metes mortrewes and puddynges,
Wombe-cloutes and wylde braune and egges yfryed with grece.

That is, the mortress, or thick soup, and the pudding came first, the tripe, the wild boar and fried eggs—an early variety of "ham

⁴⁰ Early Eng. Text Soc. ed., sec. ser., pp. 277, 262.

⁴¹ *Dialogues*, p. 20.

⁴² *Babees Book*, p. 252. *Soluable* is used in the old sense of 'relaxed, loose, open.'

⁴³ *Babees Book*, p. 257.

and"—made the substantial second course. Another allusion in the same poem supports the first. In contrast with the elaborate dinner of the "doctoure on the heigh dese," the poet outlines a simpler meal which he thinks should be sufficient for the true servant of the church:

For had 3e potage and payn ynough and peny-ale to drynke,
And a messe there-myddede of a manere kynde,
3e had rízt ynough. 3e religious."⁴⁴

That is, if you had a stew and bread enough, with penny, or common ale for the first course, and a portion of meat of some sort for the second course, you truly religious clergy would have quite sufficient for an ordinary meal. Again, the supper that was prepared for Sir Gawain, when he reached the castle of the Green Knight in his lonely wandering, began

Wyth sere sewes & sete sesounde of þe best; "⁴⁵

that is, with various and palatable stews or pottages well seasoned. After that the principal dishes of fish in various forms were served, the great second course which ended the meal.⁴⁶

One or two incidental matters in connection with these Shakespearean and Other Feasts are worth noting. It is well known that forks were not used in England before the seventeenth century. Thomas Coryat, in his *Crudities* "⁴⁷ of 1611, noted the Italian custom of using forks, and implied that they were not yet commonly known in England. Ben Jonson, in his *Devil is an Ass* first

⁴⁴ *PPL.*, B xv, 310-12.

⁴⁵ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, EETS. ed., ll. 889 ff.

⁴⁶ It has not been noted that this dinner of fish, as the usual English substitute on fasting days for the flesh of warm blooded animals, was wholly appropriate for the Christmas eve on which Gawain had arrived at the castle of the Green Knight. The eve or vigil of a great feast like Christmas, Easter, Pentecost was a day of "fast and abstinence"—abstinence, that is, from "flesh" meat—as it still is in the Catholic Church. The Green Knight, it may be added, was punctilious in religious observances, whether from habit or to impress Sir Gawain. Three times, on successive days, he goes to mass before breakfast and his hunting adventures (ll. 1135, 1414, 1690), not after the early meal as Morris once has it in his side note to the first reference. Not less carefully observant is Gawain on these same days, as indicated in lines 1311-2, 1558-9, 1876.

⁴⁷ Vol. I, p. 106.

acted in the year of Shakespeare's death, has Meercraft, the promoter as we should call him, propose a monopoly on these useful table companions. Upon which Sledge asks, as if in profound ignorance, "Forks? What be they?" Then Meercraft explains that he would establish

the laudable use of forks,
Brought into custom here, as they are in Italy,
To th' sparing o' napkins.⁴⁸

Ritson, too, in a note speaks of the custom of washing before and after meals, a very formal ceremony often mentioned in early literature, as having "fallen into disuse on the introduction of forks about the year 1620."⁴⁹ Shakespeare, then, probably never used these important articles of table furniture. In his works the word *fork* appears only in the sense of something divided into two parts, as "the adder's fork" of *Macbeth* IV, i, 16.⁵⁰

It is not generally known, perhaps, that something like the menu card began to make its appearance in the Elizabethan age, though it was not to be established for many years. In 1577 William Harrison, in an edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, wrote of

the Clearke of the kitchen, who useth (by a tricke taken up of late) to give in a breefe rehearsall of such and so manie dishes as are to come in at everie course throughout the whole service in the dinner or supper while; which bill some doo call a memoriall, other a billet, but some a fillet, because such are commonlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman unto some other purpose.⁵¹

Yet there is no evidence that this became a common practice.

⁴⁸ *The Devil is an Ass* V, iii. In Jonson's *Volpone* (1605) IV, i, is a reference to learning

the use

And handling of your silver fork at meals;

but the scene is in Italy, a point which the *NED.* does not make clear in using the quotation.

⁴⁹ Quoted by Child, *Eng. and Scot. Ballads* (1859), vol. v, p. 25, from Ritson's *Robin Hood* (1845), p. 55.

⁵⁰ The *NED.* quotes the Bury Wills (Camden Soc. 40) of 1463 for a bequest of "my silver forke for grene gyngour," showing that thus early the fork was known in England for such special use, but this is far from the common table use of a much later time.

⁵¹ Quoted in the Forewords to the *Babees Book*, p. cxxv, from Vol. I, p. 196 of the edition of 1586.

None of the names mentioned seems to have lasted, while *carte* does not appear until 1818 in Moore's *Fudge Family*. *Menu* is still later, first recorded in the *NED*. as of 1837, Lady Blessington using it in Heath's *Book of Beauty* of that year.

One matter of serving at early meals is more important. Instead of individual portions in service several persons were commonly served together in mess, a term still preserved in the army for something like the same thing. In his *Antiquitates Culinariae* Warner has the note:

It seems to have been customary with our ancestors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to eat in messe; in other words, for a certain number of the company (usually four . . .) to have a certain proportion of the provisions placed before them, which they were to divide among themselves. This mode of apportioning the victuals was termed 'striking out the messes'; a custom still kept up at some of our colleges, where the cook cuts out a piece of meat for four people, who are said to mess together."⁵³

Nares in his *Glossary* under *mess* has the explanation, "at great dinners the company was usually arranged into fours." Shakespeare alludes to this custom twice in *Love's Labour's Lost*, as when Biron says to his companions, the King, Longaville, and Dumain: "You three fools lacked one fool to make up the mess,"⁵⁴ where of course *mess* is used in a double sense. Again, the Princess refers to the four lovers who had appeared disguised as "Muscovites," and now have come in without disguise: "A mess of Russians left us but of late."⁵⁴ In *3 Henry VI*, I, iv, 73 Margaret asks the captured Duke of York,

Where are your mess of sons to back you now,

referring to the earls of March and Rutland and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. There are also numerous other examples of this use, as by Latimer in his *Fifth Sermon*: "There lacks a fourth to make up the mess." In the *Liber niger domus regis Edward IV*, the same number to the messes is implied in the last part of the entry:

⁵³ *Antiquities Culinariae* (1791), p. 118. J. Farington wrote Nov. 17, 1797, of dinners in the Inner Temple: "Four in each class [Benchers, Barristers, and Students] form a mess."—*The Farington Diary*, Vol. I, p. 221.

⁵⁴ *LLL*. IV, iii, 207.

⁵⁴ *LLL*. V, ii, 361.

And for a custome there sitting, the Chamberlayn, the Secretary, the Confessoure, one messe; of Knights to serve the King of his basen and towell, called for the body, one messe; Chapleyns, one messe; Squires for the body, the Phisician, the King's surgeon, one messe.⁵⁵

Finally the *New Eng. Dict.*, which recognizes only the grouping by fours, says the custom is still preserved "in the Inns of Court, a party of four benchers or four students dining together."

Yet the custom of four to the mess had not always prevailed. In *Piers Plowman* (B XIII, 35-6), in describing a dinner, we find:

Pacience and I were put to be macches,
And seten by oure selve at a syde-borde.

That is, two only were mess-mates or "macches" in this case. So in the contemporary poem *Clannesse*, at the marriage feast of the King's son, line 124 reads:

And uch mon with his mach made hym at ese,

mach again meaning 'mess-mate' as in *Piers Plowman*. Such an arrangement is well exemplified in the great Christmas feast of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (lines 107-13), where only six persons sit at the "hyge table." In the center is Arthur, with Guenevere at his left. Next the Queen are Gawain and his brother Agravayn, and on the right of the King Bishop Bawdewyn, who "bigineþ þe table," and Ywain, Uryn's son. Of the latter we are distinctly told, that he "ette" with the Bishop. That is, there were three messes for the six people, one for Gawain and his brother, one for the Bishop and Ywain, and a third for the King and Queen, unless the King and Queen were distinguished by individual messes, as seems sometimes to have been true of such exalted people.⁵⁶ Thus, in the directions for the dinners and sup-

⁵⁵ *Ordinances of the Royal Household*, p. 23.

⁵⁶ Compare the breakfast Christmas morning at the castle of the Green Knight (lines 1001-4), in which the Green Knight and the "auncien wyf," Gawain and the lady are grouped in two's:

Þe olde auncian wyf hegest ho sytteþ;
Þe lorde luffy her by lent as I trowe;
Gawan & þe gay burde to-geder þay seten,
Even in-myddeþ as þe messe metely come.

Even more explicit regarding the messing by two's is the statement about the other guests at Arthur's feast, in lines 128-9:

Ay two had disches twelve,
Good ber & bryzt wyn boþe.

pers of Henry VIII and his Queen, the heading reads: "The Diett for the King's Majesty and the Queen's Grace, of like fare, in all, two messes."⁵⁷ In fact, the first quotation which the *NED*. uses for its mess of four is, as I read it, an excellent example of messes of two. The reference is to Lydgate's *Assembly of the Gods*, when Apollo makes a feast, and Athena (Othea) alters Apollo's general invitation that all should sit down "compaynably" by insisting,

Ye may nat let
To be youre owne marchall at youre owne banket.

Then Apollo proceeds to seat his guests two by two, and first calling Aurora we are told,

So he here set furst at hys owne messe,
With here moyst clothes with teares all bespreynt.⁵⁸

Then are marshalled the others, as Mars and Diana, Jupiter and Juno, Saturn and Ceres, until, having finished his duties in seating the guests, Apollo sits down between Venus, the last to be called, and Aurora whom he had distinguished at the first as his own mess-mate. The board is apparently a round table for twenty guests.⁵⁹

Incidentally, the word *mess* sometimes had the meaning 'course at dinner,' as in *King of Tars* 85-6:

The Soudan sat at his des,
I-served of his furste mes.

This must also be the meaning of the word in *Taming of the Shrew* IV, iv, 70, where Tranio says to Biondello,

Welcome! one mess is like to be your cheer.

Schmidt does not recognize this meaning, but Rolfe approaches it in defining 'a single dish, a plain dinner.' It is rather 'a single

⁵⁷ *Ordinances of the Royal Household*, p. 174.

⁵⁸ *Assembly of Gods*, ll. 251-8.

⁵⁹ The twenty guests might have been arranged in four's, but there is every evidence that they were arranged in two's, as was certainly the custom of the time.

Queen Guenevere's fateful dinner in Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, bk. XVIII, ch. iii, was of twenty-four persons, but there is no indication of how the guests were seated, or of messes or courses of the feast.

course' as in the Middle English poem. It thus agrees with the second definition of Cotgrave, who gives "més" as 'a messe, or service of meat; a course of dishes at table.'⁸⁰

To return to the immediate subject of this paper, which has led to the consideration of various features in other feasts, the elaborate dinner in Shakespeare's time, as in former centuries, was prevailingly of not more than three courses. Quite as certainly, supported as it is by so much evidence of 'the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the ordinary meal had two courses only. Shakespeare's "great nature's second course" owes its appropriateness as a figure to the fact that the "second course" was not only, as Macbeth goes on to call it, the "chief nourisher at life's feast," but the concluding part of the table entertainment. This must have been the specific meaning of the term in the age to which the great dramatist belonged. Of "second course" in *Henry V* (IV, iii, 106) and *Coriolanus* (I, v, 17) it is not clear that the words relate to an Elizabethan meal, but if so each allusion would indicate reference to the final and more solid part of the feast.

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⁸⁰ This is probably the explanation of *mes* in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 999,

Boþe at mes & at mele messes ful quaynt.

For the alliteration, *mes* 'course or part of meal' is used with *mele* 'meal,' and in the last half-line *messes* 'portions for one or more people at a feast.' Compare also *Pearl* 862, where the word *mes* may mean 'a course,' or possibly 'the whole meal.' In my "Notes on the Pearl" (*Publ. of Mod. Lang. Ass'n* XXXVII, 82-3) I connected this word in *Pearl* with OE. *mèse* rather than with OF. *mes*. I should now assume the OF. word, which has long open *ē* in other places, as for instance in the *King of Tars* passage above quoted. So also the compound *entremées* rimes with *pees* 'peace' in *Rom. of Rose* C, 6831.

WOMEN ON THE PRE-RESTORATION STAGE

BY THORNTON SHIRLEY GRAVES

In spite of the labors of Malone and others who have seriously investigated the subject, various writers have from time to time found it difficult to suppress the feeling that actresses adorned the stage in Shakspeare's lifetime. Taine's bit of carelessness or malicious sensationalism accusing Shakspeare no less than Molière of "adventures de coulisses" and "amours de cabotines"¹ was considered worthy of refutation only, recently;² while the later sensationalism of Clemence Dane in having the "Dark Lady" save *Romeo and Juliet* by a display of her histrionic ability at its initial performance³ occasioned a German scholar to propound again the old question⁴ as to whether women actors did not occasionally function on the Elizabethan stage. But the producers of literature⁵ are not the only writers who, in the memory of man, have raised the question as to whether English actresses were known prior to 1660. Sidney P. Lee raised the question a good many years ago;⁶ very recently Miss Janet Spens made the rather vague assertion that Beaumont and Fletcher "probably, sometimes at least, had women actresses";⁷ while Mr. Allardyce Nicoll is strongly of the opinion that both D'Avenant and Killigrew before the closing of the theaters had "known the charm of seeing Rosalind and Ophelia played by persons of their own sex."⁸

Such opinions are natural; for in view of the evidence to be presented below, it is almost inconceivable that females were totally excluded from appearance on the stage during the Elizabethan period. Before presenting this evidence, however, much of

¹ *History of English Literature*, ed. 1873, I, 168-9.

² Lacour, *Les premières actrices françaises* (1921), pp. 41-2.

³ *Will Shakespeare* (1922).

⁴ Eichler, Albert. "Schauspielerinnen in London um 1600?" *Beiblatt sur Anglia*, May, 1921, pp. 118-20.

⁵ Among the most interesting cases is Tamayo y Baus's *Un Drama Nuevo* (acted 1867) produced in New York in 1874 under the title of *Yorick*.

⁶ *Notes and Queries*, Sixth Series, XI, 285. For the discussion that followed see *N. and Q.*, 6 Series, XI, 435; XII, 221, 304; 7 Series, I, 143.

⁷ *Elizabethan Drama* (1922), p. 122.

⁸ *History of Restoration Drama* (1923), p. 70.

which is well known to stage historians, it will be well to say once and for all that there is hardly a practice of our old theater more demonstrably certain than the fact that professional actresses were never regularly employed in England prior to the Restoration. This is proved by the definite and specific assertions of such men as Nashe,⁹ Wybarne,¹⁰ and the authors of *Pathomacia* (1630)¹¹ and *Mr. William Prynne, his defence of Stage-Playes or a Retraction of his former book* (1649);¹² by the complete silence regarding women actors in England on the part of numerous Puritans who concerned themselves with the evils of the theater and the settlement of the much discussed passage in *Deuteronomy* about the interchange of apparel by the two sexes;¹³ and by the specific statements by Restoration authors.¹⁴

In the face of what precedes, it will perhaps be something of a

⁹ *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I, 215.

¹⁰ *The New Age of Old Names* (1609), p. 52.

¹¹ In II, 2 Urbanite replies thus to Love's statement that some object to men's putting on women's apparel: "If Men did so take their Rayment, that they were mistaken for Women, they might not a little sollicite weak passions. But now euen Barbers know that Women in Theaters are but Men in Womens Attire: and therefore the Curtizans in Rome and Spaine that act the parts of Women, because they are known to be Women indeed, doe vehemently and impudently contaminate the Spectators mind."

¹² Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, p. 270. Cf. also the implication in Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, ed. Collier, p. 28.

¹³ As a striking illustration of a passage which makes it almost certain that English professional actresses were unknown to Prynne see his comment (*Histriomastix*, p. 215) in which he admits that of two evils the French and Italian practice of employing females is less pernicious than the English one of having boys assume the rôles of women. Cf. also Gosson's discussion of the subject (Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, pp. 195-7).

¹⁴ Cf., for example, Snarl, the old Elizabethan, who remarks in Act I of Shadwell's *Virtuoso*: "Besides, I can never endure to see Playes, since Women came on the Stage. Boys are better by half." Interesting, too, are the lines in the prologue to Shadwell's *Tempest*, where the writer urges that, had it not been for the ingenuity of the company about to act the piece,

"You still had rusty arras had, and thred-bare playes;
Nor scenes nor Woomen, had they had their will,
But some with griz'd Beards had acted Woomen still."

Cf. also Wright's *Historia Histrionica*, ed. Hazlitt, p. 412, and Cibber's *Apology*, ed. Lowe, I, 90.

shock to know that there is considerable evidence to suggest that the employment of females in dramatic entertainments of one form or another was nothing particularly novel in Elizabethan England. Spencer¹⁵ is inclined to believe that in the mystery plays female rôles were always taken by men but admits that the scarcity of evidence makes any generalization unsafe. It is at least safe to say that occasionally, at least, women possibly participated in religious plays in England as they did in France,¹⁶ for in the pre-Reformation banns of the Chester plays reference is made to the fact that *The Assumption of the Virgin* was to be brought forth by "the worshipfull wyves of this towne."¹⁷ This, of course, does not mean that the 'wyves' necessarily acted the play, still it is possible that Sir Walter Scott may not have been straining matters too unduly after all when he has Laneham attempt to smuggle his wife Sibyl into the Kenilworth festivities, remarking that she "hath played the devil ere now in a mystery in Queen Mary's time," and by such recommendation securing the privilege of having her journey as the "major devil" of the rustic actors until she is overtaken by labor.¹⁸ That the "worshipfull wyves" of Chester and the women who at one time no doubt embarrassed the Danes in the Coventry Hock Tuesday play¹⁹ were not the only provincial females who may have acted on occasion seems to be indicated by a passage which may well have provided Sir Walter Scott a suggestion for his interesting Kenilworth episode referred to above. In Shirley's *Triumph of Beauty* (1639) Scrip suggests that his own wife take the part of the dragon in "The Tragedy of the Golden Fleece" which certain rustics are to present before Prince Paris; but unfortunately for the humor of the piece Bottle objects in the downright words of an anti-suffragette: "We woo' not be troubled with women; and you'll do't yourself, well and good."

Feminine participation in other entertainments closely related to the drama was rather frequent. At an early date women had

¹⁵ *Corpus Christi Pageants in England*, p. 216.

¹⁶ Cohen, Gustav. *La Mise en Scene*, pp. 206-9. Cf. also the article by the same writer in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 15, 1923, p. 415.

¹⁷ Cf. E. K. Chambers in *Mod. Lang. Review*, Oct. 1916, p. 466 and *Medieval Stage*, II, 409.

¹⁸ *Kenilworth*, chap. 17.

¹⁹ Cf. Furnivall's ed. of Laneham's *Letter*, pp. 26-32 and the works cited in the notes.

taken part in the "mumming" or "disguising" of New Year's Eve;²⁰ they had apparently participated in the St. George ridings;²¹ and Falstaff's words to the Hostess²² are usually explained by saying that in later times the rôle of Maid Marian in the May games and morris dance had so often been assumed by females of unsavory reputation that the name degenerated into a term of reproach. Again, the employment of girls in pageants and similar public entertainments got up on the occasion of the royal entry and like events was apparently a common practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²³ It is probably to this well-known practice that Shirley refers in the prologue to his *Coronation*:

Since 'tis become the title of our play,
A woman once in a Coronation may,
With pardon, speak the prologue, give as free
A welcome to the theatre, as he
That with a little beard, a long black cloak,
With a starch'd face, and supple leg hath spoke
Before the plays this twelvemonth.

In attempting to determine the possible connection of women with the London theaters it is well to keep in mind, too, the considerable number of female "freaks" that were exhibited for money in London and elsewhere in Elizabethan England. "I have seene a Catamountaine once," remarks a character in *Captain Underwit* (III, 3) in referring to the London sights he had visited, "but all was nothing to the wench that turnd round and thred needles." Plotwell in *The City Match* (III, i) says of his "strange fish" which he plans to exhibit:

Roseclap shall have a patent of him. The birds
Brought from Peru, the hairy wench,²⁴ the camel,
The elephant, dromedaries, or Windsor Castle,
The woman with dead flesh, or she that washes,

²⁰ Withington, Robert, *English Pageantry*, I, 8.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-31.

²² *1 Henry IV*, III, iii.

²³ Cf. Withington, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-129, 136, 170, 178-9, 184, 192, 216, 224 *Nova Solyma*, ed. Begley, I, 80, II, 227; *Trans-Royal Historical Soc.*, 2 Series, IX, 253. Of course it is sometimes impossible to be certain that female rôles were not taken by male children.

²⁴ Cf. the "hairy wench," by name Barbara Vanbeck (born in 1632), whom Evelyn (*Diary*, Aug. 15, 1657) said he saw when he was a child.

Threads needles, writes, dresses her children, plays
 O' th' virginals with her feet, could never draw
 People like this.

The "Hog-faced woman" (Tanakin Skinker) was well known to sight-seers before the closing of the theaters;²⁵ and in 1632 the wife of Adrian Provoe, "a woman without hands," was allowed to show in Norwich "divers works &c. done with her feete."²⁶

That such curiosities were sometimes introduced into the regular theaters of London is at least possible. I believe, for example, that it was some such creature that the Reverend Richard Madox, in his desire to see women on the stage, visited on February 22, 1582, when he went to the theater "to see a scurvy play set out all by one virgin." Since the "virgin" proved "a fyemarten without voice," he "stayed not the matter."²⁷

Another type of performer that must be taken into consideration is the female acrobat or *jugleresse*, who, from the Middle Ages at least, seems to have been a familiar figure in Europe. The "shamelesse and unnaturall tumbling of the Italian Women" which aroused the wrath of Thomas Norton²⁸ in 1574 is frequently re-

²⁵ Cf. the tract titled *A Certaine Relation of the Hog-faced Gentlewoman called Mistris Tannakin Skinkker* (1640) and Pearson's reprint of Glapthorne's dramas, II, 232, 253. The midget that Von Wedel saw in London in 1584 was apparently on exhibition (cf. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 2 Series, IX, 267).

²⁶ Murray. *English Dramatic Companies*, II, 354.

²⁷ *Calendar State Papers, East Indies*, 1513-1613, p. 86. I confess that I am unable to explain satisfactorily just what the disappointed parson meant by the word "fyemarten." Collier (*Annals*, ed. 1879, I, 454 note) rather foolishly interpreted the passage to mean that a "boy, 'without a voice,' had unsuccessfully played the part of a 'virgin' at the theatre in that year." Halliwell-Phillips called for help in *Notes and Queries* and received some interesting suggestions. One writer urged that the word should be "free martin," a female twin calf that is barren; another pronounced the word to be the "foumart," the ferret-polecat; while an Aberdeen gentleman remarked that he had heard the term used as one of "vulgar abuse (cf. *N. and Q.*, 5 Series, II, 260, 300, 392, III, 15, 216). If the word means polecat, then it might well have been intended as a term of vulgar abuse by the disappointed parson, for polecat in the sense of strumpet is good Elizabethan English (cf. e. g., Shirley's *Gamester*, I, i; Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*, II, i; Fletcher's *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, IV, i).

²⁸ Collier, *Illustrations of Old Eng. Literature*, III, 14; *Archæologia*, 36, 102.

ferred to by students. It is probable, as Mr. McKerrow believes,²⁹ that Gascoigne in referring to "these newe Italian sportes"³⁰ may have had tumblers in mind rather than Italian masques or pas-torals. That Jonson was acquainted with Italian women tumblers is proved by a line in *Volpone* (II, vi, 14).

References to rope-dancers, either native or foreign, are fairly frequent. Henry Farley in enumerating (ca. 1617) the attractions of London mentions

A woman dancing on a Rope;
Bull-baiting also at the Hope.³¹

A Norwich record of October 9, 1617, refers to John de Rue and Jeronimo Galt, who brought with them a licence dated in the thirteenth year of Elizabeth's reign authorizing them "to sett forth & shewe rare feats of activity wth dancinge on the Ropes pformed by a woman & also a Baboone that can doe strange feats";³² and *Choyce Drollery* (1656) contains a song beginning,

A story strange I will you tell,
But not so strange as true,
Of a woman that danc'd upon the ropes,
And so did her husband too.³³

It should be remarked that females of a somewhat similar attainment had appeared at court as early as 1511, when two women of Flanders are mentioned as having piped, danced and played before Henry VIII.³⁴ In 1601 Sir William Knollys entertained Queen

²⁹ Nashe's *Works*, iv, 136.

³⁰ Cf. *Steel Glas*, ed. Cunliffe, p. 152.

³¹ Quoted by Rye in *England as Seen by Foreigners*, pp. 188-9.

³² Murray, *op. cit.*, II, 342.

³³ Quoted by Rollins in *Studies in Philology*, xviii, 315. For interesting later references to female rope-dancers in England see Evelyn's *Diary* under Sept. 13, 1660, and the allusion in the first act of D'Avenant's *Play-house to be Let* to

"the old Gentlewoman
That professes the Galliard on the Rope."

³⁴ Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare*, p. 35 note 7. The payment of a hundred shillings to Elizabeth Blount "for wages" in connection with a masque of January 1, 1515, is interesting (cf. Reyher, *Les Masques Anglois*, p. 25). It would be fortunate if some one could determine the exact nature of Elizabeth Blount's services.

Elizabeth at Caversham with "many devices of singing, dancing, and playing-wenches, and such like."³⁵

The references to the Flemish women in 1511 and the Italian tumblers at a later date naturally raise the question as to whether the English play-goers of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries ever had the pleasure of witnessing in their own theaters foreign females in rôles more dramatic than tumbling and dancing. Whether the French companies that visited England during the reign of Henry VIII³⁶ brought women with them it is perhaps impossible to say, but it is likely that they did not, since at that date French strolling companies were not regularly so equipped. Early in the seventeenth century, however, there was hardly a French troupe of consequence without actresses;³⁷ and everybody knows that actresses played an important part in the company that performed in London in 1629. It is quite probable, too, that women accompanied the French players who apparently were brought over to help to provide the large number of dramatic entertainments at court about which the Venetian Ambassador complained³⁸ on February 23, 1635, and who were especially favored by English royalty. Collier advanced the conjecture³⁹ in which he was followed by Mantzius⁴⁰ that this latter troupe, having profited by the experience of their fellows who in 1629 were hissed and "pipin-pelted" from the stage on account of their attempt to introduce actresses upon the London stage, wisely left their women in France; but Mr. Lawrence has ably exposed the weakness⁴¹ of a theory which supposes that an English audience of 1629 would have objected to the presence of women on moral grounds. Provided the French actresses were really "pipin-pelted" from the stage,⁴²

³⁵ Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, II, 16.

³⁶ Lawrence, *Eliz. Playhouse and Other Studies*, I, 125 ff.

³⁷ Lacour, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff. But see H. C. Lancaster in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, May, 1924, p. 299.

³⁸ *Cal. State Papers, Venice*, 1632-1636, p. 334.

³⁹ *Annales*, ed. 1831, II, 66.

⁴⁰ *History of Theatrical Art*, II, 280. Ward (*History Eng. Dram. Lit.*, III, 253) and others believe that the second French company left their actresses at home.

⁴¹ *Eliz. Playhouse and Other Studies*, I, 131.

⁴² The frequently quoted letter which Collier says he found "among some

this violence can be better explained on the ground of professional jealousy on the part of English theatrical people and popular prejudice at a moment when, in spite of the recent treaty, anti-French feeling was rather marked.⁴³

To what extent women figured as actresses as distinguished from tumblers and acrobats in the Italian strollers that visited England during Elizabeth's reign ⁴⁴ it is impossible to say, but that women actually traveled with the troupe is certain.⁴⁵ Whether the Spanish company under Juan Navarro Oliver, which acted at court in December, 1635, brought along their women it is equally difficult to say, but it should at least be noted that in 1632 he and his wife were acting together in the company of Avandano,⁴⁶ that the Spanish regulations encouraged the marriage of strollers, and that actresses accompanied Spanish players abroad at least in 1604.⁴⁷

Whether foreign precedent had anything to do with it I do not know, but it is certain that strolling English actors and showmen were sometimes accompanied by their wives and apparently other women. John Spencer's wife and children, for example, figured at a very interesting scene at Cologne in 1615.⁴⁸ Whether the man and woman who received four shillings at Leicester in 1626 ⁴⁹ for "playing with Puppets" were English does not appear, but the Coventry record of November 20, 1638, is more specific, since it states that 4 s. 3 d. were given to "Robert Tayler and Ann Mossock, players who came by warrant to shew the worlds creation

miscellaneous papers in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth" is certainly not above suspicion; and granting that it is not a forgery—which I shall do when the original is recovered—the letter is obviously the work of a careless and prejudiced writer.

⁴³ Cf. *Calendar State Papers, Venetian*, 1629-1632, pp. 221, 224, 226, 228, 251.

⁴⁴ Cf. Campbell, Lily B., *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage*, p. 115; Winifred Smith's *Commedia dell' Arte*, p. 175; E. K. Chambers's *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 261-5.

⁴⁵ Cf. references under note 44 above and note that women belonged to strolling Italian companies that visited France.

⁴⁶ Rennert, *Spanish Stage*, pp. 139, n. 1, 536.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

⁴⁸ Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, II, 290.

⁴⁹ Murray, *Eng. Dram. Companies*, II, 316.

the 12th of July 1638.⁵⁰ It is also interesting to note in this connection that George Jolly, the English stroller, is credited with first introducing professional actresses to the German stage; and whereas his women were probably German, it is possibly of some significance that he rather ambiguously announced his innovation in 1654 as an elaborate performance "with repeated changes of expensive costumes, and a theatre decorated in the Italian manner, with beautiful English music and skilful women."⁵¹ It is quite likely that some of the women referred to above acted in the capacity of "door-keepers"—as they did in the London theaters prior to 1642⁵² though this obviously does not apply to Jolly's skilful actresses.

Such a close connection of females with the theater raises the interesting questions as to whether married members of a troupe were looked upon with more tolerance than ordinary actresses by authorities in countries other than Spain, and whether on occasion females so readily accessible were not called upon to enliven the scene with special "stunts" or satisfy the Elizabethan desire for novelty. That the actors would be tempted to defy authority and satisfy a natural curiosity on the part of many to witness the performance of women is pretty certain; and it seems that on more than one occasion the showmen of the period took advantage of this curiosity. The disappointment of the Reverend Richard Madox at being gulled by the show which purported to display the accomplishments of a certain "virgin" has already been mentioned; the notorious trick of Vennor who advertized in 1602 that his "England's Joy" was to be acted by "certain gentlemen and gentlewomen of account" is well known.⁵³ Mr. Chalmers interprets the

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

⁵¹ Cited by Hotson in *Studies in Philology*, Oct., 1923, pp. 425-6.

⁵² Cf. *The Players' Remonstrance* (1643) and note, too, that in October, 1648, Salisbury Court was raided, "and the men and women with the Boxes fled" (cited by Rollins, *Studies in Philology*, July, 1921, p. 283, note 43). Note, too, the implication in R. Speed's *The Counter Rat* (1635):

"At men and women (Bawds and Whores)

At Pimps and Panders that keepe doors"—a marginal note reading "I mean no play doers: Those are too honest."

⁵³ Cf. Graves in *Modern Philology*, IX, 431-4; Lawrence in *Elis. Playhouse and Other Studies*, II, 68 ff. It seems from a remark by Jonson

following lines in the epilogue to *The Roaring Girl*—

The Roaring Girle herselfe some few dayes hence
Shall on this Stage, give larger recompence—

to mean that the management contemplated the introduction upon their stage of the notorious Moll Frith in person;⁵⁴ and that such an interpretation is justified seems highly probable in view of the entry under the date of 1605 in the *Consistory of London Correction Book* to the effect that about nine months earlier Moll sat upon the Fortune stage "in mans apparel and played upon her lute and sange a song" (Cited by Chambers in *Review of English Studies*, I, p. 78). That such vaudeville "specialties" were rather frequent there can be no doubt; but in view of Moll's nature, her "act" may possibly have been introduced at the desire of persons other than the management.

The public interest in women actors that naturally accompanied the theatrical entertainments of Queen Henrietta-Maria and her "dames"⁵⁵ and the visit of the French company in 1629 are fairly numerous.⁵⁶ Perhaps the most interesting one is the least

(*Works*, ed. Cunningham-Gifford, III, 163) that Vennor had secured the services of several prostitutes to take the parts of his "gentlewomen of account."

⁵⁴ *Elizabethan Stage*, III, 297.

⁵⁵ Cf. Reyher, *Les Masques Anglaises*, pp. 92-106; *Cal. State Papers, Venice* 1632-1636, pp. 15, 28, 63, 184, 445.

⁵⁶ The passages in Brome's *Court Beggar* (acted 1632)—"the boy's a pretty Actor; and his mother can play her part; women-Actors now grow in request" (V, ii)—and Shirley's *Ball* (1632)—"But there be no such comedians as we have here; yet the women are the best actors, they play their own parts, a thing much desired in England by some ladies, Inns-o'-Court gentlemen, and others" (V, i)—do not indicate that native actresses were being introduced into the London theaters. They indicate rather that they were not, the playwrights ridiculing the affected "French" taste of those who were contaminated by the court. Furthermore, I am not sure that in both cases a *double entendre* involving the word *play* in its sense of sexual intercourse was not intended. For examples of the use of the word in this sense see *Studies in Philology*, XVIII, pp. 279-80; Brome's *Antipodes*, II, v; Hall's *Virgideniarum*, Bk. IV, satire 1; Randolph's *Hey for Honesty*, ed. Hazlitt, p. 469; Herrick's *Hesperides*, I ("To Anthea"), II ("Up Tailles All").

It is hardly necessary to mention in this connection that the words "Women Actors" preceding the female rôles in the lists of *dramatis per-*

known—the passage at the end of the first scene of Hawkins's *Apollo Shroving*, acted at the school at Hadley in February, 1626, were Lola, the simple country girl, after interrupting the prologue and otherwise making herself conspicuous as a spectator of the piece, leaves the stage with the words:

Well, I see now it will bee English. It shall goe hard but I'll get a part amongst them. I'll into the tyreing house, and scramble and rangle for a mans part. Why should not women act men, as well as boyes act women? I will weare the breeches, so I will.⁸⁷

In conclusion several passages which may indicate that women appeared sporadically on the pre-Restoration stage deserve brief consideration. Earliest in point of time is the statement of Spinelli, secretary of the Venetian ambassador, who wrote on January 8, 1528, that, after Terence's *Phormio* had been presented by the children of St. Paul's before Wolsey and the ambassadors, "three girls [Religion, Peace, Justice] richly clad appeared."⁸⁸ That he really meant what he said is indicated by the words that follow: "When the girls had finished, a little boy, who had already recited with great applause the prologue of the comedy, delivered a Latin oration." Whether girls were actually employed on this occasion to represent abstractions, as they were in later pageants, it is difficult to say; but if they were not, it is at least interesting to note that the boys were got up so cleverly as to deceive the eyes of the foreigner. A somewhat similar bit of testimony by a later foreigner is worth citing at this point. Lupold von Wedel, describing a visit to the bear-baiting in Southwark on August 23, 1584, writes thus: "The next was that a number of

sonae of such late plays as Brome's *Convent Garden Weeded* and Davenport's *The City Nightcap* (printed 1661) in no sense imply that women actually participated in these pieces.

⁸⁷ Were not H. Jessey such an unreliable bigot (cf. *Studies in Philology*, Jan., 1923, p. 69), an interesting passage in his *The Lords Loud Call to England* (1660) would raise an interesting question in connection with the rôle of Lola in Hawkins's play. This worthy remarks that in July, 1660, the Lord revenged himself on the Oxford scholars for a play in which a Puritan was satirized. And, he adds, "Also a Woman that joynd with them in their Play is also dead" (Cited by Rollins, *Studies in Philology*, xviii, 333).

⁸⁸ *Calendar State Papers, Venice*, 1527-33, p. 116.

men and women came forward from a separate compartment, dancing, conversing and fighting with each other.”⁵⁹ Is this foreigner also using his sexes loosely, or were women actually introduced on this very special occasion to increase the attraction of the baiting? Mr. Chambers apparently is inclined to the former view, and he writes that this special attraction “must have been of the nature of a jig.” But does not the considerable number of actors implied in the foreigner’s phraseology exclude the possibility of a jig? Would it be equally plausible to suggest that on this unusually spectacular attraction on St. Bartholomew’s Eve the women were called in to make especially attractive some such spectacle as the Hock Tuesday play in which the women of England covered themselves with glory?

Coryat’s frequently quoted statement in his *Crudities* (1611) to the effect that he had heard that women actors had sometimes been seen on the London stages has perhaps been given too much significance. Whether his remark is the result of misinformation, gossip concerning the much discussed “England’s Joy” with its “gentlewomen of account,” reports about the females in the Italian company that visited England, or the appearance of ladies in court entertainments—and all of these explanations have been offered—I do not know, but Coryat’s statement cannot be accepted as proof that actresses appeared at all frequently in the public playhouses. Two equally well known passages are of much less significance. Busy’s words in Jonson’s *Bartholomew Fair* (V, iii), which Fleay⁶⁰ and Alden⁶¹ regarded as evidence for the presence of women actors in England, cannot be so interpreted, as Professor Manly has ably shown.⁶² Nor can the general and indefinite words in T. G.’s *Rich Cabinet Furnished with Varietie of Descriptions* (1616) be used as evidence in arguing for the presence of actresses in England: “Plaiers practices can hardly be warranted in Religion: for a man to put on womans apparell, and a womans a mans, is plaine prohibition” (Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*,

⁵⁹ Cited by Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, II, 445.

⁶⁰ *Biog. Chronicle*, I, 378.

⁶¹ Ed. of *Bartholomew Fair*, Yale Studies, p. 217.

⁶² *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XX, 63.

p. 229). Almost as useless are the words of Dr. William Ames in his *Treatise on Conscience*:

Either Women are brought upon the Stage to represent Wantonness with Impudency (who ought even in the Church to keep Silence) . . . or to be veiled, . . . or Men, for to please, put on Womens Apparel, Face and Gesture, which is repugnant to the word of God.⁶⁵

Ames's *De Conscientia* was published at Amsterdam in 1633 and not translated into English until 1639;⁶⁶ hence it is almost certain that the author had continental conditions in mind when he wrote the words above. On the other hand, he was an Englishman writing primarily for Englishmen; hence it is just possible that either the learned doctor or his translators considered that his words would be peculiarly applicable in England at a time when women actors were growing in request. That later opponents of the stage so regarded his words is revealed by Baldwin's tract quoted above.

From the evidence above, much of which is too indefinite to be of much value, it is clear, as every serious student has recognized, that actresses were never regularly employed in English theaters prior to the Restoration. It is also clear, I believe, that the sporadic appearance of women on special occasions may have been more frequent than has been generally recognized. Under the circumstances it is strange that their appearance was so infrequent as seems to have been the case. And finally, in view of the evidence above, together with the appearance of Mrs. Coleman in 1656 and the evidence cited by Nicoll,⁶⁷ it is certainly an illogical process to cite, as has sometimes been done,⁶⁸ Thomas Jordan's "Prologue to introduce the first Woman who came to Act on the Stage in

⁶⁵ I quote intentionally from the pamphlet published by Baldwin in 1702 under the title, *Stage-Plays Arraigned and Condemned by that Eminent Foreign Theologist, namely, William Ames, Doctor and Professor of Divinity of Francker in Friesland*.

⁶⁶ Apparently there were two English editions—one in 1639, the other in 1643.

⁶⁷ *History of Restoration Drama*, p. 71.

⁶⁸ As an illustration of the tenacity with which the old view hangs on note Professor Paul Kaufman's *Outline Guide to Shakespeare* (1924): "The first public performance of any play on the English stage with a woman in the cast was that of *Othello*, December 8, 1660" (p. 302, note).

the Tragedy, call'd The Moor of Venice" to prove that actresses had not appeared on the public stage prior to December 8, 1660. It is much more reasonable to believe that in this vaguely phrased title Jordan, who was certainly acquainted with English theatrical conditions of his day, meant, not that the woman in question was the first actress to appear in England, but that she was the first female⁶⁷ to appear in the rôle of Desdemona.

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⁶⁷ On the problem of this woman's identity see Lowe's edition of Cibber's *Apology*, I, 90, note; the same writer's *Thomas Betterton*, pp. 79-81; Dutton Cook's *Book of the Play*, I, 260; Davies and Waldron's appendix to Downes's *Roscius Anglicanus*, pp. 5-6.

IMITATIONS FROM TASSO IN THE *FAERIE QUEENE*

BY HAROLD H. BLANCHARD

Since Koepfel's pioneer study of the parallel passages in the *Faerie Queene* and Tasso's poems in 1889,¹ no subsequent work has followed. The following is presented as a continuation of Koepfel's initial work. Koepfel confined himself chiefly to Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*; a number of the parallels here given are taken from Tasso's earlier poem, the *Rinaldo*, first published in 1562. The present paper consists of a series of twenty-one parallels, arranged in general in the order in which they appear in the *Faerie Queene*.

(1)

The description of Archimago, as he is first met by the Red Cross Knight and Una, has been treated by the editors of Spenser as an imitation from Ariosto.² Professor Dodge has been the only one to suggest: "Perhaps more striking reference would be to Tasso's *Rinaldo*, I, 31, where Malagigi appears as a venerable old man."³ It seems worth while, therefore, to present a comparative study of the passages involved.

At length they chaunst to meet upon the way
An aged sire, in long blacke weedes yclad,
His feete all bare, his beard all hoarie gray,
And by his belt his booke he hanging had;
Sober he seemde, and very sagely sad,
And to the ground his eyes were lowly bent, .
Simple in shew, and voide of malice bad,
And all the way he prayed as he went,
And often knockt his brest, as one that did repent.

I, i, 29

Ariosto

. . . scontrò un Eremita in una valle,
Ch' avea lunga la barba a mezzo il petto,
Devoto e venerabile d'aspetto.

¹ Emil Koepfel, "Die englischen Tassoübersetzungen des XVI jahrhunderts. II. La Gerusalemme Liberata. *Anglia*, XI, 341-362.

² See John Upton, edit. London 1758, vol. II, p. 346; Kitchin, p. 167; Percival, p. 173; Winstanley, pp. 223-224.

³ "Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XII, 199.

Dagli anni e dal digiuno attenuato,
Sopra un lento asinel se ne veniva;
E pareva, più ch' alcun fosse mai stato,
Di coscienza scrupolosa e schiva.

O. F., II, 12-13.

Tasso

Uom riscontrò d'aspetto venerando,
Di crespe rughe il volto ingombro e pieno,
Che sovra un bastoncel giva appoggiando
Le membra, che parean venir già meno;
E a questi segni ed al crin raro e bianco
Mostrava esser dagli anni oppresso e stanco.
Questo, verso Rinaldo alzando 'l viso,
Così gli disse in parlar grave e scorto. . . .

R., I, 31-32.

From an examination of these passages, it will be noted:

1. Spenser's hermit is on foot. Tasso's hermit is on foot (*sovra un bastoncel giva appoggiando* | *Le membra*). Ariosto's is riding upon an ass.

2. Spenser has emphasized his age slightly more than Ariosto. Spenser calls him "an aged sire" with "beard all hoarie gray"; Ariosto describes his figure as "venerabile d'aspetto," "dagli anni . . . attenuato." Tasso gives great emphasis to this phase of his figure: not only is he "d'aspetto venerando," but he devotes five other lines to indicate his wrinkles, the support of his stick, the weak appearance of his limbs, his thin white hair.

3. The impression of simplicity, gravity, and sincerity, as distinguished from piety, is in Spenser and Tasso, not in Ariosto.

Sober he seemde, and very sagely sad. . . .

Simple in shew, and voide of malice bad.

Così gli disse in parlar grave e scorto.

4. In Spenser and Tasso the hermit was looking downward. Ariosto makes no mention of this.

And to the ground his eyes were lowly bent.

Questo, verso Rinaldo alzando 'l viso.

On the other hand:

5. Ariosto mentions the beard: Tasso does not.

6. The piety of the hermit is emphasized in Ariosto and Spen-

ser, especially in the last two lines quoted in each. This is not mentioned in Tasso.

(2)

The "darkesome clowd" which Duessa conjures to rescue Sansjoy from the Red Cross Knight (*F. Q.*, I, v, 13 ff.) has been compared by Upton⁴ and subsequent commentators to similar clouds or mists in the classics, where the gods are accustomed to interpose in this manner to favor their favorite mortals. Spenser's passage bears a strong similarity, however, to one in the *Gerusalemmis Liberata*.

In the combat between Red Cross and Sansjoy, the former is on the point of dealing the death blow when Duessa produces the cloud.

Therewith his heaue hand he high gan reare,
Him to haue slaine; when lo! a darkesome clowd
Upon him fell: he no where doth appeare,
But vanisht is. The Elfe him calls alowd,
But answer none receiues: the darknes him does shrowd. . . .

Not all so satisfide, with greedy eye
He sought all round about, his thristy blade
To bathe in blood of faithlesse enemy;
Who all that while lay hid in secret shade:
He standes amazed, how he thence should fade.

I, v, 13, 15.

The closest parallel in the classics is the incident in the *Iliad* in which Venus rescues Paris in his fight with Menelaus.

. . . τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξ' Ἀφροδίτη
βῆα μάλ', ὅς τε θεός, ἐκάλυψε δ' αὖρ' ἥρι πολλῆς,
καὶ δ' αἶσ' ἐν θαλάμῳ ἐνόησε κηῶντι.

III, 380-382.

Here a cloud is cast upon the conquered, and he is carried away to be cared for, as in Spenser. Furthermore, the conquering warrior is portrayed, as in Spenser, searching for his opponent who has disappeared.

'Ατρεΐδης δ' αὖρ' ὄμιλον ἐφοίτα θηρί τοικίῳ,
αἶ που ἐσαθρήσειεν Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα.

III, 449-450.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 376.

In the *G. L.*, Tancred has been treacherously lured to Armida's castle, where the apostate knight Rambaldo meets him at the draw-bridge. It is nightfall, but the lights from the castle and from the heavens illumine the scene as they fight, while Armida watches from a lofty part of the edifice. Finally Rambaldo is compelled to turn in flight.

Onde al ponte rifugge, e sol nel corso
Della salute sua pone ogni speme:
Ma'l seguita Tancredi, e già sul dorso
La man gli stende, e'l piè col piè gli preme;
Quando ecco, al fuggitivo alto soccorso,
Sparir le faci, ed ogni stella insieme,
Nè rimaner all' orba notte alcuna
Sotto povero ciel luce di luna.

Fra l'ombre della notte e degl' incanti
Il vincitor nol segue più, nè 'l vede;
Nè può cosa vedersi a lato o avanti,
E move dubbio e mal sicuro il piede.

VII, 44-45.

The following similarities may be noted between Spenser's incident and Tasso's:

1. The general situation: the conquered knight is hidden by a protecting darkness. This occurs also in the Greek.
2. The conquering knight is portrayed in his subsequent bewilderment. In the Greek he is portrayed as searching for his opponent.
3. The darkness is created to protect her champion by the magic of a female enchantress, who is watching the combat closely. In the Greek it is produced by a god or goddess.
4. The verbal imitation: "when lo!", "quando ecco."
5. Worthy also of notice is the similarity between the following lines which occur in each case in the stanza immediately preceding those given above.

The creeping deadly cold away did shake.

I, v, 12.

E passa al cor del traditore un gelo.

VII, 43.

(3)

The general allegory and setting of the experience of the Red Cross Knight in the Cave of Despair and on the Hill of Contem-

plation (*F. Q.*, I, ix-x) have a parallel in the experience of the hero of the *Rinaldo* in the "valle del dolore" and on the Hill of Hope (*R.*, IX).

The general parallel between Spenser's Cave of Despair and Tasso's "valle del dolore" was first suggested by John Hoole,⁵ and later developed by Koeppel⁶ who summarized it as follows:

Die düsterkeit des ortes, sein ungesegneter baumwuchs, unheilverkündende vögel werden allerdings von beiden dichtern erwähnt; ausserdem erscheint bei beiden der dämon des ortes in männlicher gestalt, und bei beiden bedarf es der hilfe eines bzw. einer dritten, um die helden der gewalt der verzweiflung zu entreissen: Malagigi lockt den Rinaldo aus dem tal des schmerzes, indem er ihm sein pferd entführt, Una hemmt den schon gezückten dolch des Redcrosse Knight. Anderseits ergeben sich aber auch viele verschiedenheiten, vor allem fehlt in der episode des Redcrosse Knight das treibende motiv unglücklicher liebe.

The subsequent parallel between Tasso's Hill of Hope and Spenser's Hill of Contemplation, however, has not been pointed out.

The general outlines of the stories are as follows. The Red Cross Knight, unnerved by past ill-doings, comes in his career to the Cave of Despair, from which he barely escapes by Una's help. She then conducts him to the House of Holiness where he is instructed by the three daughters of Dame Caelia. Mercy then takes him to a high hill where Contemplation reveals to him the Eternal City. He then goes forth restrengthened, prepared to meet his great adversary, the Dragon of Evil.

Rinaldo, grief-stricken because of the anger of Clarice and his banishment from the court of Charlemagne, wanders aimlessly into the "valle del dolore." He is drawn from this place by the help of an unknown knight who seizes his steed from him. This knight, who later turns out to be the guardian magician Malagigi, then conducts him to a steep hill. As Rinaldo ascends this, he feels his hope and courage return at the great beauty of the place. He meets with a lady clad in green, who has power over the hill, and who seems to await there divine favor. From her he derives his hope and happiness.⁷

⁵ *Rinaldo . . . translated from the Italian*, London, 1792, pp. x-xi.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 357, footnote.

⁷ *R.*, XI, 48 ff.

The elements of similarity between the two passages may be noted as follows:

1. Because of past deeds, the knight falls into despair, represented by Spenser in "an hollow cave | Far underneath a craggy clift," by Tasso in "ombrosa valle," "tra duo monti ascosa." *F. Q.*, I, ix, 33 ff; *R.*, XI, 48 ff.

2. The description of the place emphasizes in each passage its gloom, its peculiar vegetation, and weird birds. *F. Q.*, I, ix, 33-34; *R.*, XI, 51-52.

3. The knight meets the spirit of the place in the form of a man. *F. Q.*, I, ix, 35-36; *R.*, XI, 49.

4. The knight is withdrawn from the place through the help of another person. *F. Q.*, I, ix, 52-53; *R.*, XI, 55 ff. This is as far as either Hoole or Koeppel has proceeded in the parallel. Continuing, however, it will be noted:

5. The knight is then conducted to a steep hill.

Thence forward by that painfull way they pas,
Forth to an hill, that was both steepe and hy. . . .
That hill they scale with all their powre and might. . . .
I, x, 46-47.

Cost parlando, dalla valle fuore
Ratto il menò l'incognito straniero. . . .
E disse: Il destrier togli, e più ritorno
Non far nella dogliosa infausta valle;
Vanne a man destra, ch' a miglior soggiorno
Tosto ti condurrà quest' erto calle. . . .
XI, 56, 59.

6. On the hill he receives new hope and courage. Red Cross is so inspired that he wishes to give up all to devote himself to heavenly contemplation until Contemplation himself defines his duty to the world, whereupon he goes back restrengthened to champion Una's cause (I, x, 63-64). Rinaldo also leaves despair behind.

Speme ed ardir frattanto infonde e piove
Nello suo cor benigna ignota mano. . . .
Sicchè rapito dal cantar celeste
Oblia Rinaldo i pensier egri e fellì,
E la speme e l'ardire ognor ravviva. . . .
Ed indi fugge ogni cura egra e trista. . . .
XI, 60, 63, 65.

7. The hill has a single dweller, the recipient of divine favor,
from whom the new hope comes.

Great grace that old man to him given had;
For God he often saw from heavens hight. . . .

I, x, 47.

Donna vi scorse che sen già vestita
Di verde, e sovra 'l colle aveva impero;
Tien quella i lumi e'l volto al Ciel supino,
Quasi attenda di là favor divino.

È serena, ridente e lieta in vista,
E nel tacere espresse ha le parole;
Mostrano alta baldanza a speme mista
Gli occhi, ch' apron lucenti un nuovo Sole,
Ed indi fugge ogni cura egra e trista. . . .

xi, 64-65.

(4)

Spenser's simile of the raging seas has been referred by Upton^a to the classics, where the closest parallel is in the *Iliad*. This is probably the ultimate source. Tasso has a simile, however, which has not been pointed out, of the same provenience, which Spenser may well have remembered.

He cryde, as raging seas are wont to rore,
When wintry storme his wrathful wreck does threat;
The rolling billowes beat the ragged shore,
As they the earth would shoulder from her seat,
And greedy gulfe does gape, as he would eat
His neighbour element in his revenge:
Then gin the blustering brethren boldly threat,
To move the world from off his stedfast henge,
And boystrous battaile make, each other to avenge.

I, xi, 21.

ὅτε θαλάσσης κύμα τόσον βοᾷ, κατὰ χέρσον,
πυρρόθεν ὀρῶμενον προῆ βόρην ἀλεγεινῇ

Iliad, xiv, 394-5.

D' incerte voci e di confusi accenti
Un suon per l'aria si raggira e freme,
Qual s'ode in riva al mare, ove confonda
Il vento i suoi co' mormori dell' onda.

G. L., v, 28.

^a *Op. cit.*, II, 415.

(5)

The elaborate description of Belpheobe (*F. Q.*, II, iii, 21 ff.) has been considered as largely an imitation from Ariosto's Alcina (*O. F.*, VII, 11-16).^{*} It is found, however, to contain also many elements which parallel the description of Clarice in the *Rinaldo*.

Both Belpheobe and Clarice appear in the forest as huntresses in pursuit of a hind. The following are the parallel elements in the subsequent descriptions. It will be noted that the parts from Spenser all come in the passage II, iii, 21-39; those from Tasso, with two exceptions, from the passage *R.*, I, 53-57.

(1)

. . . Eftsoone there stepped forth
A goodly ladie clad in hunters weed,
That seemd to be a woman of great worth,
And, by her *stately portance*, borne of heavenly birth.

21

Vien . . . sopra un cavallo assisa,
Che veloce sen va come saetta,
Di novo abito adorna in strana guisa
Una disposta e vaga giovinetta. . . .

Mira il leggiadro *altero portamento*

Rinaldo. . . . 53, ll. 1-4; 54, ll. 1-2.

(2)

Through goodly *mixture* of complexions dew;
And in her *cheekes* the vermeill red did shew
Like roses in a bed of lillies shed. . . .

22, ll. 4-6.

Ariosto has here:

Spargeasi per la guancia delicata
Misto color di rose e di ligustri. . . .

O. F., VII, 11.

Tasso:

E la guancia di gigli e rose mista. . . .

55, l. 4.

(3)

The which ambrosiall odours from them threw,
And gazers sence with double pleasure fed,
Hable to heale the sicke, and to revive the ded.

22, ll. 7-9.

^{*} See Dodge, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Upton, *op. cit.*, II, 444; Kitchin, p. 191.

. . . onde discende
Grazia, che può far lieta ogn' alma trista. . . .
55, ll. 5-6.

(4)

The description of her eyes shows a Platonic influence in Spenser and Tasso which is lacking in Ariosto.

In her faire eyes two living lamps did flame,
Kindled above at th' Hevenly Makers light,
And darted fyrie beames out of the same,
So passing persant, and so wondrous bright,
That quite bereav'd the rash beholders sight. . . .
23, ll. 1-5.

Tasso:

La vaga e cara imago, in cui risplende
Della beltà del Ciel raggio amoroso,
Dolcemente per gli occhi al cor gli scende
Con grata forza, ed impeto nascoso. . . .
57, ll. 1-4.

Ariosto:

Sotto duo negri e sottilissimi archi
Son duo negri occhi, anzi duo chiari soli. . . .
O. F., VII, 12.

(5)

Her yvorie forehead, full of bountie brave,
Like a broad table did it selfe disprede,
For Love his loftie triumphes to engrave,
And write the battailles of his great god-hed. . . .
24, ll. 1-4.

Tasso mentions "la fronte d'avorio" in stanza 55, l. 5, but the rest of this passage may well be an imitation of a description of the countenance of the Queen of Media found elsewhere in the *Rinaldo*.

Sembrava a lei ch' Amor quivi locato
Tutte le sue vittrioi insegne avesse,
E quale in carro suol di palme ornato
Trionfator altier, lieto sedesse. . . .
IX, 15.

(6)

And twixt the perles and rubins softly brake
A silver sound. . . .
24, ll. 8-9.
E le perle e i rubin, fiamme d'amore. . . .
55, l. 7.

(7)

And her streight legs most bravely were embayld
 In gilden buskins of costly cordwayne,
All bard with golden bendes, which were entayld
 With curious antickes, and full fayre aumayld:
 Before, they fastned were under her knee
 In a rich jewell, and therein entrayld
 The ends of all their *knots*, that none might see
 How they within their fouldings close enwrapped bee.

27.

There is a suggestion of this description of Belpheobe's buskins in a passage elsewhere in the *Rinaldo*.

I ben formati piè, le gambe anelle
 Sino al ginocchio ricoprendo ornava
 Di cuojo azzurro, e *quel con aurei nodi*
Era dipoi legato in mille modi.

v, 13.

(8)

Her yellow lockes, crisped like golden wyre,
 About her shoulders weren loosely shed,
 And *when the winde amongst them did inspyre*,
They waved like a penon wyde dyspred,
 And low behinde her backe were scattered. . . .

30.

E vede il crin *parte ondeggiar al vento*,
 Parte in belli aurei nodi avvolto e stretto. . . .

54, ll. 3-4.

(9)

The following passages indicate that both are in pursuit of a hind. It will be noted that in each case the animal is wounded in the right side.

'Hayle, groome! didst not thou see a bleeding hynde,
 Whose right haunch earst my stedfast arrow strake?

32.

Dal cui dardo ferita, e poscia uccisa
 Fu la fugace e timida cervetta
 Dal dardo, ch' ella di lanciar maestra
 Tutto le fisse entro la spalla destra.

53, ll. 5-8.

(10)

Finally, the surprise of Braggadocchio at seeing so beautiful a creature in the savage wood has also its suggestion in Tasso.

'But what art thou, O lady, which doest raunge

In this wilde forest, where no pleasure is,
And doest not it for joyous court exchaunge. . . .
The wood is fit for beasts, the court is fitt for thee.'

39.

Vedendo in selva solitaria ed adra
Sì vago aspetto, e forma sì leggiadra.

56.

(6)

Koeppel has traced the parallel between Spenser's Bower of Bliss and the Gardens of Armida in Tasso.¹⁰ One detail, however, he has left incomplete.

He gives the two stanzas following as parallel, and notes:

Die musik, welche den eindringlingen entgegentönt, besteht bei Tasso aus vogelgesang und rauschen des windes, der wogen und des laubes: Spenser hat sie noch durch stimmen und instrumente bereichert . . . Auch hier hat Spenser den italienischen text ziemlich genau nachgebildet.¹¹

The joyous *birdes*, shrouded in chearefull shade,
Their notes unto the VOICE attempted sweet:
Th' angelicall soft trembling VOICES made
To th' INSTRUMENTS divine response meet:
The silver sounding INSTRUMENTS did meet
With the base murmure of the *waters* fall:
The *waters* fall with difference discreet,
Now soft, now loud, unto the *wind* did call:
The gentle warbling *wind* low answered to all.

II, xii, 71

Vezzosi *augellà* infra le verdi fronde
Temprano a prova lascivette note.
Memora l'*aura*, e fa le foglie e l'*onde*
Garrir, che variamente ella percote:
Quando taccion gli *augelli*, alto risponde;
Quando cantan gli *augei*, più lieve scote.
Sia caso od arte, or accompagna, ed ora
Alterna i versi lor la musica ora.

G. L., xvi, 12.

As Koeppel notes, the voices and instruments are not present in this stanza of Tasso's. The harmony of waters, breezes, birds, *instruments*, and *human voices* is found, however, in a later canto of the *Gerusalemme*:

Passa più oltre, ed ode un suono intanto,
Che dolcissimamente si diffonde.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 349 ff.¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

Vi sente d'un *ruscello* il roco pianto,
 E'l sospirar dell' *aura* infra le fronde:
 E di musico *cigno* il flebil canto,
 E l' *usignuol* che plora e gli risponde:
 ORGANI E CETERE, e VOCI UMANE in rime:
 Tanti e sì fatti suoni un suono esprime!

XVIII, 18.

Ma il CORO UMAN ch' ai *cigni*, all' *aura*, all' *onda*
 Facea tenor, non sa dove si cele:
 Non sa veder chi formi UMANI ACCENTI,
 Nè dove siano i MUSICI STROMENTI.

24.

(7)

One detail in the magic ceremony which Glauce performs to dispel Britomart's love sickness may well be a memory of Tasso, although the passage should also be compared with two in Ovid.

That sayd, her rownd about she from her turned,
She turned her contrary to the sunne,
Thrise she her turnd contrary, and returnd
All contrary, for she the right did shunne,
 And ever what she did was streight undonne.

III, ii, 51.

In the *Gerusalemme*, the enchanter Ismeno is summoning the demons to the enchanted forest.

Mormorò potentissime parole.
Girò tre volte all' oriente il volto,
Tre volte ai regni ove dechina il Sole. . . .

XIII, 6.

In Ovid the following is descriptive of Circe.

Tum bis ad occasum, bis se convertit ad ortum:
 Ter juvenem baculo tetigit: tria carmina dixit.
Meta., XIV, 386-7.

The second is descriptive of the enchantress Medea.

Ad quae sua brachia tendens,
 Ter se convertit; ter sumtis flumine crinem
 Irroravit aquis. . . . *Meta., VII, 188-190.*

In the first of Ovid's it will be noted that the enchantress turns twice sun-wise and then twice counter sun-wise; in the second, she turns three times simply with no direction indicated. In

both Spenser and Tasso, the turning is thrice counter sun-wise and then thrice sun-wise.

(8)

In the following similes, the blushing of Britomart and of Armida is likened to the blushing of Aurora.

The doubtfull mayd, seeing her selfe descryde,
Was all abasht, and her pure yvory
Into a cleare carnation suddeine dyde;
As fayre Aurora, rysing hastily,
Doth by her blushing tell that she did lye
All night in old Tithonus frozen bed,
Whereof she seemes ashamed inwardly.

III, iii, 20.

O pur le luci vergognose e chine
Tenendo, d'onestà s'orna e colora;
Sì che viene a celar le fresche brine
Sotto le rose onde il bel viso infiora;
Qual nell' ore più fresche e mattutine
Del primo nascer suo veggiam l'aurora:
E'l rossor dello sdegno insieme n' esce
Con la vergogna, e sì confonde e mesce.

G. L., IV, 94.

(9)

Paridell goes forth to combat.

Tho, hastily remounting to his steed,
He forth issew'd; like as a *boystrous winde*,
Which in th' *earthes hollow caves* hath long ben hid,
{ And shut up fast within her prisons blind,
Makes the huge element, against her kinde,
To move and tremble as it were aghast,
Untill that it an issew forth may finde;
Then forth it breakes, and with his furious blast
Confounds both *land* and *seas*, and *skyes* doth overcast.

III, ix, 15.

In like manner does the assembly of Satan issue forth.

. . . fuor volando a riveder le stelle
Già se n' uscian dalla profonda notte,
Come sonanti e *torbide procelle*,
Che vengan fuor delle *natie lor grotte*
Ad *oscurar il cielo*, a portar guerra
Ai gran regni del *mare* e della *terra*.

G. L., IV, 18.

Here it will be seen that (1) the wind rushing from a cave, (2) affecting the sea, (3) the land, and (4) overcasting the sky, are parallel elements.

There are two other elements in Spenser's simile, however, which do not appear in the one from the *Gerusalemme*: (1) The wind has been restrained within the earth, (2) It makes the earth tremble until it is released. There are two similes in the *Rinaldo* which may have suggested these.

Ma già l'atra spelonca Eolo diasserà;
 Scioglie i venti, gl' instiga, e fuor gli caccia;
 Vago ognun di costor d'orribil guerra,
 Primo essere all' uscir ratto procaccia:
 { Trama al furor tremendo, e par la terra
 { Che d' immobile omai mobil si faccia. . . .
 R., x, 43.
 Par ch' intorno il terren tutto si scuota,
 Comē avvien se i vapor secchi, e rivolti
 In venti, stanno a forza entro sepolti.
 R., xii, 56.

(10)

The episode in which Britomart comes upon the despairing Scudamore, learns of his trouble, and goes with him to the castle of Busirane, has been traced in part to the *Orlando Furioso* and to the *Gerusalemme*.¹²

Koeppel has noted that the opposing fire at the entrance of the castle has a parallel in Tasso's *Rinaldo* as well as in the *Gerusalemme*, but concludes that Spenser has the latter in mind:

Wahrscheinlich hat sich Spenser der letzten stelle erinnert: wie Tancréd, zögert auch Britomart, bevor sie sich in die flammen stürzt, und stellt ebenfalls einige analoge betrachtungen über die tollkühnheit eines kampfes mit dem verzehrenden elemente an.

He then prints *F. Q.*, III, xi, 22-24 and *G. L.*, XIII, 34-35, clearly showing that Spenser is imitating here in these details. It seems quite evident, however, upon more extensive investigation, that Spenser is throughout the entire episode influenced by the *Rinaldo*.

The order of detailed incidents in Spenser's story is as follows:

1. Britomart comes upon Scudamore lying outstretched on the ground (III, xi, 7-8).

¹² See Dodge, *op. cit.*, p. 202; Koeppel, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-356.

2. Scudamore breaks forth in a formal lament (9-11).
3. Britomart makes inquiry and expresses sympathy (12-15).
4. Scudamore tells the story of his trouble (16-17).
5. They go together to the castle of Busirane (20).
6. They find enchanted fire barring the entrance (21).
7. Britomart enters unscathed (25).
8. She finds the Wars of Cupid portrayed on the tapestries which adorn the walls within (29 ff.).

Koeppel, in the reference mentioned above, has referred, by citation only, to but four stanzas of the *Rinaldo*, and then concludes that Spenser probably did not have them in mind. If, however, we examine the canto *as a whole* in which these four stanzas appear, we shall find a narrative which may be outlined as follows:

1. Rinaldo comes upon Florindo lying outstretched upon the ground (*R.*, V, 12).
2. Florindo utters a formal lament (16-19).
3. Rinaldo makes inquiry and expresses sympathy (20-22).
4. Florindo tells his story (23-57).
5. They go together to the Oracle of Love (58).
6. They find an enchanted fire barring the entrance to the cave (58).
7. Within the cave are sculptured the victories and trophies of Love (59).
8. Florindo and Rinaldo both enter through the fire unscathed (60-61).

The framework of the story as a whole is thus almost identical with that of Spenser's.

Dodge, as cited above, compares the finding of Scudamore by Britomart with the finding of Pinabello by Bradamante (*O. F.*, II, 34 ff.). In this he is justified in so far as the following elements are concerned: (1) Both Scudamore and Pinabello are found near a fountain. (2) Both are lamenting the loss of a damsel which has been taken by an enchanter and imprisoned in an inaccessible enchanted castle. (3) Both Britomart and Bradamante achieve the rescue of the respective damsel. None of these elements enter in the *Rinaldo*.

On the other hand, whereas Ariosto's Pinabello is found in a sitting posture (*O. F.*, II, 35), Spenser's Scudamore and Tasso's Florindo are both lying outstretched on the ground.

By which there lay a knight all wallowed
 Upon the grassy ground. . . .
 His face upon the grownd did groveling ly. . . .
 III, xi, 7-8.

Ed un vago e bellissimo garzone
 Vede, che sotto un pin steso giacea. . . .
 R., v, 12.

Also, following the general frame of the story, further similarities in details may be noted.

The fire, which Koeppel mentions.

But in the porch, that did them sore amate,
 A flaming fire, ymixt with smouldry smoke. . . .
 III, xi, 21.

Occupava l'entrata un foco ardente.
 R., v, 58.

Britomart is able to pass through the fire unscathed obviously, according to the allegory, because she is perfect in chastity (III, xi, 25-26). In Tasso, a steel column standing opposite the entrance of the cave bears the inscription:

A' leali d'Amor concesso è 'l passo,
 Agli altri no, per mezzo il vivo foco.
 R., v, 59.

In Spenser the tapestries; in Tasso the sculptures.

And eke all Cupids warres they did repeate,
 And cruell battailes, which he whilome fought
 Gainst all the gods, to make his empire great. . . .
 III, xi, 29.

Le vittorie d'Amor, gli alti trofei
 Ch' egli acquistò contra i celesti Dei.
 R., v, 59.

(11)

For round about, the walls yclothed were
 With goodly arras of great majesty,
 Woven with gold and silke so close and nere,
 That the rich metall lurked privily,
 As faining to be hidd from envious eye;
 Yet here, and there, and every where unwares
 It shewd it selfe, and shone unwillingly;
 Like a discoloured snake, whose hidden snares
 Through the greene gras his long bright burnisht back declares.
 III, xi, 28.

Lassa! qual sotto i fior l'angue è celato,
 Tal sotto cortesia, sotto bellezza
 S'asconde in te perfido cor apietato,
 Che l'altrui fede e 'l puro amor disprezza. . . .

R., XI, 3.

(12)

With that, her glistring helmet she unlaced;
 Which doft, her golden lockes, that were up bound
 Still in a knot, unto her heeles downe traced,
 And like a silken veile in compasse round
 About her backe and all her bodie wound:
Like as the shining skie in summers night,
 What time the dayes with scorching heat abound,
Is creasted all with lines of fire light,
 That it prodigious seemes in common peoples sight.

IV, i, 13.

For the first five lines of this simile, Dodge has found a parallel in *O. F.*, XXXII, 79,¹³ including the loosing of the golden hair and the subsequent concealment of the body. On the other hand, ll. 6-9 have no parallel in the *Furioso*. With regard to these lines Upton writes:¹⁴

. . . though the scene of action lies in Fairy land, we must often transfer our thoughts to English ground; and consider the various occurrences which happened in Queen Eliz. reign, as alluded to, and shadowed in this poem. If we turn to Camden, anno 1574, he will tell us, 'that the clouds flamed with fire in the month of November, streaming from the north towards the south; and the next night the heavens seemed to burn, the flames arising from the horizon round about, and meeting in the vertical point.' This prodigy our poet brought into a simile: so he has likewise brought into a simile the comet or blazing star mentioned by Camden, anno 1582, in B. III C. i St. 16. 'Tis very happy in a poet, whose subject is universal and philosophical, sometimes if he can become particular and historical.

The comet simile which Upton mentions has already been shown by Koeppel to be a probable memory from Tasso.¹⁵ The lines under present consideration also have a parallel in Tasso which might well have served for the initial suggestion. As Godfrey addresses his troops before Jerusalem—

Parve che nel fornir di tai parole
 Scendesse un lampo lucido e sereno,

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 582.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 353-354.

*Come talvolta estiva notte suole
Scoter dal manto suo stella o baleno. . . .*

G. L., xx, 20.

Here it will be seen that the time of year is identical: "summers night," "estiva notte." Spenser would not associate the "time the dayes with scorching heat abound" with the "month of November."

(13)

He can let drive at him with all his power,
And with his axe him smote in evill hower,
That *from his shoulders quite his head he reft:*
The headlesse tronke, as heedlesse of that stower,
Stood still a while, and his fast footing kept,
Till, feeling life to fayle, it fell, and deadly slept.

iv, iii, 20.

E tra 'l collo e la nuca il colpo assesta,
E tronchi i nervi, e 'l gorgozzuol reciso,
Gto rotando a cader prima la testa,
Prima bruttò di polve immonda il viso,
Che giù cadesse il tronco; *il tronco resta*
(Miserabile mostro!) *in sella assiso;*
Ma libero del fren con mille rote
Calcitrando il destrier da se lo scote.

G. L., ix, 70.

(14)

On the last day of the Tournament of Florimell's Girdle, after Artegall has held full sway over Satyrane and his band throughout the day, at sunset Britomart, the stranger Knight of the Heben Spear, rushes forth suddenly and without warning and takes the victory from him. Thereupon Spenser comments:

So nought may be esteemed happie till the end.

iv, iv, 43.

To the reader of Italian literature, this situation with its concluding comment strongly suggests a stanza in Tasso. In the assault upon Jerusalem, a massive wooden tower is used with considerable effect. At the close of a day of hard usage, it is at last being withdrawn to a place of safety when two of its wheels are injured at the last moment.

Da' gran perigli uscita ella sen viene
Giungendo a loco omai di sicurezza;
Ma qual nave talor ch' a vele piene

Corre il mar procelloso, e l'onde sprezza,
 Poscia in vista del porto, o su l'arene,
 O su i fallaci scogli un fianco spezza;
 O qual destrier passa le dubbie strade,
 E presso al dolce albergo incespa e cade:

Tale inciampa la torre; e tal da quella
 Parte che volse all' impeto de' sassi,
 Frange due rote debili, sì ch' ella
 Ruinosa pendendo arresta i passi. . . .

G. L., XI, 84-85.

In both the English and Italian, the essential idea is the same: that, even at the last moment, the success which one has achieved may be taken from him.

The ultimate source of Tasso's stanza is probably found in Dante. Dante's point is that the destiny which God bestows upon the individual should not be judged too hastily, for the high may still fall in the end, and the low rise. Then Dante writes:

E legno vidi già dritto e veloce
 Correr lo mar per tutto suo cammino,
 Perire al fine all' entrar della foce.

Par., XIII, 136-138.

(15)

The following simile from the *Gerusalemme* is offered as the only possible parallel I have found for the one in Spenser.

Like as in sommers day, when raging heat
 Doth burne the earth, and boyled rivers drie,
 That all brute beasts, forst to refraine fro meat,
 Doe hunt for shade, where shrowded they may lie,
 And missing it, faine from themselves to flie;
 All travellers tormented are with paine:
 A watry cloud doth overcast the skie,
 And poureth forth a sudden shoure of raine,
 That all the wretched world recomforteth againe.

IV, iv, 47.

Non è sì grato ai caldi giorni il tuono
 Che speranza di pioggia al mondo apporte
 Come fu caro alle feroci genti
 L' altero suon de' bellici instrumenti.

G. L., I, 71.

In Spenser the simile is used as a comparison to the relief which Britomart afforded to the Knights of Maidenhead when she saved

the day for them at the Tournament of Florimell's Girdle. The simile in Tasso is used to describe the joy which the army before Jerusalem experienced at the signal for battle. In each case, the comparison is with the relief which rain brings to the world on a hot day.

(16)

And as his hand he up againe did reare,
Thinking to worke on her his utmost wracke,
His powrelesse arme, benumbd with secret feare,
From his revengefull purpose shronke abacke,
And cruell sword out of his fingers slacke
Fell downe to ground, as if the steele had sence,
And felt some ruth, or sence his hand did lacke,
Or both of them did thinke, obedience
To doe to so divine a beauties excellence.

iv, vi, 21.

Ed al supplice volto, il quale invano
Con l' arme di pietà fea sue difese,
Drizzò crudel l' inesorabil mano,
E di natura il più bel pregio offese.
Senso aver parve, e fu dell' uom più umano
Il ferro; chè si volse, e piatto scese. . . .

G. L., ix, 84.

(17)

The following, although of doubtful value, is offered as the closest parallel I have found for the simile of Spenser's in question.

Whereof whenas the Prince was well aware,
He to him turnd with furious intent,
And him against his powre gan to prepare;
Like a fierce bull, that being busie bent
To fight with many foes about him ment,
Feeling some curre behinde his hoes to bite,
Turnes him about with fell avengement;
So likewise turnde the Prince upon the knight,
And layd at him amaine with all his will and might.

vi, vi, 27.

Qual orso, che colui che l' ha percosso
Di sbranar con gli unghion rabbioso tenta,
S' altri in questo lo fiede, ei tosto addosso
(Il primiero lasciando) a lui s' avventa;
Tale il Pagan verso Florindo mosso. . . .

R., viii, 60.

In each, it will be noted, the fighting knight is likened to an animal which is forced to shift its attention suddenly in the fight from one foe to another.

(18)

Like as a mastiffe, having at a bay
A salvage bull, whose cruell hornes doe threat
Desperate daunger, if he them assay,
Traceth his ground, and round about doth beat,
To spy where he may some advauntage get,
The whiles the beast doth rage and loudly rore. . . .

vi, vii, 47.

There are two similes in Tasso which Spenser may have had in mind here.

Tal gran tauro talor nell' ampio agone,
Se volge il corno ai cani, ond' è seguito,
S' arretran essi; e s' a fuggir si pone,
Ciascun ritorna a seguitarlo ardito.

G. L., III, 32.

Costi di can timido stuol sovente,
Ch' incontra 'l toro arda di sdegno e d' ira,
Corre per assalirlo e poi si pente,
E latrando lo aguarda e si ritira,
Mentre in feroce aspetto alteramente
Quel muove i passi e gli occhi intorno gira,
E dov' ei volge il tardo e grave piede,
La vile schiera paventando cede.

R., XI, 35.

In each of these similes it will be noted that a dog, or several dogs, are attacking a bull; that, as the bull advances or shows signs of action, the dogs retreat. In Spenser's and in the first of Tasso's, the bull threatens to use his horns.

(19)

Koeppel has pointed out ¹⁶ how the story of Calidore among the shepherds (*F. Q.*, VI, ix, 19 ff.) has elements imitated from Tasso's similar story about Erminia (*G. L.*, VII, 8 ff.) as she lodges with the old shepherd near the banks of the Jordan. Two details however, he has not mentioned.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 359-360.

(1)

Calidore offers gold to Meliboe:

'Not that the burden of so bold a guest
 Shall chargefull be, or chaunge to you at all;
 For your meane food shall be my daily feast,
 And this your cabin both my bowre and hall.
 Besides, for recompence hereof, *I shall*
You well reward, and golden guerdon give,
 That may perhaps you better much withall,
 And in this quiet make you safer live.'
So forth he drew much)gold, and toward him it drive.

VI, ix, 32.

In like manner, Erminia offers gems and gold to her aged shepherd host.

Chè se di gemme e d'ôr, che 'l vulgo adora
St come idoli suoi, tu fossi vago,
Potresti ben, tante n' ho meco ancora,
Renderne il tuo desio contento e pago.

G. L., VII, 16.

(2)

Calidore clothes himself in shepherd's attire, tends the flocks, and milks them.

- (1) *So being clad*, unto the fields he went
 With the faire Pastorella every day,
 And kept her sheepe with diligent attent,
 Watching to drive the ravenous wolfe away,
 The whylest at pleasure she mote sport and play;
- (2) *And every evening helping them to fold:*
 And otherwhiles, for need, he did assay
- (3) { *In his strong hand their rugged teats to hold,*
And out of them to presse the milke: love so much could.

VI, ix, 37.

In like manner, Erminia:

- (1) *Non copre abito vil la nobil luce,*
E quanto è in lei d' altero e di gentile;
E fuor la maestà regia traluce
Per gli atti ancor dell' esercizio umile.
- (2) { *Guida la greggia ai paschi, e la riduce*
Con la povera verga al chiuso ovile;
- (3) *E dall' irsute mamme il latte preme,*
E'n giro accolto poi lo stringe insieme.

G. L., VII, 18.

(20)

There are five proper names in the *Faerie Queene* which appear in the *Gerusalemme*:

Argante in Spenser (III, vii, 47) is a giantess typifying lust. *Argante* in Tasso (II, 59) is a Circassian of high military rank and prowess in Egypt, a scoffer at every god.

Clarinda, *Clarín* in Spenser (V, iv, 48; v, 29) is maid to the Amazon queen, Radigund. *Clorinda* in Tasso (II, 38) is a female warrior of great prowess and renown.¹⁷

The *Souldan* in Spenser (V, viii, 24) is husband to Adicia or Injustice, and the persecutor of Queen Mercilla. *Solimano* (IX, 2), *il Soldano* (IX, 22) in Tasso is King of the Turks, a mighty pagan conqueror.

Aladine, *Aldine* in Spenser (VI, iii, 3, 15) is an obscure knight who figures as lover of Priscilla. *Aladino* in Tasso (I, 83) is an aged king of Jerusalem, suspicious and cruel under the crisis of the Christian attack.

Matilde in Spenser (VI, iv, 29) is wife of Sir Bruin; into her care Calepine delivers the babe which he has rescued from a bear. *Matilda* in Tasso (I, 59) is the nurse and instructor of Rinaldo during his earliest years. Here the parallel extends beyond the mere name itself.

(21)

The three following sets of passages are given, not necessarily as instances of imitation, but to show how similar Spenser and Tasso are in their attitude toward and conception of the ideals of chivalry.

(1)

Ne was there ever noble corage seene,
That in advauntage would his puissaunce best:
Honour is least, where oddes appeareth most.
II, viii, 26.

¹⁷ A. B. Gough has already noted this parallel, in his edition of Book v, Oxford, 1918, p. 220.

E quanto è più il periglio orrendo e fiero,
Più francamente il forte a lui s'oppone.¹⁸

R., I, 36.

(2)

Long so they traveled through wastefull wayes,
Where daungers dwelt, and perils most did wonne,
To hunt for glory and renowned prayse:
Full many countreyes they did overronne,
From the uprising to the setting sunne,
And many hard adventures did atchieve;
Of all the which they honour ever wonne,
{ Seeking the weake oppressed to relieve,
And to recover right for such as wrong did grieve.

III, I, 3.

Poichè Florindo fu del tutto sano,
Per molte parti gir dell' Asia errando,
{ Opprimendo il malvagio ed il villano,
Ed il cortese e'l buon sempre esaltando;
Colla lingua agli affitti e colla mano
Ora consiglio, ed or aita dando;
Talchè lor nome all' uno e all' altro polo
Sen già sull' ali della fama a volo.

R., VIII, 76.

(3)

'Life is not lost,' said she, 'for which is bought
Endlesse renown, that more then death is to be sought.'

III, xi, 19.

Ho core anch' io che morte sprezza, e crede
Che *ben si cambi con l'onor la vita.*

G. L., XII, 8.

Oh spettacolo grande, ove a tenzone
Sono amore e magnanima virtute:
Ove la morta al vincitor si pone
In premio, e 'l mal del vinto è la salute!

G. L., II, 31.

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¹⁸ Cf. also Boiardo:

Ma la difficoltà quant' è maggiore,
Più gli par grata e più degna l'onore.

O. I., xvii, 47.

SPENSER AND ALEXANDER NECKAM

BY FRANK F. COVINGTON, JR.

In creating his pageant of the rivers in the eleventh canto of Book IV of the *Faerie Queene* Spenser was not only following a literary fashion,¹ but was indebted to some extent to previous poems of a similar nature, notably to one printed in William Camden's *Britannia*, and probably composed by that writer.² Furthermore, the materials for his descriptions of the English rivers in this pageant he found in Camden's work, and in William Harrison's "Description of England," printed in Holinshed's *Chronicles*.³ For his poetic account of the Irish rivers, however, no source has been discovered. Professor Osgood is probably correct in attributing to "the poet's familiarity with the rivers themselves," the "peculiar freshness and spontaneity" of the passages describing them.⁴ Nevertheless it is interesting to note that not only Harrison and Camden, in their celebrations of English streams, but Spenser, in his inclusion of Irish rivers in his catalogue of those of Britain, were anticipated more than three hundred years in a Latin poem by Alexander Neckam, the English ecclesiastic and scholar (1157-1217).⁵ In the third "Distinctio" of his *De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae*, a sort of encyclopedia in verse, he names the chief rivers of the world, among them those of England and Ireland. The passage concerning the Irish rivers runs as follows:

"Fluminibus magnis laetatur Hibernia, Sined
Inter Connaciam Momoniamque fluit.
Transit per muros Limerici Suoc [*sic*] patrit [*sic*] illum
Oceani clausum sub ditione videt.

¹ See H. R. Patch, "Notes on Spenser and Chaucer," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxiii, 177-80; C. G. Osgood, "Spenser's English Rivers," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 100-08.

² Osgood, *op. cit.*, 72-73, 90.

³ Carrie A. Harper, *The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene*, chapter II.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁵ For Neckam, see *Dictionary of National Biography*; Thomas Wright, Introduction to his edition of Neckam in the Rolls Series, 1863.

Urbem Lissimor pertransit flumen Avennor,
 Ardmor cernit ubi concitus aequor adit.
 Surius insignem gaudet ditare Waterfort,
 Aequoreis undis associatur ibi.
 Dessia te ditat divisor Momoniamque,
 Lageniam munit mercibus ille suis.
 Ditat in Escorti fluvium quod Slane vocatur,
 Nunc cernit Wesefort se sociare sibi.
 Visere Castelenoc non dedignantur Avendeth,
 Istum Dublinii suscipit unda maris.
 Kildare, Lechlinum quoque ditat Barva, Waterfort
 Gaudens Neptuno cedere cernit eum.
 Ecce Boing qui Traum celer infuit, istius undas
 Subdere se salsis Dropheda cernit aquis.
 Tyrconiel et Kaneliim Kilewiskia ditat,
 Quas tanquam limes dividit unda fluens.”*

The “Sined,” flowing between Connaught (Connacia) and Munster (Momoniam) is obviously the Shannon. “Avennor” is a variant of “Avenmor” (“Avonmor,” “Avenmore,” “Avenemor”), a common name in the middle ages for the Munster Blackwater or Broadwater.⁷ The “Surius” is clearly the Suir; the “Slane” is now called the Slaney. The “Avendeth,” flowing into the sea at Dublin, is the Liffey: “Avenliff,” and “Avenelyf,” the commoner forms, are found in official documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁸ The “Banna” is the Bann; the “Barva” the Barrow; and the “Boing” the Boyne. The “Kilewiskia” remains a mystery.⁹

* Rolls Series, No. 34, ed. Thomas Wright, 1863, pp. 416-17.

⁷ See *Calendar of Documents, Ireland*, 1171-1251, 251, “Avenmore”; *ibid.*, 1285-1292, 282, “Avenemor.”

⁸ See *Calendar of Documents, Ireland*, 1302-07, 81, “Avenelyf.”

⁹ The source for Neckam’s statements about these Irish rivers it is not easy to determine. The preëminent authority on Ireland in Neckam’s time was Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald de Barri), whose *Topographia Hibernica* contains a brief and not entirely accurate account of Irish geography and topography. In “Distinctio” I, chapter vii of this work he lists and describes sixteen of the rivers of Ireland, including all those mentioned by Neckam except the “Kilewiskia”: i. e., the Liffey, the Bann, the Moy, the Sligo (Gitly), the Erne, the Mourne, the Finn, the Bandon, the Lee, the Barrow, the Nore, the Suir, the Slaney, the Boyne, the Munster Blackwater and the Shannon (*Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, Vol. v, Rolls Series, 1867, 30-31). But not only are the names different in form from those

All these rivers, except the "Kilewiskia," are found in Spenser's catalogue, which contains eighteen names: *i. e.*, the Liffey, the Slaney, the "Oure" (Avonbeg), the Shannon, the Boyne, the Bann, the "Awniduff" (Ulster Blackwater), the Foyle, the Drowes, the "Allo" (Munster Blackwater), the Awbeg, the Suir, the Nore, the Barrow, the Kenmare, the Bandon, the Lee, and the "Aubrian" (not positively identified).

Is it likely, however, that Spenser ever saw a copy of Neckam's poem? Certainly it is by no means impossible. Neckam's writings were extant in Spenser's life-time, it is true, only in manuscript, and a single manuscript was known to Wright, Neckam's editor.¹⁰ Yet it is practically certain that other manuscripts were in circulation, for Neckam was rather well known to the learned.¹¹ He is cited more than once by Camden, who calls him affectionately "noster Nechamus."¹² Spenser, then, may have come across a copy of the *De Laudibus* when he was in London in 1590, if not earlier. That he did make use of manuscript material has been shown to be highly probable by Professor J. L. Lowes, in his article on Spenser and the *Mirour de l'Omme*.¹³ It is surely not extravagant to suppose that Spenser occasionally consulted unprinted works bearing on history and geography. As Professor Lowes says, "That Spenser, with his antiquarian and archaizing tastes, must have been familiar with *manuscripts*, both at Cambridge and later, there is every reason, *a priori*, to believe."¹⁴

Whether or not Spenser ever saw a copy of the *De Laudibus*, however, he could hardly have failed to read excerpts from it in the work of his admired Camden. In the edition of 1590 of the *Britannia* in the section devoted to Ireland, occur five quotations, totalling twelve lines, from the passage given above.¹⁵ These lines,

in the *De Laudibus*, but other geographical regions are associated with them. The *Topographia*, then, was probably not Neckam's source.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxxvii: "I have printed the poem *De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae* from the only ms. with which I am acquainted, . . . preserved in the Royal Library in the British Museum, ms. 8 E ix."

¹¹ Osgood, *op. cit.*, 83 n., 95, etc.

¹² *Britannia*, ed. 1590, 692; ed. 1594, 656; ed. 1600, 769.

¹³ *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. xxix (1914), 388-452.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, 451, note.

¹⁵ Lines 5-6, 7-8, 13-14, 17-18, 1-4. These are found also in later editions.

relating to a subject in which he was much interested, must have impressed him. To be sure, since Spenser's list is more than twice as long as Neckam's, and his description different, it is not to be supposed that the medieval writer was his "source." There is no reason to doubt that Spenser was in this passage describing, for the most part, from personal observation. And yet it is possible that these verses of Neckam gave to the author of the *Faerie Queene*, deferential as he was to literary authority and precedent, and prone to draw no little of his inspiration from "bookish" sources, a suggestion to include in his pageant the streams of the "salvage island."

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See (1590) pp. 692, 693, 700, 701, 703. There are some minor differences in the lines as printed in the *Britannia*, which suggests that the manuscript used by Camden was not the same as that from which Wright printed his edition.

"F. S., WHICH IS TO SAY . . ."

BY ROBERT WITHINGTON

Says Humphrey to Luce, in the first act of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*:

. . . I am full
Of pitty, though I say it, and can pull
Out of my pocket, thus, a paire of gloves.
Looke, Lucy, looke! the dog's tooth, nor the dove's
Are not so white as these; and sweete they bee,
And whipt about with silke, as you may see.
If you desire the price, sute from your eie
A beame to this place, and you shall espie
F. S., which is to say, my sweetest hony,
They cost me three and two pence, or no money.

Of the various editors of this play, but four have made any observation on the last couplet. Professor Raymond M. Alden (*Belles-Lettres Edition*, 1910), dismisses F. S. with the brief phrase, "evidently a symbolic price mark." Dr. H. S. Murch (*Yale Studies in English*, vol. XXXIII, 1908) notes: "This is probably some glove-dealer's trademark, by which the price of Humphrey's gift is indicated." Mr. F. W. Moorman (*Temple Dramatists*, 1898) is even more cautious; he queries: "Is this the tradesman's secret mark to denote the price?" and Mr. Henry Weber, whose fourteen-volume edition of Beaumont and Fletcher appeared at Edinburgh in 1812, fails to comment on F. S., but notes that "these gloves are very cheap when compared with some worn at the time."¹ The early quartos do not, of course, contain explanatory notes, and this passage is left without comment by

¹ He gives a cross-reference to his own vol. x, p. 84, where is a note on the perfuming of gloves. Cf. the chapter on this subject in S. W. Beck's *Gloves, Their Annals and Associations* (London, 1883). We may also refer to William Hull, Jr., *The History of the Glove Trade* (London, 1834), and W. B. Redfern's illustrated volume, *Royal and Historic Gloves and Shoes* (London, 1904), for further information on this subject in general.

On perfumed gloves, see Beck, pp. 82 ff., and Hull, p. 24; on embroidered gloves, and those knit with silk, see Beck, pp. 112 ff., and Hull, p. 25; on wedding gloves, and gloves as gifts, see Beck, pp. 227 ff. (especially p. 237), and Hull, pp. 38 ff. The various entries from old records cited by

Sympson (1750), Coleman (1778), Darley (1840), Dyce (1843), Keltie (*The Works of the British Dramatists*. Carefully selected from the Best Editions, with Copious Notes. . . Edinburgh, 1870); Fitzgibbon (*Famous Elizabethan Plays*. London, 1890); Neilson (*Chief Elizabethan Dramatists*. Boston and New York, 1911), and Wheeler (*Six Plays by Contemporaries of Shakespeare*. Oxford University Press. The World's Classics [1915]). The play is reprinted in *Burlesque Plays and Poems* by various authors (*Morley's Universal Library*, xxvii, 1885), where the last line of the above passage reads (erroneously) "They cost me three-and-twopence, and no money"; but there is no note.²

The matter first engaged the attention of correspondents to *Notes and Queries* in 1885,³ and Mr. Nicholson replied to J. P. A.'s inquiry early in 1886: "Letters are commonly affixed as private marks of the price; but as an outsider is not supposed to know these, even if they were used at that day, it is more likely, as the gloves were delicate, and 'whipt about with silk,' that F stood for fine, or for some other word, and S for silk, and that 3s. 2d. was known to the girl of the period and to many of the audience to be the selling price of such." This reply seems to be largely guess-work—and have the editors given anything better?—but it notes one point which the editors seem to have overlooked: namely, that the audience understood the letters—and if this were so, it would rule the "symbolic pricemark" out of court.

It would be easy to guess some meaning for the mysterious letters such as Mr. Nicholson's "fine silk," or "for sale," or "French skin," or "foreign shape," (or even, in view of Weber's note, "fery sheep"!). One might imagine that the price was "four shillings"—or five—and that Humphrey had driven a bargain; in which case, the lines would not be without an additional touch of humor, supposing that the public knew the meaning of

Beck (pp. 246 ff.) are interesting. There is a considerable range in prices—from a penny to forty shillings, the price of gloves given to Elizabeth at Cambridge in 1578. Cf. Redfern, p. 4.

² I have not seen the play in Bullen's Variorum Edition of Beaumont and Fletcher. It is not included in the first four volumes (London, 1904-1912). In J. Monck Mason's *Comment on the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* (London, 1798), there is no note on this passage.

³ Series VI, vol. xii, p. 468; the reply to the question there phrased is to be found in series VII, vol. i, p. 11 (1886).

the cryptic letters. It is, of course, humorous that the gentleman should mention the price of the gift he is about to make to the lady of his heart—his "sweetest honey"; how much more amusing it would be, if we could detect him bargaining with a merchant to get the perfumed gloves cheap!

However obscure they may be to us, we may take it as almost axiomatic that the Elizabethan dramatists were rarely, if ever, obscure to their contemporary audiences. (Indeed, is this not true of every dramatist of every age?) For this reason, none of the explanations I have cited seems entirely satisfactory. The purpose of a "symbolic price mark"—then as to-day—was to keep the public in the dark; and when fixed prices were not the rule, and bargaining was rife, it was important to prevent the customer from knowing the lowest limit the merchant was willing to accept. Despite the fact that fixed prices are almost universal now, this practice of marking prices in such a way that the customer cannot read them, still holds in certain shops on both sides of the Atlantic; merchants do not communicate these "symbolic" pricemarks to people outside their establishments, and it is an easy explanation of an obscure passage to assume that "F. S." is an indication of the price which Humphrey had to pay. While this explanation is not at all an impossible one, it is not wholly acceptable.

Professor Skeat answers another correspondent in *Notes and Queries*, who brought up the question again in 1911,⁴ as follows:

The only difficulty is in supposing that the custom of denoting numbers by letters is so old as the date of this play. It is common enough now. Take any word or words that consist of ten letters, all different; they need not make sense. Take, for example, the words 'as friendly.' Now let *a* denote 1, *s* denote 2, and so on, using *y* for 0. Then it is obvious that *fs* means 3*s*. 2*d*.

One may remark in passing that, if you know *f* means 3, and *s* 2, it is easy to construct a phrase of ten letters, including *s* and *f* as 2 and 3; but Mr. Skeat seems to accept the fact that these letters represent a pricemark. It is quite possible that Luce thought they did; but did the public? ⁵

⁴ Series XI, vol. iv, pp. 348, 434; on p. 494 Mr. F. Newman records instances of price-marks in early plays: *Pedantius*, a Cambridge comedy (1581), and Rowley's *A New Wonder* (referring to Moore Smith).

⁵ Cf. *Notes and Queries*, vol. cXLVI, (1924) p. 419, where Mr. G. A.

I believe that the audiences of 1611 understood the letters "F. S." and that the dramatists got an extra laugh—which modern editors have overlooked—out of these lines. As I have said, it is amusing to hear Humphrey tell the price of the gift to the recipient; but it is much more amusing if he explains "F. S." as meaning something quite different from what the audience knows it means. If I am right, "F. S." cannot be a secret pricemark, for there is no comedy unless the public can compare the pretended explanation with what it knows to be the real one. The audiences cannot know the real signification of the cryptic pricemarks; "F. S." must be so clear to them that they grasp at once the difference between what they know it means and what Humphrey interprets it as meaning; but it must also be a phrase that Luce may be expected not to know.

This phrase is not easy to find. Miss Grace Latham, of London, has made the suggestion* that "F. S." is really a misprint for "L. S." [*locus sigilli*, "the place of the seal"] often inserted in brackets in copies of documents to indicate the position of the seal in the original; she suggests that Humphrey offers Luce the gloves at a price—a kiss—the seal of his wooing. Humphrey is of gentle blood, and might well have been at the Inns of Court; and if he is hinting his desire for a kiss, one finds a certain humor in her failure to understand him, for she replies, "Well, Sir, I take them kindly, and I thanke you. What would you more?" But it is unlikely that such a misprint would pass uncorrected in all the quartos, for (being obvious to at least the educated part of the public, including proof-readers), had it crept into the 1613 edition, it would have been corrected in those of 1635.⁷ Attractive as the suggestion of a misprint is, I fear it must be ruled out.

Anderson suggests 'misfortune' as the key-word ($m = 0$, $i = 1$, $s = 2$, $f = 3$, etc.), fs thus giving 3 and 2. But even supposing the tradesmen of Fletcher's day had this mysterious method of marking their prices, would the audience understand the 'little joke'?

Mr. G. C. Moore Smith (*ibid.*, p. 474) accepts Mr. Anderson's explanation, citing *Pedantius* and *A New Wonder* for examples of letters used to represent prices.

* See *Notes and Queries* for 24 May, 1924.

⁷ There are copies of the 1613 and 1635 editions of this play in the British Museum. Of the latter, the BM has four copies, one of which differs from the other three (in this passage) in that "honie" is spelled

There is nothing in either Nares, or Skeat and Mayhew's *Tudor and Stuart Glossary*, which can be accepted as meeting the conditions I have suggested. Could it be proved that "F. S." was a generally-understood abbreviation for "five shillings," the extra laugh might be found, but it would not be a very hearty one if Luce could be expected to know this interpretation, for the contrast would not then be marked—the contrast between what she might be expected to understand, and the truth. Yet the phrase seems to have some connection with the price, for the interpretation seems to be the three shillings and twopence which Humphrey paid—if, indeed, he paid anything. "They cost me," he says, "three and twopence, or no money."

The editors tacitly assume that the latter phrase is the equivalent of our "if I paid a cent, I paid a thousand dollars," which indicates emphatically that the speaker paid not a cent less than the larger sum named. In other words, Humphrey shows a secret pricemark with an emphatic reminder that if he paid a farthing for the gloves, he paid three shillings and twopence. Admitting that money went further in the early part of the seventeenth century than it does now, we must recognize the humor of stating forcibly the expenditure of so small a sum. But is not the humor increased if the audience knows that, however unquestionably Luce accepts the implication, he really paid nothing?

Here, then, is the situation: Humphrey, in grandiloquent phrase, offers Luce a pair of gloves (a love-token), white and perfumed (an expensive kind), and he indicates a mark which seems to be a "secret pricemark" but which the audience knows has another meaning; he tells her that by shooting a beam from her eyes to these initials, she can see that he paid three shillings and twopence for the gloves *if he paid a farthing*, and she—like the modern editors—believes him. But the Jacobean audiences got three laughs out of this couplet, instead of the one due to his telling her the price of his gift, because they saw that the initials did *not* mean three shillings and twopence, and that he got the gloves without

with a small letter, instead of a capital. This may mean that there were two editions of the play this year. All the 1635 copies were "printed by N. O. for I. S."

Both the 1613 and 1635 editions read "F. S." in this passage.

paying anything for them. The credulity of Luce adds to the comedy.

What do the mystic initials mean? If *fam-snatchers* were an Elizabethan cant word, we might be tempted to suggest it; but Farmer and Henley (*A Dictionary of Slang and its Analogues*) cite only from Pierce Egan's *Finish to Life in London* (1824): "To Jerry Hawthorn, Esq., I resign my fam-snatchers, i. e., my gloves."⁸ Probably Lucy knew the market price of gloves, so we need not be disturbed by the fact that there is no direct connection between "fam-snatchers" and three shillings and two-pence. Farmer and Henley also record *fair-shake* as meaning "a good bargain," but note that it is an Americanism. Could it have been current in English colloquial speech early in the seventeenth century, like so many other so-called "Americanisms"? One can not prove that, even if it were, the audience would have recognized it by the initials.

It is, of course, possible that the letters "F. S." indicated the name of some Elizabethan firm of glove-makers, and that the public understood them as representing the best the town could produce. But in this case, Luce would have understood the phrase, too, and the possibility of humor to be found in the misinterpretation of the letters would be lost.⁹

⁸ *Famms*, or *Fambles*, is defined as hands in Thomas Harman's *Caveat for Common Cursetors* [London, 1814; reprinted from the fourth edition (1573: the first edition appeared in 1566, the second and third in 1567)]; cf. Dekker's *O per se O* [appended to *The Bellman's Night Walks*, 1612]; B. E., *New Dictionary of the Canting Crew* (London, n. d. [1690]), *The Canting Dictionary* (London, 1725), *The Scoundrel's Dictionary* (London, 1754), etc. In *The Flash Dictionary*, appended to *The Sinks of London Laid Open* (London, 1848), the word for gloves is given as *fumbles* (perhaps a misprint). In Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Beggars' Bush* (act ii) occurs the line: "We clap our fambles,"—i. e., hands. Many of the cant terms recorded in these dictionaries are used in this play.

Fambling chete, or *cheat*, is given in these dictionaries as the cant phrase for *gloves* or *rings*. The word *chete* is used often as a suffix in this dialect: thus, *smelling chete* means nose, or garden; *prattling chete* is tongue, *crashing chetes* are teeth, *hearing chetes*, ears, etc.

⁹ The Glovers were given arms in 1464; they were incorporated with the Leathersellers from 1505 to 1638. There is nothing in the mottoes of either Company to suggest F. S. See Charles Welch, *Coat Armour of the London Livery Companies* (London, 1914), esp. pp. 13 and 18, and plates.

A theatrical term—"substantive phrase," Farmer and Henley call it—meaning "properties; accessories of any kind," is to be found in the *Dictionary of Slang and its Analogues*.¹⁰ This is *Fakes and Slumboes*. The gloves were undoubtedly "properties," and if they cost Humphrey anything, might well have cost him three and twopence. But he paid "no money" for them, and perhaps the audience saw that they were accessories. Elizabethan and Jacobean playgoers might be as familiar with this substantive phrase as modern theatregoers are with such a word as *property* in its theatrical sense. The tendency of users of any kind of slang is to clip the words they use, whether slang or not: our college students speak of "exams," and our actors of "props," to this day. It would be quite within the bounds of possibility that "fakes and slumboes" should be shortened to "f and s"—or even to "f s"—and that this abbreviation should be understood by a large part of the audience. We may note that the exigencies of the meter require the suppression of the *and*, but the context—and, above all, Humphrey's expression as he speaks—may have made the meaning clear. Unfortunately, neither Farmer and Henley nor Barrère and Leland indicate the date when this phrase was current, but it must be old, as it is not known to modern actors.¹¹

It must not be forgotten that Humphrey is an absurd character,

¹⁰ Cf. also *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon and Cant*, by Barrère and Leland (London, 1897), where this phrase is defined as "one of the numerous synonyms used by pantomimists to describe properties."

¹¹ I have not found the phrase in B. E.'s *New Dictionary of the Canting Crew*, N. Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721, or in the twentieth edition, 1764), Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755, or in H. J. Todd's 1818 edition), in J. C. Hotten's *Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words* (1859, or in the revised edition, 1874), in Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785, or in Pierce Egan's edition of the same, 1823); nor in the NED, under either *fakes* or *slumboes*. The fact that many distinguished members of the Garrick Club, who have been closely connected with the stage for years, are unfamiliar with the phrase, may be accounted for by the suggestion that it is a term from pantomime; but we may assume that if it is obsolete in the theatre today, it had its origin in the theatre of an earlier century.

It may be noted that the two chief words are reduced to initials in such an abbreviation as "b and s" (for "brandy and soda"), and that the *and* has dropped out of such abbreviations as "C. M. G." (for "Companion of St. Michael and St. George.")

exaggerated and conceited. He is the suitor favored by Luce's father, but Luce herself prefers Jasper. Even in this burlesque, he is to be laughed at above the other *dramatis personæ*. His affected manner of speech is obvious, even in the passage of the play we have been considering. Therefore, it is not surprising that (for the moment) he comes out of his part, as it were, and speaks as an actor known to the audience rather than as a person in the play. His little excursion is, of course, ignored by Luce—who, as a young girl unconnected with the theatre, could not be expected to know, in character, what he meant; she replies to him as if he had not exhibited the property gloves with a wink, as he speaks the words "or no money." They are "F. S."—fakes and slumboes—property—and . . . they cost him nothing.

If I have accused the editors of this play of giving us explanations which are largely guesswork, I must extend the accusation to myself, for I have no proof that this phrase—which meets all the conditions requisite—was known to, or used by, the Elizabethans. It is, however, as good an explanation as Skeat's "as friendly," Mr. Anderson's "misfortune," or the editors' "symbolic price-mark." And if we have, as yet, no evidence that "fakes and slumboes" was Elizabethan, or that it was abbreviated "F. S." and, as such, was known to Beaumont and Fletcher's public, we have at least indicated the possibility of much more comedy in these lines than the editors have hitherto granted.

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DRAYTON'S USE OF WELSH HISTORY

BY ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY

Charles Gross¹ is authority for the statement that, "For a long time the standard work on Wales was an Elizabethan compilation called *A Historie of Cambria*." This book was a collection by Caradoc of Llancarvan of the "successions and actes of the Brytish Princes after Cadwalader, to the yeare of Christ 1156." Monks in the Welsh abbeys of Conway and Stratflur then added events as they occurred till the year 1270; and all this material coming into the hands of Humphrey Lloyd, "a painefull and a worthie searcher of Brytish antiquities," was translated by him into English. But he did not live to complete the work, which was reluctantly undertaken and published in 1584 by another Welshman, David Powel.²

The work naturally enough has a strong Welsh bias, and Drayton reflects much of that bias when, in the Ninth Song of *Poly-olbion*, he makes Mount Snowdon sing Cambria's "native Princes' praise." In several instances he even transcends Powel's prejudice. His love for Wales was evidently deep if we are to take as sincere his address "To My Friends, the Cambro-Britans,"³ prefixed to *Poly-olbion*. He speaks there of "my loved Wales," and proceeds to offer some explanation for his affection:

And beside my natural inclination to love antiquities (which Wales may highly boast of) I confess the free and gentle company of that true lover of his Country, . . . Mr. John Williams, his Majesty's Goldsmith, my dear and worthy friend, hath made me the more seek into the antiquities of your Country.

Drayton found that Powel's book contained just the manner of praise of things Welsh he required; and, in consequence, he followed it for some two hundred lines, almost without a break. His

¹ *Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to About 1485*. London, 1915. P. 192.

² The most convenient form of this book is in a reprint for John Harding, London, 1811. References will be to that edition.

³ *Complete Works of Michael Drayton*. London, 1876. 3 vol. Ed. R. Hooper, I, xxxvi-xxxvii. Unless otherwise specified, all allusions will be to this edition.

procedure in this borrowing is consistent; he tends to stress the beginnings and ends of the separate chapters, to consult Powel's index in order to link similar events, and to fabricate transitions if they are lacking in his original. These transitions usually consist of patriotic outbursts, in which he not infrequently distorts the facts of history.

The very spirit with which Drayton undertakes to praise Welsh heroism is inherent in "A Description of Cambria," retained by Powel as an introduction to his book.⁴ The poet's lines are:

Whilst here this general Isle, the ancient Britans ow'd,
 Their valiant deeds before by Severne have been show'd:
 But, since our furious foe, these pow'rful Saxon swarms
 (As merciless in spoil, as well approv'd in arms)
 Here called to our aid, Loëgria⁵ us bereft,
 Those poor and scatt'ed few of Brute's high lineage left,
 For succour hither came; where that unmixed race
 Remains unto this day, yet owners of this place:
 Of whom no Flood nor Hill peculiarly hath song.
 These, then, shall be my theme: lest Time too much should wrong
 Such Princes as were ours, since sever'd we have been.⁶

Much of Lloyd's introduction is concerned with injustices wrought upon the Welsh by Anglo-Saxon invaders; and the reasons Powel assigns for finishing Lloyd's task embrace Drayton's motives:

First, because I see the politike and martiall actes of all other inhabitants of this Iland, in the time of their government to be set out to the uttermost, and that by divers and sundrie writers: and the whole doings and government of the Brytaines the first inhabitants of the land, who continued their rule longer than anie other nation, to be nothing spoken of nor regarded of anie, especialie sithence the reigne of Cadwalader, having so manie monuments of antiquitie to declare and testifie the same, if anie would take the paines to open and discover them to the vew of the world.⁷

⁴ In "To My Friends, the Cambro-Britans," the poet says he is "striving, as my much-loved (the learned) Humfrey Floyd, in his description of Cambria to Abraham Ortelius, to uphold her [Wales'] ancient bounds."

Poly-olbion, from Song IV through X, is well filled with tributes to the Welsh. E. g. vi, 237 ff., viii, 375-6.

⁵ Or Logres, a common name for England used in the old romances and histories, derived from the legendary king Lochrine or Locris. Drayton uses it frequently. Cf. *Pol.* v, 74, viii, 33.

⁶ Ll. 177-87. Allusions to lines in *Poly-olbion*, Ninth Song between 177 and 436 will be without reference to poem or song.

⁷ *Historie of Cambria*, x.

Drayton next makes use of two details from Lloyd's introduction. The first concerns the name *Welsh*:

Till with the term of Welsh, the English now embasse
The nobler Britans' name.⁸

Lloyd's objection is worded thus:

And bicause the name of this countrie is changed, or rather mistaken by the inhabitants of England, and not by them called Cambry, but Wales: I thinke it necessarie to declare the occasion thereof.⁹

Two pages are then devoted to proving that *Welsh* was a late term meaning *strange* foisted in derision upon the noble Britons.

Drayton continues his description of the British race:

that well-near was destroy'd
With *pestilence and war*, which this great Isle annoy'd.¹⁰

At the conclusion of his summary Description of Wales, Lloyd says:

The Princes of Wales, sith the conquest of the Normans, could never keepe quiet possession thereof, but what for strangers and what for disloyaltie of their owne people, *veaxation and war*, were for the most part compelled to keepe themselves in Caermardhynshire.¹¹

The poet now plunges into the history itself, and from this point his procedure in adapting prose to verse can best be illustrated by parallel passages:

D.

*Cadwallader*¹² that drove
to the *Armoric* shore:
To which, dread *Conan*,
Lord of Denbigh, long before,
His countrymen from hence
auspiciously convey'd:
Whose noble feats in war,
and never-failing aid,
Got *Maximus* (at length)
the victory in Gaul,

P.

Cadwalader . . . by extreame plagues
of death and famine, was driven to
forsake this his Realme and native
Countrie, and to sojourne with . . .
his cousen Alan, King of little
Brytaine . . . *Little Brytaine* is a
countrie in France, called in Cæsars
time, *Armorica*, and after inhabited
by Brytaines, who about the yeare
of *Christ 384* under the conduct of

⁸ Ll. 190-91.

⁹ *Historie*, xviii.

¹⁰ Ll. 191-92.

¹¹ *Historie*, xxxv-xxxvi.

¹² The corresponding section in Powel is headed *Cadwalader*. It would be the first word on which Drayton's eye would light.

Upon the Roman Powers.

Where, after *Gratian's* fall,
Armorica to them
 the valiant *Victor* gave:
 Where *Conan*, their great Lord,
 as full of courage, drave
 The Celts out of their seats,
 and did their room supply
 With people still from hence;
 which of our Colony
 Was *Little Britain* call'd.¹³

D.

Where that distressed King,
Cadwallader, himself
 awhile recomforting
 With hope of *Alan's* aid
 (which there did him detain)
 Forewarned was in dreams,
 that of the *Britans' reign*
 A sempiternal end the
 angry Powers decreed,
 A recluse life in *Rome*
 injoining him to lead.¹⁴

D.

The King resigning all,
 his son young *Edwall* left
 With *Alan*: who, much griev'd
 the Prince should be bereft
 Of Britain's ancient right,
 rigg'd his unconquer'd fleet;
 And as the *Generals* then,
 for such an army meet,
 His Nephew *Ivor* chose,
 and *Hiner* for his pheere;
 Two most undaunted spirits.
 These valiant *Britans* were

Conan Lord of Meriadoc, now *Denbighland*, went out of this Ile with *Maximus* the tyrant, to his aid against the Emperour *Gratianus*, and winning the said countrie of *Armorica*, (which *Maximus* gave *Conan* and his people) alue and drave out all the old inhabitants thereof, planting themselves in the same.¹⁴

P.

After he had prepared and made readie his navie for the transporting of his owne men, with such succours as he had found at *Alons* hand, an Angell appeared unto him in a vision, and declared that it was the will of God that he should not take his voyage towards *Brytaine*, but to *Rome* to Pope *Sergius*, where he should make an end of his life . . . : for God had appointed that the *Brytaines* should have no more the rule and governance of the whole Ile.¹⁵

P.

After that *Cadwalader* had taken his journeie towards *Rome*, as before is declared, leaving his sonne named *Edwal*. . . with his cousin *Alan*, which *Alan* taking courage to him, and not despairing of the conquest of *Brytaine*, manned his ships . . . and appointed *Ivor* his sonne, and *Ynyr* his nephew to bee the leaders and chieftaines of the same . . . : and *Ivor* won the countries of *Cornewall*, *Devonshire*, and *Somersetshire*. . . .¹⁵ Whereupon *Kent*

¹³ Ll. 193-203.

¹⁴ *Historie*, p. 1.

¹⁵ Ll. 203-8.

¹⁶ *Historie*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁷ These counties are parts of the old Wessex.

The first who West-sea won.

But by the ling'ring war,
When they those *Saxons* found
t'have succour still from far,
They took them to their friends
on Severne's setting shore.¹⁷

winus King of *Westsea* gathered a great number of *Saxons* and *Angles* together, and came against the *Brytaines* . . . and as the armies were both in sight, they were not verie desirous to fight, but fell to a composition and agreement, that Ivor should take *Ethelburga* to wife, which was cousen to *Kentwyn*, and quietlie enjoie all that he had.¹⁸

Drayton's mistake of calling Ivor Alan's nephew (l. 213) is the more remarkable because Powel has given as heading to this section: Ivor, the sonne of Alan.²⁰

Drayton's next half-line, "Where finding Edwall dead,"²¹ though it makes an easy transition, is a little misleading. The facts seem to be that Edwall, weary of the continuous strife and cognizant of Ivor's growing power, resigned his title to the latter and fled to Rome, where he later died.²²

D.

they purpos'd to restore
His son young *Roderick*,
whom the Saxon powers pursu'd:
But he, who at his home
here scorn'd to be subdu'd,
With *Aldred* (that on Wales
his strong invasion brought)
Garthmalack, and *Pencoed*
(those famous battles) fought,
That *North and South-Wales* sing,
on the *West-Sevians* won.²³

D.

Scarce this victorious task
his bloodied sword had done,
But at *Mount Carno* met
the *Mercians*, and with wounds
Made *Ethelbald* to feel

P.

Roderike or *Rodri*, the sonne of *Edwal*. [heading of chapter]. *Roderike* . . . began his reigne an. 720. against whom, *Adelred* King of *Westsea* raised a great armie, and . . . entred *Cornewall*, where *Roderike* with the *Brytaines* gave him battell . . . The yeare after, the *Brytaines* obtained two other victories against the *Saxons*: one in *Northwales*, at a place called *Garth Maelawc*: and another in *Southwales* at *Pencoet*.²⁴

P.

Ethelbaldus was made King [of *Mercia*] after him, who . . . gathered an armie, and entred into *Wales*, and . . . came to the *mountaine Carno* . . . where a sore bat-

¹⁷ Ll. 209-17.

¹⁸ *Historie*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²¹ L. 218.

²² *Historie*, p. 8.

²³ Ll. 218-23.

²⁴ *Historie*, p. 12.

his trespass on our bounds;
Prevail'd against *the Pict*,
before our force that flew;
And in a valiant fight
their *King Dalargan* slew.²⁵

Nor *Conan's* courage less,
nor less prevail'd in ought
Renowned *Roderick's heir*,
who with the English fought
The *Herefordian* Field;
as Ruthlands red with gore.²⁷

tell was fought betweene him and
the Brytaines. . . . There was a
great battell fought betwixt the
Brytaines and *the Pictes* . . . where
Dalargan King of the Pictes was
slaine.²⁵

Conan Tindaethwy the sonne of *Roderike*. Conan . . did beginne his
reigne over the Brytaines the yeere
of our Lord 755. About two yeares
after, there was a great battell
fought at *Hereford* betwixt the Bry-
taines and the Saxons.²⁶

Drayton's last half-line is a simile, which may be explained by the following words from Camden's *Britannia* (1610 ed., p. 679): "Above this, Ruthlan, taking the name of the ruddy and red banke of Cluid, on which it stands, maketh a good shew with a Castle." There may also, however, be an allusion to the Statute of Wales, otherwise of Rhuddlan,²⁸ by which Edward the First imposed English rule upon the Welsh. Drayton may likewise have had in mind the fictional "massacre of bards," which is supposed to have followed Edward's statute.

D.

Who, to transfer the war
from this his native shore,
March'd through the *Mercian* Towns
with his revengeful blade;
And on the English there
such mighty havock made,
That *Offa* (when he saw
his Countries go to wrack)
From bick'ring with his folk,
to keep us Britans back,
Cast up that mighty Mound *
of eighty miles in length,
Athwart from sea to sea.
Which of the Mercians' strength

P.

The yeare 776. the men of South-
wales destroyed a great part of
Mercia with fire and sword. . . . The
Saxons . . . did dailie incroch . . . upon
the lands of the Welshmen . . . Where-
fore the Welshmen put themselves
in armour, and set upon the Saxons,
and chased them over Seaverne
again . . . Whereupon *Offa* King
of *Mercia* caused a great ditch to be
made, large and deepe from sea to
sea, betwixt his kingdome and Wales,
whereby hee might the better defend
his countrie from the incursions of

²⁵ Ll. 224-28.

²⁶ *Historie*, pp. 12-13.

²⁷ Ll. 229-31.

²⁸ *Historie*, p. 15.

²⁹ Powel spells Rhuddlan, *Ruthlan*. See *Historie*, xx, and 191.

A witness though it stand,
and Offa's name do bear,
Our courage was the cause
why first he cut it there."²⁰

* Offa's Ditch [D.'s footnote.]

the Welshmen. And this ditch is . . .
called . . . *Offa's ditch* at this daie."²¹

Powel here assigns no length to Offa's Ditch; but in the "Description of Wales" Lloyd had described it as "reaching above a hundreth miles in length."²² It is possible that Drayton is remembering indistinctly. The poet's last two and a half lines are typical in their praise of British courage.

D.

As that most dreadful day
at *Gavelford* can tell,
Where under *either's* sword
so many thousands fell
With intermixed blood,
that neither knew their own;
Nor which went *victor* thence,
unto this day is known."²³

P.

After that, there was a great battell
fought at a place called *Gavelford*,
betwixt the *Brytaines*, and the *West*
Saxons of *Devonshire*, and *manie*
thousands cruellie slaine upon *either*
side, and the *victorie* uncertaine."²⁴

D.

Nor *Kettle's* conflict then,
less martial courage show'd,
Where valiant *Mervin* met
the *Mercians*, and bestow'd
His nobler *British* blood
on *Burthred's* recreant flight."²⁵

P.

And two yeares after was the battell
of *Kettell* betwixt *Burchred* king of
Mertia, and the *Brytaines*: wherein,
as some doo write, *Mervyn* Vyrch
king of the *Brytaines* was slaine."²⁶

D.

As *Roderick* his great son,
his father following right,
Bare not the *Saxons'* scorns,
his Britans to out-brave."²⁷

P.

Roderike the Great, sonne to *Mervyn*."²⁸

The next two lines are misleading:

At *Gwythen*, but again to *Burthred* battle gave;
Twice driving out the Dane when he invasion brought."²⁹

²⁰ Ll. 232-40.

²¹ *Historie*, p. 16.

²² *Ibid.*, p. xx.

²³ Ll. 241-44.

²⁴ *Historie*, p. 21.

²⁵ Ll. 245-47.

²⁶ *Historie*, p. 23.

²⁷ Ll. 248-49.

²⁸ *Historie*, p. 24.

²⁹ Ll. 250-51.

The punctuation⁴⁰ is almost certainly wrong here; there should be no semi-colon separating "out-brave" and "At Gwythen." Powel's version proves the close connection between the two:

This yere [865, while Roderick was still reigning] also was the *battell of Gweythen*, betwixt the Brytaines and the Englishmen.⁴¹

Restoring the correct punctuation does not, however, explain Drayton's implication that Roderick fought the Mercians at Gwythen and later gave battle to Burthred. Powel says,

He [Roderick] had great warre with Burchred King of Mertia.⁴²

But eight years before Gwythen was fought, Burthred had been "chased out of his kingdome, who also went to Rome, and there died."⁴³

As for the second line, "Twice driving out the Dane when he invasion brought," the poet has again slightly misrepresented. Powel merely says, "When the Danes had thus abjured England, they bent their force against Wales, and entred the Ile of Môn . . . where Roderike gave them two battels."⁴⁴ And when Powel does not mention the outcome, it may safely be assumed.⁴⁵

D.
Whose no less valiant son,
again at *Conwoy* fought
With *Danes* and *Mercians* mix'd,
and on their hateful head
Down-show'r'd their dire *revenge*
whom they had murdered.⁴⁶

P.
Anarawd the *sonne* of Roderike.
There was a great battell fought by
the *Danes*, and the *Englishmen* of
Mercia, against the Welshmen upon
the river *Conwy*, where the Welsh-
men had the victorie, and this was
called the *revenge* of the death of
Roderike.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ See Vol. II, 9. This is not Hooper's mistake. The same punctuation appears in the 1612 (first) edition of *Poly-olbion*. See p. 139.

⁴¹ *Historie*, p. 27.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 26. For comparative dates, see pp. 26 and 27.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴⁵ To be sure, the index reference to this passage (p. 347) gives, "Roderike resists the invading Danes in two battles." It is clear that Drayton had constant recourse to the index, which suited his method perfectly.

⁴⁶ Ll. 252-54. The poet is guilty of a slight inaccuracy in this passage. The battle was fought on the River Conway, but not at Conway, which stands at the river's mouth.

⁴⁷ *Historie*, pp. 31-2.

Snowdon, the mountain which Drayton pretends is singing the glories of Wales, has already⁴⁸ objected to the term *Welsh*; and the objection is now repeated:

And, were't not that of us the English would report
 (Abusing of our Tongue in most malicious sort
 As oftentimes they do) that more than any, we
 (The Welsh, as they us term) love glorified to be.⁴⁹

The intense patriotic flavor of this defence is an echo of Powell's own.⁵⁰ And the bitter fling in l. 258 is in substance Lloyd's objection as advanced in his "Description of Wales."⁵¹

D.

Here could I else recount the slaught'ed Saxons' gore
 Our swords at *Crosford* spilt on *Severne's* wand'ring shore;
 And *Griffith* here produce, *Llewellyn's* valiant son
 (May we believe our Bards) *who five pitch'd battles won*;
 And to *revenge the wrongs the envious English wrought*,
 His well-train'd martial troops into the *Marches* brought
 As far as *Worster walls*: nor thence did he retire,
 Till *Powse*⁵² lay well-near spent in our revengeful fire;
 As *Hereford laid waste*: and from their plenteous soils,
 Brought back with him to Wales his *prisoners* and his *spoils*.⁵³

P.

In the first yeare of his government he [*Gruffyth, the sonne of Llewellyn*] fought with the Englishmen and Danes at *Crosford upon Seaverne*, and put them to flight . . . *Gruffyth made sundrie invasions upon the marches towards Hereford, and alwaies returned with great spoiles*.⁵⁴

Algar Earle of Chester, being convicted of treason against the king, fled to *Gruffyth* king or prince of Wales, who gathered his power to *revenge the often wrongs, which he had received at the Englishmens hands*, who ever succoured his enemies against him. Therefore he together with Algar entred *Herefordshire*, and spoiled all the waie with fire and sword, to the citie, whither all the people had fled, and they boldlie issued forth . . .

⁴⁸ Ll. 190-91.

⁴⁹ Ll. 255-58.

⁵⁰ See *Historie*, pp. xi-xiii.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xviii-xix.

⁵² I quote from the *Enc. Britan.* under *Powis*: "Before the Norman Conquest the Welsh principality of Powis, comprising the county of Montgomery and part of . . . Brecknock, Radnor, Shropshire, Merioneth and Denbigh, was subject to the princes of North Wales."

⁵³ Ll. 259-68.

⁵⁴ *Historie*, pp. 68-9.

and gave him battell, which Gruffyth wished for above anie other thing, *as he that had wonne five set fields*. . . . Their foes were compelled to forsake the field and trust to their feete, . . and thought to have taken the towne for their defense. But Gruffyth and his men pursued them so hard, that they entred with them, and after a great slaughter returned home with manie worthie *prisoners*, great triumph, and rich *spoiles*, leaving nothing in the towne, but bloud and ashes, and the *walles* rased to the ground.⁵⁵

It is difficult to explain why Drayton should have assumed that the city was Worcester. To be sure, Powel says merely "to the citie," but the context shows clearly that Hereford is meant; and Holinshed, reference to whom Powel gives in the margin, specifically mentions Hereford. The same authority does allude⁵⁶ to the burning of Worcester much later, and the poet may consciously have fused the two incidents in order to make the Welshmen's prowess seem greater.

D.

Thus as we valiant were,
when valour might us steed,
With those so much that dar'd,
we had them that decreed.
For, what Mulmutian *lawes*,
or Martian, ever were
More excellent than those
which our good *Howell* here
Ordain'd to govern Wales?
*which still with us remain.*⁵⁷

P.

This *Howel* constituted and made
lawes to be kept through his do-
minions which were used in Wales
. . . These *lawes are to be scene at*
this date both in Latine and in
Welsh.⁵⁸

The following eleven lines illustrate Drayton's bias:

And when all-powerful Fate had brought to pass again,
That as the Saxons erst did from the Britans win;
Upon them so (at last) the Normans coming in,
Took from those Tyrants here, what treach'rously they got,
(To the perfidious French, which th' angry heavens allot)
Ne'er could that Conqueror's sword (which roughly did decide
His right in England here, and prostrated her pride)

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵⁶ *Chronicles*. London, 1577. 2 vol. II, 352. For allusion to Hereford, see I, "Historie of Englande," 272. Worcester lies some 20 miles to the east of Hereford.

⁵⁷ Ll. 269-73.

⁵⁸ *Historie*, p. 43.

Us to subjection stoop, or make us Britans bear
 Th' unwieldly Norman yoke: nor basely could we fear
 His Conquest, ent'ring Wales; but (with stout courage) ours
 Defied him to his face, with all his English Pow'rs."⁸⁹

It is significant that he is not moored to his source here; while treating the famous Norman he casts off temporarily, though the passage in Powel may have suggested one or two details. It alludes,⁹⁰ for example, to the Normans as "*Frenchmen* (for so the Brytish booke calleth the Normanes)." Furthermore, "the Englishmen (which were never able to abide their [the Normans'] force)," ⁹¹ may well have suggested Drayton's parenthetical:

(which roughly did decide
 His right in England here, and prostrated her pride).

The element chiefly worth noting in the foregoing passage is, however, Drayton's Welsh prejudice. Even the biased Powel has nothing to indicate the repulse of the Conqueror:

And about this time the Normanes did lead a great power to Westwales by sea, and destroyed Dyvet, and the countrie of Caerdigan, and caried awaie much spoile, and did so likewise the yeare folowing."⁹²

The learned Selden was quite aware of the distortion of facts here, though he offers some defence for it:

Snowdon properly speaks all for the glory of his country, and follows suppositions of the British story, discording herein with ours. But, that their stories and ours are so different in these things, it can be no marvel to any that knows how often it is used among Historians, to flatter their own nation, and wrong the honour of their enemies."⁹³

Drayton often displays the knack of condensing a long section of Powel into a few lines. Thus,

And when in *his revenge, proud Rufus* hither came
 (With vows) us to subvert; with slaughter and with shame,
 O'er Severne him we sent, to gather stronger aid."⁹⁴

Nearly every word can be traced to its original in the History:

Then William Rufus being informed of the great slaughter of his subjects . . . within Wales . . . gathered his power together, and entred

⁸⁹ Ll. 274-84.

⁹⁰ *Historie*, p. 81.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁹² *Historie*, p. 82.

⁹³ Drayton's *Complete Works*, II, 26-7.

⁹⁴ Ll. 285-87.

Wales . . . ; but the Welshmen kept so the straites of the mountaines . . . that the king did no good, but *lost* his labour and *his men*: therefore he returned backe to *his great dishonor* . . . Then the countrie men, [Welshmen] which abhorred their *pride*. . . fought with them manfullie, so that they put them to flight with great *slaughter*, and *chased them backe againe out of the land*. Nevertheless, the greedie Normanes would not give over, but *doubling their strength*, returned againe to Brechnockshire, *making a vow* to leave no living thing within that countrie.⁶⁵

D.

So, when to England's power, Albania hers had laid,
By Henry Beauclarke brought (for all his devilish wit,
By which he raught the Wreath)⁶⁶ he not prevall'd a whit:
And through our rugged *straits* when he so rudely prest,
Had not his proved *mail* sate surely to his *breast*,
A skilful British hand his life had him bereft,
As his stern brother's heart by *Tirrill's* hand was cleft.⁶⁷

Albania is, of course, a poetic name for Scotland, and Henry I was regularly alluded to under the name of Henry Beauclerk. Powel explains the rest:

The next yeare after, the king [Henry I] . . . prepared a great armie against Wales, and came to Powys land: . . . at whose comming the men which kept the *straits* skirmished with the kings men . . . Among these one drew his bowe, and shooting towards his foes, by fortune stroke the king a great blow upon the *breast*, but by meane of his *maze* the arrow hurt him not; nevertheless he was wonderfullie dismaied withall.⁶⁸

Drayton's final comparison is drawn from a paragraph in Powel just two pages after the description of Rufus' defeats, which the poet mentioned in ll. 285-7.

King William Rufus . . . returned home, and was slaine with an arrow by Walter Tyrell as he shot at a stagge in the new Forrest.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ *Historie*, pp. 115-16.

⁶⁶ Probable allusion to Henry's capture and imprisonment of his brother Robert, by which he insured to himself the crown. Drayton's interest in this subject is demonstrated by his poem, "The Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy." Cf. these lines:

"What by his [Henry's] pow'r and science to persuade,
Himself a monarch absolutely made."

⁶⁷ Ll. 288-94.

⁶⁸ *Historie*, pp. 135-36.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

D.

And let the English thus
 which vilify our name,
 If it their greatness please,
 report unto our shame
 The foil our Gwyneth gave,
 at *Flint's* so deadly fight,
 To *Maud the Empress' son*,
 that there *he put to flight*;
 And from the English pow'r
 th' *imperial ensign* took:
 About his plumed head
 which *valliant Owen* shook."¹⁰

P.

In this first viage of King *Henrie*
 [*son of Matilda or Maud*] against
 the Welshmen, he was put in great
 danger of his life in a strait at
 Counsylth not far from *Flynt*, where
 Henrie of Eesex, whose office by in-
 heritance was to beare the *standard*
 of *England*, cast downe the same and
 fled: which thing incouraged the
 Welshmen in such sort, that the
 king being sore distressed had much
 a doo to save himselfe: and (as the
 French Chronicle saith) *was faine*
to flee.¹¹

¹⁰ LL. 295-300. Selden's note (II, 27) on this passage follows so closely the wording of Powel that we suspect he was as dependent upon it as Drayton. The note is this:

"Henry of Essex, at this time Standard-bearer to Hen. II in a strait at Counsylth near Flint, cast down the Standard, thereby animating the Welsh, and discomfiting the English, adding much danger to the dishonour."

It is also noteworthy that Selden is so impressed with Powel's wording that he actually misquotes Drayton's line, which should read, "And from the English pow'r the Imperial *ensign* took," and, at the head of his note, makes it read, "And from the English Power the imperial *Standard* took."

There are other instances of similar dependence. For example, in his note (II, 25) to l. 272, Selden has, "For, Howel Dha first Prince of Southwales, and Powis, after upon death of his cousin Edwal Voel, of Northwales also . . . made divers universal constitutions." (While Powel says (p. 43): "This Howel Dha king or Prince of Southwales and of Powys long before this time, after the death of Edwal Voel his coosen, tooke upon him the rule and governement of all Wales.")

If, then, the learned Selden had Powel's book open before him, he must have realized to what extent his friend, Drayton, was dependent upon it. And if so, why did he not acknowledge the fact? Very often an allusion to Powel and a quotation from *The Historie of Cambria* would have dispensed with tedious extracts from various sources. Powel is actually mentioned but three times (II, 17, 20, 28), and then only incidentally. Was he guarding the fact so that his friend's knowledge would seem the greater as coming from general information rather than a single source? Or, further, did the erudite gentleman perceive the forestalling of many learned notes by reference to a single work which would frequently have given the only explanations necessary?

See also note 101.

¹¹ *Historie*, p. 151.

Lines 297 and 300 allude to the prince of Northwales, Owen Gwyneth, who was resisting the invasion of Henry at this time. Powell says nothing about his having waved the ensign "about his plumed head"; we may therefore infer that this is one of the few places where Drayton's imagination is functioning.

D.

As when that King again,
his fortune to advance
Above his former foil,
procur'd fresh powers from France,
A surely-levell'd shaft
if *Sent-cleare* had not seen,
And in the very loose
not thrust himself between
His Sovereign and the shaft,
he our revenge had tried:
Thus, to preserve the King,
the noble subject died."¹³

P.

He [Henry II] returned to England, where he gathered another armie of chosen men, through all his dominions, as England, Normandie, Anjow, Gascoine, and Gwyen; sending for succours from Flanders and Brytaine, and then returned towards Northwales . . . I find also written by divers, that in the assieging of a bridge the king was in no small danger of his life: for one of the Welshmen, shooting directlie at him, had persed him through the bodie, if Hubert de *S. Clerc* . . . had not thrust himselfe betwixt the King and the same arrow, whereby he saved his maister and died himselfe for him presentlie."¹⁴

D.

As *Madock* his brave son,
may come the rest among;
Who, like the God-like *face*
from which his grandsires sprong,
Whilst here his brothers tir'd
in sad domestic strife,
On their unnatural breasts
bent either's *murtherous* knife;
This brave *adventurous* youth,
in hot pursuit of fame,

P.

Madoc another of *Owen Gwyneth* his sonnes left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, and prepared certaine ships with men and munition, and sought adventures by seas, sailing West, and leaving the coast of Ireland so far north, that he came to a land unknownen . . . This land to the which *Madoc* came, must needs be some part of Nova Hispania or

¹³ Ll. 301-6. The incident mentioned in the last four lines is specially marked by Powel, who says in his introduction (p. xiv): "Where I found anie thing of Wales worthie the noting in the said authors being not contained in the copie, I have inserted the same with this mark †† before it." It is noteworthy that Drayton seizes on many passages so marked. The detail just used in ll. 297-98 is another instance. (Cf. *The Historie*, p. 151.)

¹⁴ *Historie*, pp. 161-62.

With such as his great spirit
 did with high deeds inflame,
 Put forth his well-rigg'd fleet
 to seek him foreign ground,
 And sailed West so long,
 until that world he found
To Christians then unknown
 (save this adventurous crew)
Long ere Columbus liv'd,
or it Vesputius knew;
 And put the now-nam'd Welsh
 on India's parched face,
 Unto the endless praise
 of Brute's renowned race,
Ere the Iberian Powers
had touch'd her long-sought Bay,
 Or any ear had heard
 the sound of *Florida*.¹⁴

Florida. Whereupon it is manifest that that countrie was long before by Brytaines discovered, *afore either Columbus or Americus Vesputius lead anie Spaniards thither . . .* He [Madoc] . . . declared . . . for what barren and wild ground his brethren and nephues did *murther* one another . . . It may be gathered that *Christians had beene there, before the comming of the Spaniards*.¹⁵

Line 317, "And put the now-named Welsh on India's"¹⁶ parched face," is probably Drayton's version of these words in Powel:

But the Iland of Corroeso, the cape of Bryton, the river of Gwyndor, and the white rocke of Pengwyn, which be all Brytish or Welsh words, doo manifestlie shew that it was that countrie which Madoc and his people inhabited.¹⁷

D.

And with that *Oroggen's* name let th' English us *disgrace*;
 When *there are to be seen, yet*, in that ancient place
 From whence that *name* they fetch, their conquer'd grandsires' *graves*:
 For which each ignorant sot unjustly us *depraves*.¹⁸

P.

And here I thinke it not unmeet to declare the cause why the Englishmen use to call the Welshmen *Orogens*, as a word of *reproch and despite*: but if they knew the beginning, they should find it contrarie. For in the viage that king Henrie the second made against the Welshmen . . . a number of his men . . . as they would have passed Offas ditch at the

¹⁴ Ll. 307-20.

¹⁵ *Historie*, pp. 166-67.

¹⁶ Even in the poet's time, India or West India were terms loosely applied to any section of the Americas. *West Indies* is so used by Powel on this very page (167).

¹⁷ *Historie*, p. 167.

¹⁸ Ll. 321-24.

castell of Crogen . . . were met withall, and a great number of them slaine, as appeareth by their *graves there yet to be seene, whereof the stroat beareth the name*. Therefore the Englishmen afterward not forgetting this slaughter, used to cast the Welshmen in the teeth in all their troubles with the name of Crogen."¹⁰

D.

And when that Tyrant John
had our subversion vow'd,
To his unbridled will
our necks we never bow'd:
Nor to his mighty son;
whose host we did inforce
(His succours *cutting off*)
to eat their warlike horse."¹¹

P.

With this great armie he [King John] entred into Northwales by Chester, minding to destroye all that had life within that countrie . . . but Lhewelyn *cut off* his victuals behind him . . . At the last the English souldiours were glad to *taste horse flesh* for pure neede."¹²

Drayton's line, "To his unbridled will our necks we never bow'd," is partially justified by what follows in Powel:

Then when the king saw no remedie, he returned home in great rage, leaving the countrie full of dead bodies."¹³

But, as Selden maintains in his note,¹⁴ Snowdon is wilfully distorting the facts of history in using "never." The following August, John came back to complete his conquest. Powel records it on the same page with the defeat:

The king returned to England with great triumph, after that he had brought all Wales under his subjection."¹⁵

Line 327 is misleading as it stands. The host which was compelled to eat its horses was obviously John's and not that of his son, King Henry. The difficulty will be removed if we print "Nor to his mighty son" in parentheses.

D.

Until all-ruling Heaven
would have us to resign:
When that brave Prince,
the last of all the British Line,

P.

Francton went to spoile him whome
he had *slaine*" . . . This was the
end of *Lhewelyn* . . . who was the
last Prince of Brytaines blood, who

¹⁰ *Historie*, pp. 186-87.

¹¹ *Ll.* 325-28.

¹² *Historie*, p. 191.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Drayton's *Works*, II, 28-9.

¹⁵ *Historie*, p. 191.

Llewellyn, Griffith's son,
 unluckily was *slain*,
 As Fate had spar'd our fall till
 Edward Longshanks' reign.
 Yet to the stock of *Brute*
 so true we ever were,
⁶⁵

bare dominion and rule in Wales.
 So that the rule and government of
 the Brytaines ever continued in some
 place of Brytaine, from the first
 comming of *Brutus* . . . to the yeare
 after Christ 1282.⁶⁷

Snowdon's last long wail is taken wholecloth from Powel:

D.

We would permit no Prince,
unless a native here.
 Which, that most prudent King
 perceiving, wisely thought
 To satisfy our wills,
 and to *Carnarvan* brought
 His Queen *being great with child*,
 ev'n ready down to lie;
 Then to his purpos'd end
 doth all his powers apply.
 Through ev'ry part of Wales
 he to the Nobles sent,
 That they unto his Court
 should come incontinent,
Of things that much concern'd
the Country to debate:
 But now behold the power
 of unavoided Fate.
 When thus unto his will
 he fitly them had won,
 At her expected hour
the Queen brought forth a son.
 And to this great design,
 all happ'ning as he would,
 He (his intended course
 that clerkly manage could)
 Thus quaintly trains us on:
 Since he perceived us prone
 Here only to be rul'd
 by Princes of our own,
 Our naturalness therein
 he greatly did approve;

P.

Neither could he [Edward I] bring
 them to yeeld their obedience to anie
 other Prince, *except he were of their*
owne nation: . . . Whereupon the
 king sent for Queene Elianor out of
 England in the deepe of winter
being then great with child, to the
castell of Caernarvon: and when
 she was nigh to be brought to bed,
 the king went to Ruthlan, and sent
 for all the Barons and best men in
 all Wales, to come to him, to *con-*
sult concerning the weale publike of
their countrie. And when they were
 come, he differred the consultation,
 untill he was certified that *the*
Queene was delivered of a sonne:
 then (sending certeine lords to the
 christning of his child, and inform-
 ing them how he would have him
 named) he called the Welshmen to-
 gether, declaring unto them, that
 whereas they were oftentimes suters
 unto him to appoint them a Prince,
 he now having occasion to depart
 out of the countrie, would name
 them a Prince, if they would allow
 and obey him whom he should name.
 To the which motion they answered
 that they would do so, if he would
 appoint one of their owne nation to
 be their Prince: whereunto the king

⁶⁵ Ll. 329-33.

⁶⁶ In the margin also: "Prince Llewelyn *slaine*."

⁶⁷ *Historie*, p. 273.

And publicly protests,
 that for the ancient love
 He ever bare to Wales,
 they all should plainly see,
 That he had found out one,
 their sovereign Lord to be;
 Com'n of the race of Kings,
 and (*in their Country born*)
Could not one English word:
 of which he durst be sworn.
 Besides, his upright heart,
 and innocence was such,
 As that (he was assur'd)
 black Envy could not touch
 His spotless life in ought.
 Poor we (that not espy
 His subtlety herein)
 in plain simplicity
 Soon bound ourselves by oath,
 his choice not to refuse:
 When as that crafty King
his little child doth choose,
Young Edward, born in Wales,
and of Carnarvan call'd.
 Thus by the English craft,
 we Britans were enthrall'd."⁸⁸

replied, that he would name one
 that was borne in Wales, and could
 speake never a word of English,
 whose life and conversation no man
 was able to staine. And when they
 all had granted that such a one they
 would obey, *he named his owne*
sonne Edward borne in Caernarvon
castell a few daies before."

The following eight lines constitute that nature of general eulogy of Wales with which Snowdon's address has been informed, though three of those contain an allusion which may very well have been suggested by Powel:

And he that was by heaven appointed to unite
 (After that tedious war) the Red Rose and the White,
 A Tudor was of thine, and native of thy Mon."⁸⁹

Powell speaks of "king Henrie the seventh, who by his grandfather Owen Tudor descended out of Wales."⁹¹

Mona takes up the strain after Snowdon has dropped it. In setting forth the qualities of this island, Drayton expatiates upon its fertility, deriving his information almost certainly from Lloyd's "Description of Cambria." Having spoken of Mona as being

⁸⁸ Ll. 334-62.

⁸⁹ *Historie*, pp. 275-76.

⁹⁰ Ll. 367-69.

⁹¹ *Historie*, p. 287.

"call'd (in former times) her Country Cambria's mother,"²³ he goes on to make the island ask:

What one of all the Isles to Cambria doth belong
(To Britain, I might say, and yet not do her wrong)
Doth equal me in soil, so good for grass and grain?²⁴

Lloyd says,

It is also growne to a proverbe through Wales, for the fertilitie of the ground, Môn mam Gymry, that is to saie, Môn mother of Wales.²⁵

Several further details are lifted by Drayton from the same page. In one case he represents Mona as saying:

the English for a mark
Gave me this hateful name, which I must ever bear,
And Anglesey from them am called everywhere.²⁶

Lloyd had said:

But here I cannot winke at that notable error of Polydor, which (after his accustomed fashion) denieth this Ile to be called Môn, but Anglesia, or Anglorum insula, because it is called in English Anglesey. . . .: which ignorance and forgetfulnes might be forgiven him, if he had not drawne a great number to this error with him.²⁷

Lloyd further questions the historicity of Polydore:

As for that which he saith of the great woods, it is nothing: for both the Romanes, and after when the Christian faith tooke place in this realme, the Christians did fall and roote them out, for the idolatrie and absurd religion which was used there.²⁸

From the above passage Drayton may have taken his suggestion for these lines:

To dwell in my black shades the Wood-gods did delight,
Untrodden with resort that long so gloomy were,
As when the Roman came, it strook him sad with fear
To look upon my face, which then was call'd the Dark.²⁹

And five lines beyond, he alludes to "my shades. . . Of their huge oaks bereft."³⁰

The particular page in Lloyd from which Drayton drew these

²³ L. 390.

²⁴ Ll. 395-97.

²⁵ *Historie*, p. xxii.

²⁶ Ll. 434-36.

²⁷ *Historie*, p. xxi.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

²⁹ Ll. 430-33.

³⁰ Ll. 438-39.

several suggestions must have interested him deeply because he carried his research back to Polydore. In the lines on the Druids he combined that historian's account with Pliny's, interweaving details in a way which reminds one of Milton. To show clearly the stages of this process, I shall subjoin both accounts to the passage of Drayton:

Sometimes within my shades, in many an ancient wood,
Whose often-twined tops great Phoebus' fires withstood,
The fearless British Priests, under an aged oak,
Taking a milk-white bull, unstrained with the yoke,
And with an axe of gold from that Jove-sacred tree
The Mistletoe cut down; then with a bended knee
On th' unhew'd altar laid, put to the hallow'd fires:
And whilst in the sharp flame the trembling flesh expires,
As their strong fury mov'd (when all the rest adore)
Pronouncing their desires the sacrifice before,
Up to th' eternal heav'n their bloodied hands did rear:
And, whilst the murmuring woods ev'n shudd'ed as with fear,
Preach'd to the beardless youth, the soul's immortal state,
To other bodies still how it should transmigrate,
That to contempt of death them strongly might excite.¹⁰⁰

Pliny's version is this:

Misselto is passing geason and hard to be found upon the Oke; but when they [Druids] meet with it, they gather it very devoutly and with many ceremonies: . . . And when they are about to gather it, after they have well and duly prepared their sacrifices and festivall cheare under the said tree, they bring thither two young bullocks milke white, such as never yet drew in yoke at plough or waine . . . : which done, the priest . . . climbeth up into the tree, and with a golden hook or bill cutteth it off . . . : then fall they to kill the beasts aforesaid for sacrifice, mumbling many oraisons and praying devoutly.¹⁰¹

It will be noticed that Pliny does not mention here the Druidical theory of transmigration. That, the poet doubtless borrowed from Polydore:

¹⁰⁰ Ll. 415-29. Drayton was much preoccupied with the Druids. He has descriptions of them in VI, 220 ff., 309-16, X, 264-68, and VIII, 261-66. This last passage is certainly derived from Polydore or Camden, from portions of their works quoted later in this article.

¹⁰¹ *Naturall Historie*. London. 1601. (Holland's translation) Vol. I, 497. Selden, in his note (II, 35), paraphrases Pliny in such a manner that the extent of Drayton's dependence is disguised (see note 70). It is possible that he was translating direct from Pliny and disregarding Holland.

These Druides enformed *youths* that sowles didd not perishe, but after deathe passe from one to an other, that see they might allure them to vertue bie the *contempte of deathe*.¹⁰³

There are still details to be accounted for, which may possibly be supplied by a second discussion of Druids by Polydore. Tacitus, he says, is authority for the fact that Paulinus Suetonius once attacked the Isle of Mone and was amazed by the appearance of its inhabitants,

the women runninge among the men in terrible attire like ghostes with their heare spredde abroad, with fire brandes in their hands, and their preestes, beinge Druides, that is to say, of hethen religion, sainge their accursed prayers, and *holdinge uppe their handes towards heaven*. . . . In them [the woods] the people of the ile thought it lawful and acceptable to God to make their altars smell of the *bloode* of their captives.¹⁰⁴

In the foregoing passage may be found at least suggestions for the "hallow'd fires" (fire brands), for the "trembling flesh," for the "strong fury" (women in terrible attire like ghosts), and certainly for "Up to th' eternal heav'n their bloodied hands did rear."¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ *Polydore Vergil's English History, from an Early Translation*. London, 1846 (Printed for the Camden Society). P. 50. This edition was printed from a manuscript preserved among the MSS. of the old royal library in the British Museum. It is not unlikely that Drayton had access to the manuscript; his wording is very close. For example, he uses the expression "contempte of deathe" whereas in the Latin it is *metu mortis*. The whole passage in Latin is this (*Anglicae Historiae*. Basel, 1570. P. 27):

"Tradebant autem Druides inventuti animas non interire, sed ab aliis post mortem, transire ad alios, ut sic eam *metu mortis* neglecto, ad virtutem excitarent."

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18. The Latin will be found in the 1570 edition on p. 11. We know the poet read this passage because he uses it as the basis for some lines in the previous Song. See Song viii, ll. 261-66.

¹⁰⁴ I am indebted to Mr. Vernam Hull for the suggestion that Drayton might have used Camden's *Britannia* in this passage. It is true that Camden embodies both the mistletoe ceremony (consult 1610 ed., p. 14) and the Druids' theory of transmigration (*Ibid.*, p. 13). But several details make it reasonably certain that Drayton consulted Polydore. Camden says merely, "This one point principally they are desirous to perswade their *scholars*, That our soules are immortall, and after death passe out of one man into another; and by this meanes they suppose men, setting behinde them all *fears of death*, are most of all stirred up unto vertue."

Some light, it is hoped, has been shed by the foregoing study on the literary methods of the poet Drayton. It is clear that for the lines between 177 and 436, or for more than half the Song he drew on a single book or on works very probably suggested by that book. In the same way he drew on Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* for most of Song Nineteen.¹⁰⁸ But the conclusion that it was Drayton's practice so to depend upon a single work must be deferred till Mr. Hull, writing his thesis at Harvard on the sources of *Polyolbion*, and Professor J. William Hebel, who is preparing a variorum edition of the poet's works, have turned in their evidence.

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It will be noticed that Camden has the *scholars* and not *youth* taught, and that Drayton's phrase *contempt of death* is lacking. In the Latin edition of 1607 (London), which the poet may have used instead of the English, not even *scholars* are mentioned (see p. 10), and the expression is again *metu mortis*.

¹⁰⁸ See my article *Drayton and the Voyagers*, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XXXVIII, 530-56.

CLASSICAL LIVES IN *THE MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES*

BY DOUGLAS BUSH

The 1587 edition of that curious antique, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, contained, from the pen of the illustrious Higgins, a number of pieces on Roman emperors. The rulers chosen to make public confession of their iniquitous careers are Julius Caesar, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Severus, Geta, Caracalla. The *Polychronicon* and Lanquet's *Chronicle* have been named as the sources for these Lives,¹ but they supplied only a small proportion of the material. Indeed this section of the *Mirror* is a very characteristic—veracity will not permit a more alluring adjective—manifestation of the average Elizabethan mind, in its naive mingling of ancient, mediaeval, and Renaissance elements in one capacious mediaeval punch-bowl.

The life of Julius, one of the two longest, is told in fifty-one stanzas.² The title, like all the titles, indicates that the chief interest lies in the "fall"—"How Caius Iulius Caesar which first made this Realme tributary to the Romaynes, was slayne in the Senate house, about the year before Christ, 42." After mentioning his earlier messages to the upper world conveyed through "Bocas" and Lydgate,³ the great man tells, in stumping stanzas, of his "petegrue," his youth, his becoming a *flamen*, his betrothal to Cossutia. This material apparently comes from Suetonius.⁴ Plutarch is quoted as authority for his personal appearance.⁵ Then follows a long account of the campaigns against Britain; Caesar sends from Gaul to demand tribute, and the Britons refuse it, being "of Priame's bloud." In the twenty-seventh stanza Irenglas is introduced—his life had preceded Caesar's—and the story is told of Irenglas, Elenine, Andogeus, and Cassibelan. Since the

¹ James Davies, "*A Myrroure for Magistrates*," considered with special reference to the sources of Sackville's contribution, (Leipsic, 1906), p. 25.

² *Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Haslewood, I, 260 ff.

³ Lydgate, *Fall of Princes*, London, 1558, Book VI, c. 12, p. cxlviii.

⁴ Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, cc. 1, 45.

⁵ Stanza 8; Plutarch, *Julius* XVII; North's Plutarch (Tudor Translation), I, 17. Apart from this item, Plutarch does not appear to have served as a source; at any rate he lacks a number of details which are in the *Mirror*.

Life of Irenglas is only an expansion of an episode in the Life of Caesar, what Dr. H. Zimmermann has said of the sources of the former may be cited here: *

Die Geschichte des Lord Irenglas findet sich nicht bei Lanquet, Stow, und Hardyng, in Kürze dagegen in den Flores; noch gedrängter ist sie behandelt im Chron. of St. Albans, breiter nur bei Galfrid, Fabyan, und Grafton.

Der Eigennamen Irenglas steht genau so in dem Chron. of St. Albans; bei Fabyan heisst der Held Irreglas oder, wie bei Grafton, Hireda . . . Das Turnier zwischen Irenglas und Elenine und der daraus hervorgehende ernste Kampf schliesst sich in der Hauptsache an Graftons Erzählung an, ist jedoch vom Dichter mit manchen Ausschmückungen versehen . . . Die Hauptquelle für diese Tragödie war also zweifellos Grafton. Einige Punkte sind aus Galfrid genommen, während das Chron. of St. Albans die Namen der Helden lieferte."

Stanzas 35-39 sketch the civil wars, and may have been based on Suetonius, or any one of innumerable epitomes. Stanzas 43-47 describe the various omens and warnings which Caesar had shortly before his assassination. These I do not find in the chroniclers—though Higden has some different ones. All these omens, connected with the tomb of Capys, the grief-stricken horses, Spurina, the dreams of Caesar and Calpurnia, occur in Suetonius, in the same order and with practically the same details as in the *Mirror*.⁷ The account of Spurina and the assassination (stanzas 47-48) also follows Suetonius quite closely.⁸ The last three stanzas emphasize the moral, and the dictator, reckoning up his manifold sins and wickedness, decides that he was justly done to death.

Thus the material for the life of Julius is taken almost wholly from Suetonius and Grafton. Lanquet has only a couple of pages on him, and gives scarcely any of the information used by Higgins.⁹

* *Quellenuntersuchungen zum ersten Teil von J. Higgins' Mirror for Magistrates*, (Munich, 1902), pp. 70-73. The incidents in question appear in Grafton's Chronicle, ed. H. Ellis, (London, 1812), pp. 52 ff., and also in Fabyan's Chronicle, ed. Ellis, 1811, pp. 31 ff.

⁷ Suetonius, Julius, c. 81. Higden mentions the astronomer's warning, but does not give his name (*Polychronicon*, ed. J. R. Lumby, London, 1872, Bk. III, c. 42, Vol. IV, p. 208). Dio Cassius (XLIV, 17) gives some omens, but could not be the source. Plutarch's list (*Julius*, c. LXIII) is mostly different from that in the *Mirror*.

⁸ Suetonius, *Julius*, cc. 81-82.

⁹ Lanquet, *Coopers Chronicle*, ed. London, 1565, pp. 84 ff.

The Life of Tiberius begins with five stanzas on the *Mirror's* favorite theme, the dangers of fortune and high estate. The account of the emperor's divorcing Agrippina to marry Julia (stanza 7) must have come from Suetonius.¹⁰ Stanzas 8-10, on wars in Illyria, his professed hesitation to accept the throne, might be based on Lanquet, but are more probably from Suetonius also.¹¹ Then comes an episode for which the author names his source. Pilate writes a letter to Tiberius, telling him of Christ, his birth, miracles, death, and resurrection. The versifier's marginal comment cannot be passed over:

This letter is in *Flores historiarum*, but you may not thinke that I doe set it downe thereby to affirme that he wrate it. For I am perswaded he would not write so well, and yet it appears by Orosius and others that Claudius would haue made Christ to haue bene taken in Rome for a God, and that the Senate and he fell so at variance about the same matter.

Higgins translated the letter literally from the *Flores*.¹² He also follows the *Flores* in having Tiberius send a letter to the Senate

That *Christ* in *Rome* as God might counted bee,
To which they onely did not disagree,
 (Because the letters came not first to them)
But by edicts [from *Rome*] did banish Christen men.¹³

The alleged punishment of the Senate for their attitude (stanza 14) is likewise taken from the *Flores*—a royal sinner for once appearing as defender of the faith.

The *Flores* does not tell of Sejanus, Drusus, and Germanicus (stanza 15), and the statements about their death may be taken from Suetonius, Lanquet, or other authors.¹⁴ The generalities concerning the depravity of the court (stanzas 17-18) cannot be traced to any particular source. The emperor's nickname, *Caldius*

¹⁰ *Tiberius*, c. 7.

¹¹ Lanquet, p. 93; *Tiberius*, cc. 16, 23-24.

¹² *Flores Historiarum*, ed. Luard (London, 1890), I, 108.

¹³ *Mirror*, I, 279-280.

¹⁴ Suetonius, *Tiberius*, cc. 61-62, 64-65; Lanquet, p. 92-95. Tacitus of course describes the death of Drusus and Germanicus (*Annals*, IV, 7-8 and II, 70-73).

Biberius Mero (stanza 18), might come from Suetonius or Lanquet.¹⁶ With unusual literary tact Tiberius declares that he will tell no more of his life this time, since his deeds do not bear repetition.

The Life of Caligula occupies only six stanzas, and these are filled mainly with warnings against the evils of vice and high place. For the few specific details given, the author seems to have drawn upon Lanquet, and probably Suetonius.¹⁶

In the second stanza there is a reference to Caligula's body, "thrust thirty times throughout," and in the fifth stanza the thirty wounds are again mentioned, along with the name of "Cheria," the leader of the assassins. Lanquet names "Chereas," but says nothing of the thirty wounds.¹⁷ Both facts occur in the notes to Boccaccio.¹⁸ But since Suetonius is a main source for this part of the *Mirror*, it is likely that these details come from him.¹⁹ Stanza three speaks of Caligula's guilty relations with three sisters, a charge based probably on Suetonius or Lydgate or Lanquet.²⁰

The next item is Caligula's attempt to claim divine honors.

To make my selfe a God I did deuise,
That *Iupiter* to name my selfe did dare. . . .

The passage in Higden already cited refers to this fact; Lydgate also tells of it.²¹ But the source is evidently Lanquet, on account of some lines which follow:

By message I commaunded then likewise,
[*Petronius at Ierusalem* prepare]

¹⁶ Suetonius, c. 42; Lanquet, p. 96. It is mentioned by others, for example Boccaccio, *De casibus (Augustae Vindellicorum, 1544)*, p. 186. Higden gives only 'Biberius Mero' (IV, 312).

¹⁷ Lydgate, *Fall of Princes* (Bk. VII, c. 4, p. clvi) has many generalities about Messalina, Tiberius, and Caligula, and mentions the poisoning of Germanicus and Drusus, and some other details.

¹⁸ Lanquet, p. 98.

¹⁹ *De Casibus*, ed. 1544, p. 188.

²⁰ *Caligula*, c. 58. Dio (LIX, 29) does not say thirty stabs, and, in general, Dio does not seem to have been a source, since he lacks details which are in the undoubted sources.

²¹ Suetonius, cc. 24 and 7; Lydgate, *Fall* (p. clvi); Lanquet, p. 97. Higden speaks of only two sisters (Bk. IV, c. 7; IV, 364). Gower mentions three (*Confessio Am.*, VIII, 203).

²² Lydgate, p. clvii.

By statue in the Temple to comprise,
[Of honours so, to haue an heauenly share] ²²

These are obviously based on Lanquet's statement: ²³

Petronius, the president of Surrei, was commaunded by Caligula to enforce and compelle the Jewes to suffre his images in theyr temple of Hierusalem.

The first two stanzas of the Life of Claudius seem to be translated from Suetonius. Higgins's lines are these: ²⁴

My mother by her pronerbs me a foole defyn'de,
Which often sayd when any foolishly had done,
In faith you are as wise as *Claudius* my sonne.
It pleased her not onely so to name me sot,
But also me a monster oft she nam'de,
Unperfect all, begun by nature, but begot,
Not absolute, not well, nor fully fram'de. . . .

Suetonius says: ²⁵

Mater Antonia portentum eum hominis dictitabat, nec absolutum a natura, sed tantum inchoatum; ac si quem socordiae argueret, stultiores aiebat filio suo Claudio."

Yet Higgins apparently borrowed Lanquet's rendering of part of this, for Lanquet uses the phrases "monster or unperfite worke of nature," and "begun by nature, but begot." ²⁶

The account of Claudius's being dragged from hiding by the soldiers (stanza 4) is evidently taken from Suetonius, for Lanquet says only that Claudius was made emperor by the "foolishe rashe-nesse of the souldiours, contrary to the wyll of the Senate." ²⁷ The description of the emperor's vices, and of Messalina's (stanza 7) might come from any source; these traditional figures of iniquity were well known to everyone. Claudius's making away with Messalina, his resolve not to marry again, and his marrying Agrippina (stanza 9), are probably from Suetonius. ²⁸ The thirteenth

²² *Mirror*, I, 284.

²³ Lanquet, pp. 97-98. Higden (p. 362) does not name Petronius.

²⁴ *Mirror*, I, 291.

²⁵ *Claudius*, c. 3.

²⁶ P. 98.

²⁷ *Ibid.*; Suet., c. 10.

²⁸ Suet., c. 26; Lanquet, p. 99; Higden, Bk. iv, c. 8, iv, 370.

stanza says that Agrippina persuaded Claudius to adopt her son in order that he might succeed to the empire, and then poisoned her husband. This is apparently taken from Lanquet; Suetonius, cautious for once, remarks only that Agrippina was one of those suspected of poisoning Claudius.²⁹

The chastened Nero, like the rest, accuses only himself for his evil life and end. Here, as elsewhere, it is not easy to determine the precise source of some details, and lists of borrowings are arranged according to probability rather than certainty. The general statements concerning Nero's wickedness need no source. Stanza five tells of his fishing with golden nets and purple lines; this might come from Suetonius, Lanquet, Grafton, or Higden.³⁰ The burning of Rome, Nero's singing of Troy from Maecenas's tower, the duration of the fire, Nero's forbidding people to approach the ruins (stanzas 6-7), are doubtless from Suetonius.³¹ The death of Seneca (stanza 9) is recorded by Suetonius, Lanquet, Higden, Grafton, Tacitus, Lydgate, the *Flores*, and the details suggest a possible combination of Lydgate and Higden.³² The death of Peter and Paul (stanza 10) is mentioned in Lanquet, Higden, *Flores*, Lydgate.³³

After Nero had done his worst,

The *Senate* all, and people did mee hate,
And sought which way they might my death procure. . . .
They mee proclaymde a foe to publike weale.

The phrase "public weal" occurs in both Lanquet and Grafton, and is of course a stereotyped one.³⁴ But the details of the sentence, (stanza 13), must have come from Suetonius:³⁵

The iudgement was, such foes should pillered bee
By necke, in forke made fast full sure to byde. . . .

²⁹ Lanquet, p. 98; Suet., c. 44. Also Higden, iv, 370-72.

³⁰ Suet., *Nero*, c. 30; Lanquet, p. 101; Grafton, p. 61; Higden, iv, 394.

³¹ Suet., *Nero*, c. 38. Higden (iv, 394), Lanquet (p. 101), Grafton (p. 61), *Flores* (I, 122), lack one or more of these items.

³² Suet., c. 35; Lanquet, p. 102; Higden, (iv, 400); Grafton, p. 62; *Flores*, I, 121; Tac., *Annals*, xv, 63-64; Lydgate, p. clviii.

³³ Lanquet, p. 101; Higden, iv, 9, p. 412; *Flores*, I, 122; Lydgate, p. clviii.

³⁴ Lanquet, p. 102; Grafton, p. 62.

³⁵ *Nero*, c. 49.

Nero's flight and death (stanzas 14-16) also have a fullness of detail which points to Suetonius. Lanquet and Grafton are quite deficient here.

The Life of Galba consists of ten stanzas, and all the historical matter seems to be drawn from Suetonius; Lanquet, Higden and the *Flores* have only a few lines each. The fourth stanza tells of Galba's massacre of thirty thousand Lusitanians.³⁶ The death of Nero (stanza 6) has already been accounted for. To Suetonius are evidently due the names of Galba's teachers.³⁷

Now I was ruled all by *Romaynes* three,
Cornelius, Iulius, Celius. . . .

Galba's march "to Curtius lake" (stanza 8), and his defeat there, are described by Suetonius.³⁸

The Life of Otho receives only nine stanzas, but it has more specific facts. Stanza four says that Otho first got advancement through fellowship with Nero in vice, and through a courtesan of Nero's.³⁹ The fifth tells of the advice given by Seleucus the mathematician.⁴⁰ Stanzas six and seven describe Galba's death, and the setting of his head on a spear.⁴¹ The ninth speaks of Otho's battles with Vitellius at Placentia and "Bebriaque," and Otho's suicide.⁴²

The Life of Vitellius has eight stanzas, devoted almost wholly to vague moralizing. He is said to have reigned "seven monthes" (stanza 8).⁴³

The Life of Severus, in twenty-three stanzas, seems to be mainly or wholly a combination of matter supplied by Herodian, the *Flores*, and possibly Lanquet. The facts regarding Julian (stanzas 1-2) are from Lanquet or Herodian.⁴⁴

³⁶ Suet., *Galba*, c. 3.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, c. 14. The names are Cornelius Laco, T. Vinus and Icelus, but sixteenth-century editions of Suetonius, as of other classics, play weird tricks with proper names.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, c. 20.

³⁹ Suet., *Otho*, cc. 2-3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, c. 4.

⁴¹ Suet., *Galba*, c. 20.

⁴² *Otho*, cc. 9, 11.

⁴³ Suet., *Vitellius*, c. 15; Higden, pp. 420-422; *Flores* (p. 123): "octo mensibus imperavit"; Lydgate (p. clx) says eight months.

⁴⁴ I quote from the Herodian of Stephanus (Geneva, 1581), containing

The account of Severus's eastern wars (stanzas 4-7) is based upon Herodian; Lanquet and the *Flores* have only a few lines.⁴⁵ In stanzas nine, ten, eleven and twelve, Severus tells how his two sons, Antonine and Geta, were rivals in their eagerness to supplant him, and how courtiers stimulated this feud and were punished; this too follows Herodian.⁴⁶ The character of the Britons whom Severus encountered (stanzas 15-18) differs so much from that given by Herodian, that Higgins's patriotic instinct would appear to have overcome the historical.

For when I was to *Britayne* come that [famous] land,
Where people stout, untamde, unuanquisht dwelt. . . .

I found the people nothing preat to pelt,
To yeeld, or hostage geue, or tributes [due to] pay,
Or couenaunts to accept, or fearefully to fray:
[But bade by war to win the price, and beare the palm away.]

Mark now how a plain tale shall put him down: ⁴⁷

Britanni, repentino principis percusi, auditoque tantas contra se comparari copias, legatos ad eum de pace ac seipsos expurgatum de iis quas antea deliquerant miserunt.

The matter about the Picts and Scots comes from the English chroniclers.⁴⁸

the Greek and Politian's Latin version in parallel columns. Higgins would doubtless have used Politian; or he may have lightened his labors by means of Nicholas Smyth's English translation of Politian (1550?). The latter possibility is discussed below, p. 266, note 55.

Julian's buying of the empire, etc., are recorded in Herodian, pp. 41-52; Lanquet, p. 113; Boccaccio, *De Cas.* (ed. 1544), Note d, p. 207. The line "My seruants eke at *Antioch Niger* slay" (stanza 2) seems to be taken from Herodian, for the *Flores* says Niger was killed "apud Cyzicum" (I, 147), and Lanquet "in Cilicia" (p. 113); the notes in Boccaccio (p. 207) mention his death at Antioch. The line following, "At *Lyons* siege they tooke *Albinus* head away," may be from Herodian (p. 70), *Flores* (I, 148), Bocc. (pp. 206, 208); Lanquet does not name Lyons (pp. 113-114).

⁴⁵ Herodian, pp. 73-75.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-82. The chronicles touch briefly on the strife between the sons, *c. g.*, Grafton, p. 66.

⁴⁷ Herodian, p. 83.

⁴⁸ Fulgentius (stanzas 19-21) is mentioned by Lanquet (p. 114), who calls him Fulgenius, and does not say that he was a Scythian and went

Concerning Severus's death Lanquet tells: "In the ende whereof he was slayne, and was buried at Yorke, the latine cronycles testifie, that he dyed of the goute."⁴⁹ The *Mirror* (stanza 22) seems to amplify suggestions derived from both Lanquet and Herodian.⁴⁹

The Life of Geta occupies sixteen stanzas, and the facts are drawn wholly from Herodian; the chroniclers are meagre in the extreme.⁵⁰ The catalogue of Geta's virtues and the contrasted wickedness of Antonine (stanzas 2-6 and *passim*) are taken from the character sketches given by Herodian.⁵¹ Geta's appointment as governor of the southern part of Britain (stanza 2), the relations of Severus and his sons, the wars in Britain, Antonine's attempt to have physicians poison Severus and the outcome of it, his endeavor to have Geta poisoned, Geta's fears and counterplans, the murder of Geta—all this follows Herodian.⁵²

The Life of Antonine (Caracalla) extends to fifty-one stanzas, and the abundant historical detail all comes from the same source. The first two stanzas form an introduction on the inevitable theme, and the emperor's ghost takes occasion to address the poet—"And, *Higgins*, . . .," which may be regarded as one blade of grass in this arid desert. It is needless to follow the historical items in

to Scythia to get an army. Both details, as well as the correct name, are furnished by the *Flores* (p. 150).

An editorial note in the *Mirror* (I, 318) assumes an "error of the press" in the length of Severus's wall as given in the text (stanza 18)—"six score miles and twelue." The editor says: "According to Lanquet, it should be *five* score and twelve, while the Polychronicon, which appears to be the poet's authority, says, "he made a walle in Brytayne that stretcheth six score myle and *tweyne* unto the see." But, as I just showed, Higgins is following the *Flores*, which on this point gives a hundred and thirty-two miles (*Flores*, I, 149).

⁴⁹ Lanquet, p. 114. Herodian says: ". . . donec tandem Severus, moerore magis quam morbo consumptus, vitaeque defunctus est" (pp. 84-85). Grafton (p. 66), Higden (v, 44), Fabian (p. 41) merely state that he was killed and buried at York; the *Flores* (I, 150), that he was killed at York.

⁵⁰ *Flores*, p. 150; Grafton, p. 66; Higden, pp. 44-46; Fabian, p. 42; Lanquet, p. 115.

⁵¹ In part the description runs: "Maior tandem pars ad Getam spectabat, quod opinionem nonnullam ostenderet probitatis, moderatumque se & lenem in congressibus praestaret. Studia porro tractabat honestissima: . . . Placidus praeterea in omnes atque humanus. . . ." (pp. 89-90).

⁵² Herodian, pp. 82-91.

detail;⁵³ Higgins's fidelity to his source may be judged from a couple of samples.

Mirror (stanzas 13 and 16):

The sea and land (quoth she) my sonnes you get,
You finde a way how you may them deuide:
The *Pontique* floud betweene you both is set
For boundes of both, it buts on eyther side:
But how will you your mother now deuide?

How shall my haplesse corps be parted, put
Betweene you both, shall I likewise be cut?

But if deuide the Empire all you will,
First ere you goe for to enioy your raigne,
My woefull corps I pray you here to kill,
And it deuide betweene you both in twaine,
That I may eke with both of you remayne.
Doe burie each a parte so distant farre,
Deuided as your seates, selues, kingdomes are.

Herodian (p. 90):

Terram quidem & mare, o filii, iam inuenistis quo pacto diuidatis: & continentem utramque, ut dicitis, Pontici discriminant fluctus: matrem vero quonam modo diuidetis? quonam modo infelix ego distribuar inter utrunque vestrum, aut dissecabor? *Me primam igitur occidite, dimidiamque, uterque apud se partem sepeliat, ut ego quoque inter vos cum mari terraque ipsa diuidar.*

The end of their meeting, the increasing hostility, the murder of Geta, Caracalla's securing of the empire (stanzas 17-25), follow Herodian as before, sometimes paraphrasing, sometimes abridging.⁵⁴ Caracalla's speech of twenty-eight lines is a literal translation of Herodian.

Mirror (stanza 26):

Thus hauing said alowde, with irefull moode,
And bloudy countnaunce cast about the place,
Th' assembly pale and trembling, fearefull stooode,
And I retourn'de to th' pallace thence a space.
My brother's household then I made a way a pace,
His friends, his seruauents all, young, olde, and new,
And th' infantes eke, without respect I slewe.

⁵³ Herodian, pp. 81, 85 ff.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

Herodian (p. 94):

Haec loquutus magna voce, irarumque plenus, ac truculento vultu illius amicos intuens, trementibus pallentibusque plerisque, in regiam reuertitur. Continuo igitur coepti occidi domestici omnis fratris atque amici, quique in aedibus habitabant quas ille incoluerat, ministrique item uniuersi: sic ut ne aetati quidem infantium parceretur.

Caracalla's further slaughtering of Geta's relatives and of people in general, and his various expeditions, follow in order.⁵⁵

To summarize, the bulk of the material in these classical Lives is taken from Suetonius and Herodian. It is not demonstrable that the *Polychronicon* contributed anything; the *Flores* and Grafton supply a few details and episodes; the certain borrowings from Lanquet are not numerous.

Julius Caesar—Suetonius; Plutarch; Grafton; Chronicle of St. Albans.

Tiberius—Suetonius; *Flores*.

Caligula—Suetonius; Lanquet.

Claudius—Suetonius; Lanquet.

Nero—Suetonius; Lanquet; perhaps Lydgate and Higden.

Galba—Suetonius.

Otho—Suetonius.

Vitellius—Suetonius, or any source.

Severus—Herodian; *Flores*; probably Lanquet.

Geta—Herodian.

Caracalla—Herodian.

While study of the *Mirror* is not likely to yield exciting conclusions, this mixture of ancient, mediaeval, and Renaissance sources is one more illustration of at least the more sluggish of the innumerable cross-currents in sixteenth-century literature.

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⁵⁵ Stanzas 27-34 are based on Herod., pp. 94-95; stanzas 35-40 on Herod., pp. 96-99; stanzas 41-49 on pp. 100-105.

The question raised on p. 263—whether Higgins used Nicholas Smyth's English version of Politian's Herodian—can hardly be answered with any certainty. Some phrases in Smyth are suggestive of phrases in the *Mirror*, but they are not very numerous or convincing. Higgins may have read Smyth, and he may not; and perhaps the problem does not call imperiously for solution.

NOTES ON JOHN LYLY'S PLAYS

BY W. P. MUSTARD

The following notes are made with reference to Professor R. Warwick Bond's edition of *The Complete Works of John Lyly* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1902). They are mainly concerned with Lyly's classical sources.

CAMPASPE

Prol. I, 12. "If the shower of our swelling mountaine seems to bring forth some Eliphant, perfourme but a mouse." Horace, *A. P.* 139, "Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus."

Prol. I, 27. "As Harts that cast their hornes, Snakes their skinnes, Eagles their bills, become more fresh for any other labour." Cp. Ovid, *A. A.* iii, 77, "Anguibus exuitur tenui cum pelle vetustas, Nec faciunt cervos cornua iacta senes."

i, 1, 86. "Needes must that common wealth be fortunate, whose captaine is a Philosopher, and whose Philosopher is a Captaine." Cp. the fancy in Plato's *Republic*, 473D, that until the philosophers shall be kings, or the kings philosophers, there can be no stay of ill.

iv, 4, 32. "It is requisite to stande aloofe from kinges loue, *Ioue*, and lightening." Cp. Guazzo, *Civ. Convers.*, lib. ii, "Io veggio che secondo il proverbio volete star lontano da Giove e dal folgore."

v, 4, 15. "Arachne <enamoured> of his wodden swan." Did Lyly write 'woven swan'? Cp. Ovid, *Met.* vi, 109 (of Arachne's weaving), "Fecit olorinis Ledam recubare sub alis."

Epil. I, 9. "As Demosthenes with often breathing vp the hill amended his stammering." Cicero, *De Orat.* i. 61, 261, "coniectis in os calculis summa voce versus multos uno spiritu pronuntiare consuescebat, neque id consistens in loco sed inambulans atque ascensu ingrediens arduo."

SAPHO AND PHAO

ii, 1, 93. "Fair faces haue no fruites, if they haue no witnesses." Ov. *A. A.* iii, 398, "Fructus abest, facies cum bona teste caret."

ii, 1, 100. "Bewtie is a slippery good, which decreaseth whilest it is encreasing." Ov. *A. A.* ii, 113, "Forma bonum fragile est, quantumque accedit ad annos, Fit minor et spatio carpitur ipse suo."

ii, 1, 110. "Cotonea . . . is sweetest, when it is oldest." Pliny, *N. H.* xxi, 7, 38, "quaedam vetustate odoratiora, ut cotonea."

ii, 4, 13. "Our Sycilyan stone which groweth hardest by hammeringe." Cp., perhaps, Propertius, i, 16, 29, "Sit licet et saxo patientior illa Sicano"—where the reference is about as obscure as Lyly's.

ii, 4, 51. "To cure that by wordes which cannot be eased by hearbes." Ov. *Her.* v, 149, "Me miseram, quod amor non est medicabilis herbis"; *Met.* i, 523, "Ei mihi, quod nullis amor est sanabilis herbis."

ii, 4, 55. "Loue, faire child, is to be gouerned by arte, as thy boat by an oare." Ov. A. A. i, 3, "Arte citae veloque rates remoque moventur, Arte leves currus; arte regendus Amor."

ii, 4, 60. "Little things catch light mindes." Ov. A. A. i, 159, "Parua levis capiunt animos."

ii, 4, 62. "Imagine with thy selfe all are to bee won." Ov. A. A. i, 269, "Prima tuae menti veniat fiducia, cunctas Posse capi."

ii, 4, 67. "Peacocks neuer spread their feathers, but when they are flattered, and Gods are seldome pleased, if they be not bribed." Ov. A. A. i, 627, "Laudatas ostendit avis Iunonia pinnas; Si tacitus spectes, illa recondit opes"; iii, 654, "Placatur donis Iuppiter ipse datis."

ii, 4, 69. "There is none so foule, that thinketh not her selfe faire. In commending thou canst loose no labor; for of euery one thou shalt be beleued." Ov. A. A. i, 613, "Nec credi labor est. Sibi quaeque videtur amanda. Pessima sit; nulli non sua forma placet."

ii, 4, 76. "Chuse such times to break thy suite, as thy Lady is pleasant. The wooden horse entred Troy, when the soldiers were quaffyng." Ov. A. A. i, 357-64, "Illa leget tempus . . . Pectora dum gaudent, nec sunt adstricta dolore, Ipsa patent . . . Tum cum tristis erat, defensa est Illos armis: Militibus gravidum laeta recepit equum."

ii, 4, 81. "When thou talkest with her, let thy speech be pleasant, but not incredible." Ov. A. A. i, 467, "Sit tibi credibilis sermo consuetaque verba, Blanda tamen," etc.

ii, 4, 85. "They read more then is written to them." Ov. A. A. ii, 396, "plus multae, quam sibi missa, legunt."

ii, 4, 87. "In attire <studie to be> braue, but not too curious." Ov. A. A. i, 505 ff.

ii, 4, 88. "If <she> rise, stande vp; if sit, lye downe." Ov. A. A. i, 503, "Cum surgit, surges; donec sedet illa, sedebis."

ii, 4, 89. "Can you sing, shew your cunning; can you daunce, vse your legges," etc. Ov. A. A. i, 595, "Si vox est, canta; si mollia brachia, salta," etc.

ii, 4, 93. "Womenne striue, because they would be ouercome: force they call it, but such a welcome force they account it, that continually they study to be enforced. To faire words ioyne sweet kisses," etc. Ov. A. A. i, 666, "Pugnando vinci se tamen illa volet . . . Vim licet appelles; grata est vis ista puellis"; A. A. i, 663-70, "Quis sapiens blandis non misceat oscula verbis?"

ii, 4, 98. "Looke pale, and learne to be leane, that who so seeth thee, may say, the Gentleman is in loue." Ov. A. A. i, 729, "Palleat omnis amans . . . Arguat et macies animum . . . Ut qui te videat, dicere possit 'amas.'"

ii, 4, 100. "Vse no sorcerie to hasten thy successe: wit is a witch: Ulysses was not faire, but wise . . . whose filed tongue made those in-amoured that sought to haue him inchaunted." Ov. A. A. ii, 99, "Fallitur, Haemonias si quis decurrit ad artes . . . Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulixes, Et tamen aequoreas torsit amore deas."

ii, 4, 104. "These are rules for poore louers, to others I am no mistress. He hath wit ynough, that can giue ynough." Ov. A. A. ii, 161, "Non ego divitibus venio praeceptor amandi . . . Secum habet ingenium, qui, cum libet, 'accipe' dicit."

ii, 4, 112. "Whatsoever she weareth, sweare it becomes her." Ov. A. A. ii, 297, "Sive erit in Tyriis, Tyrios laudabis amictus: Sive erit in Cois, Coa decere puta," etc.

ii, 4, 113. "In thy loue be secrete. Venus cofers, though they bee hollow, neuer sound." Ov. A. A. ii, 389, "Ludite, sed furto celetur culpa modesto," etc.; ii, 607, "Praecipue Cytherea iubet sua sacra taceri . . . Condita si non sunt Veneris mysteria cistis, Nec cava vaesanis ictibus aera sonant," etc.

ii, 4, 125. "White siluer draweth blacke lines." Pliny, N. H. xxxiii, 31, 98, "Lineas ex argento nigras praeduci plerique mirantur."

iii, 1, 19. "Pigions after byting fall to billing." Ov. A. A. ii, 465, "Quae modo pugnarunt, iungunt sua rostra columbae."

iii, 2, 26. "The old verse, *Caseus est nequam*." The 'old verse' is "*Caseus est nequam, qui digerit omnia sequam*." Wunder gives an English version, "Cheese it is a peevish elf; It digests all things but itself."

iii, 3, 84. "The Eagle is neuer stricken with thunder." Pliny, N. H. ii, 55, 146, "sicut nec e volucris aquilam, quae ob hoc armigera huius teli fingitur." So N. H. x, 3, 15.

iii, 3, 98. "Resiste it, Sapho, whilest it is yet tender. Of Acornes comes Oakes," etc. Ov. Rem. Am. 81, "Opprime, dum nova sunt subiti mala semina morbi," etc.

iii, 3, 103. "Into the neast of an Alcyon no birde can enter but the Alcyon." This from Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* ix, 17.

GALLATHEA

i, 1, 19. "Fortune, constant in nothing but inconstancie." Ov. Tr. v, 8, 18 (of Fortune), "Et tantum constans in levitate sua est."

i, 1, 28-31. "Then might you see shippes sayle where sheepe fedde, ankers cast where ploughes goe, fishermen throw theyr nets, where husbandmen sowe theyr Corne, and fishes throw their scales where fowles do breed theyr quils." Probably suggested by Ovid's description of the Flood, *Met.* i, 295 ff.: "*Ille super segetes aut mersae culmina villae Navigat, hic summa piscem deprensit in ulmo. Figitur in viridi, si fors tulit, ancora prato*," etc.

i, 1, 59. "I would thou hadst beene lesse faire, or more fortunate." Cp. Ov. Am. i, 8, 27, "Tam felix esses, quam formosissima, vellem."

i, 1, 92. "In health it is easie to counsell the sicke." Terence, *Andria*, 309, "Facile omnes quom valemus recta consilia aegrotis damus."

ii, 4. The names of the two shepherds Melebeus and Tyterus come from Virgil's first Eclogue.

ii, 5, 6. "Watch the good times, his best moodes," etc. Cp. Ov. A. A. i, 357, "Illa leget tempus (medici quoque tempora servant), Quo facilis dominae mens sit et apta capi."

iii, 4, 25. "Of all Trees the Cedar is greatest, and hath the smallest seedes." Pliny, *N. H.* xvii, 14, 72 (of the seed of the 'cupressus'), "minimis id granis constat, vix ut perspici quaedam possint, non omitendo naturae miraculo e tam parvo gigni arbores," etc.

iii, 4, 42. "Silenus pictures; without, Lambes and Doues, within, Apes and Owles." Cp. *Campaspe*, Prol. II, 4, "Alcebiades couered his pictures beeing Owles and Apes, with a courtaine embroidered with Lions and Eagles." Possibly a hazy allusion to Plato, *Symp.* 215A, where Alcibiades says that Socrates resembles the Silenus-statuettes which serve as caskets for sacred images.

ENDIMION

i, 1, 74. "Whose fall though it be desperate, yet shall it come by daring." Like Phaethon's, *Ov. Met.* ii, 328, "magnis tamen excidit ausis."

i, 2, 10. "The Gods . . . laughers at Louers deceipts." *Ov. A. A.* i, 633, "Iuppiter ex alto periuria ridet amantum"; Tibullus, iii, 6, 49, "periuria ridet amantum Iuppiter."

i, 3, 31. "*Amicitia* (as in old Annuals we find) is *inter pares*." Cp. Curtius Rufus, vii, 8, 27, "firmissima est inter pares amicitia."

i, 4, 11. The name of the enchantress Dipsas comes from Ovid, *Am.* i, 8, 2. The name of her maid Bagoæ is probably suggested by Ovid's Bagous, *Am.* ii, 2, 1.

iii, 4, 144. "As common as Hares in Atho, Bees in Hybla, foules in the ayre." *Ov. A. A.* ii, 517, "Quot lepores in Atho, quot apes pascuntur in Hybla."

v, 2, 48. "*O lepidum caput*." From Ter. *Ad.* 966, or Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 725.

MIDAS

i, 1, 39. "This (*sc.* gold) is the sinewes of warre." Cp. Cicero, *Phil.* v, 2, 5, "nervos belli pecuniam infinitam."

iv, 1, 2. "Orpheus that caused trees to moue with the sweetnes of his harp . . . Arion, that brought Dolphins to his sugred notes, and Amphion, that by musicke reard the walls of Thebes." *Ov. A. A.* iii, 321, "Saxa ferasque lyra movit Rhodopeius Orpheus . . . Saxa tuo cantu, vindex iustissime matris, Fecerunt muros officiosa novos; Quamvis mutus erat, voci favisse putatur Piscis, Arioniae fabula nota lyrae."

iv, 1, 34. "My temple is in Arcadie, where they burne continuall flames to Pan. In Arcadie is mine Oracle, where Erato the Nympe gesueth aunsweres for Pan." From Pausanias, viii, 37, 11.

MOTHER BOMBIE

i, 3, 14. "No better bread than is made of wheat." Cp. the proverb in Heywood, ii, 7 (1562), "that would have better bread than is made of wheat." Petrocchi gives an Italian version, "cercare miglior pane che di grano." So Faustus Andrelinus, *Ecl.* ii, 18, "Triticeoque petit meliorem pane farinam."

ii, 1, 77. "*Laudo ingenium.*" Cp. Plaut. *Merc.* 85, "*ingenium adlaudat meum.*"

ii, 1, 104. "*Non enim mea pigra iuuentus.*" Perhaps adapted from Ovid, *M.* x, 396, "*non est mea pigra senectus.*"

iii, 4, 71. "*In utrumque paratus.*" From *Aen.* ii, 61, or Seneca, *De Vita Beata*, viii, 3.

THE WOMAN IN THE MOONE

i, 1, 45. "Each Fish that swimmeth in the floating sea, Each winged fowle that soareth in the ayre, And euery beast that feedeth on the ground, Haue mates of pleasure to vpholde their broode." Ov. *A. A.* ii, 481, "*Ales habet quod amet; cum quo sua gaudia iungat Invenit in media femina piecis aqua; Cerva parem sequitur,*" etc.

ii, 1, 1. "*A Ioue principium, sunt et Iouis omnia plena.*" From Virgil, *Ecl.* iii, 60, "*Ab Iove principium musae; Iouis omnia plena.*"

iii, 1, 101. Ovid has '*solvere amores,*' *A. A.* ii, 385. So has Tibullus, i, 2, 60.

iii, 2, 186. "The Theban lord." Hardly Eurytus, who was one of the Centaurs. Possibly Pirithous himself.

iii, 2, 249. "Had he Argos eyes." Ov. *A. A.* iii, 618, "*Quot fuerant Argo lumina.*"

LOVES METAMORPHOSIS

i, 1, 2. "Loue sat vpon the Chaos and created the world." Cp. Spenser, *Hymne in Honour of Loue*, 57 ff., "For ere this worlds still mouing mightie masse Out of great Chaos ugly prison crept . . . The world that was not till he did it make." Cp., also, Ovid, *A. A.* ii, 470-88, "*cessit inane chaos,*" etc.

i, 2, 64. "Nor your filed speeches, were they as forcible as Thessalides." Cp. Lucan, vi, 452, "*Carmines Thessalidum dura in praecordia fluxit Non fatis adductus amor.*"

iii, 1, 94. "A ryuer running into diuers brookes becommeth shallow, and a mind diuided into sundrie affections in the end will haue none." Ov. *Rem. Am.* 443, "*Secta bipertito cum mens discurrit utroque, Alterius vires subtrahit alter amor; Grandia per multos tenuantur flumina rivos,*" etc.

iii, 2, 5. "My famine increaseth by eating, resembling the Sea, which receiue all things, and cannot bee filled." Ov. *M.* viii, 835, "*Utque fretum recipit de tota flumina terra, Nec satiatur aquis . . . cibus omnis in illo Causa cibi est.*"

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RECENT LITERATURE OF THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE

BY THORNTON S. GRAVES

NOTE: The following bibliography attempts to include the more important books, articles, and reviews which appeared in the year ending January 1, 1925, together with the more noteworthy productions of 1923 which escaped the bibliography printed in the April (1924) number of *Studies*. Thanks are due to Professor Oliver Towles for assistance in preparing Section VIII of the present bibliography.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Archiv = *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*.
Beiblatt = *Beiblatt zur Anglia*.
EHS = *English Historical Review*.
Eng. Stud. = *Englische Studien*.
JEGP = *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*.
Literaturblatt = *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*.
LR = *Literary Review* to the New York Post.
LTS = *Literary Supplement* to the London Times.
MLN = *Modern Language Notes*.
MLR = *Modern Language Review*.
MP = *Modern Philology*.
N & Q = *Notes and Queries*.
NYT = *New York Times*.
PMLA = *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.
PQ = *Philological Quarterly*.
R du xv^e S. = *Revue de seizième siècle*.
Rev. Ang. Am. = *Revue anglo-américaine*.
Rev. Lit. Comp. = *Revue de littérature comparée*.
RHL = *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*.
SP = *Studies in Philology*.

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Rev. in *LTS.*, Nov. 20, 1924, p. 761.

Halley, A. R. *Studies in English Literature*. Boston: Stratford Co., 1924.

Contains essay titled *The Philosophy of Love in the Sixteenth Century English Literature*.

Harries, Frederick J. *The Welsh Elizabethans*. Pontypridd: "Glamorgan County Times," Printing and Publishing Offices, 1924. Pp. 284.

Among the various writers who have in recent years concerned themselves with the part played by the Welsh in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Mr. Harries is perhaps the best known. He has followed up his well-known *Shakespeare and the Welsh* by a book of considerably broader range, since it attempts to "embody in its pages a comprehensive account of the manifold activities of the Welsh people in the days of the great Elizabeth." The book sometimes produces a jerky or note-bookish effect on account of the large number of topics which it undertakes to discuss, but, on the other hand, it contains a mass of interesting material little known to even the special student of the Elizabethan period. In spite of a somewhat liberal interpretation of what constitutes a "Welsh Elizabeth-

an," Mr. Harries has made it clear that the fine little principality contributed its share to the remarkable band of soldiers, scientists, artists, ecclesiastics and diplomats who made the England of Elizabeth what it was.

Hudson, William Henry. *The Story of the Renaissance*. New York: Holt & Co., 1924.

Hughes, W. J. *Wales and the Welsh in English Literature from Shakespeare to Scott*. Wrexham: Hughes and Son; London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., 1924. Pp. 215.

Two short chapters treat Welsh history, topography, life and character in Elizabethan literature, while the chapter titled "The Seventeenth Century Satirists" contains interesting material on the part played by the Welsh in the Civil War and the pamphlet controversy attending it. Appendix II contains a helpful, though incomplete, bibliography of books about Wales and the Welsh written between 1500 and 1830. The author's treatment of the Elizabethan period is necessarily too brief to be of much service to students; nevertheless it is suggestive and contains in the notes a large number of references to other works on various aspects of the subject.

Jaggard, William. *General Index to Book-Auction Records for the Decade 1902-1912*. London: Henry Stevens, Sons and Stiles, 1924.

Rev. by A. W. Pollard in *Library* v, No. 2, 187-9.

Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft im Auftrage des Vorstandes. Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Keller. Neue Folge I Band (Der Ganzen Reiche Band 59/60). Jena, 1924.

Keller, Wolfgang. *Bücherschau*, pp. 168-220.

Reviews of many important books of recent years.

Keller, Wolfgang and Hunekuhl, Cläre. *Zeitschriften-schau*, pp. 221-39.

Hartl, Edouard. *Shakespeare-Bibliographie für 1921-22*, pp. 269-301.

Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie. Neue Folge, Band 1 (1924).

Albert Ludwig (pp. 120-7) provides section on English literature, the bibliography dealing with works of 1921.

Jourdain, M. *English Decoration and Furniture of the Early*

Renaissance, 1500-1650. An Account of Its Development and Characteristic Forms. London: Batsford, 1924.

Lee, Sir Sidney, and F. S. Boas. *The Year's Work in English Studies, 1923.* Vol. iv. Oxford University Press, 1924. Pp. 269.

More detailed than preceding volumes. Mr. A. W. Reed contributes the sections on the Renaissance (pp. 65-73) and Shakspeare (pp. 74-92), Professor F. S. Boas the chapter on Elizabethan drama (pp. 93-115), Professor H. J. C. Grierson and Mr. A. M. Clark contribute the section on Elizabethan prose and verse (pp. 116-148).

Lewison, Adolph. *Catalogue of the Private Library of Mr. Adolph Lewison.* New York: Privately printed, 1923. Pp. 96.

Incunabula and Elizabethan items mentioned.

Lynam, E. W. *The Irish Character in Print, 1571-1923.* Library, iv, No. 4. (March, 1924), 286-325.

McKerrow, Ronald B. *Border-pieces Used by English Printers before 1641.* Library, Vol. v. (June, 1924), 1-37.

Madan, F. and Craster, H. H. E. *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Vol. VI, Part 2.* Oxford University Press, 1924.

Madan, F. *Early Representations of Printing Presses (1499-1600).* Bodleian Quarterly Record, iv, No. 43, pp. 165-67.

Morison, Stanley. *Four Centuries of Fine Printing. Upwards of Six Hundred Examples of the Work of Presses established during the Years 1500 to 1914. With an Introductory Text and Indexed by ————.* London: Benn, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., Nov. 6, 1924, pp. 693-4.

Murphy, Gwendolen. *Renaissance Bypaths.* LTS., June 19, 1924, pp. 387-8.

Comments on E. N. S. Thompson's book listed below.

Osler, Sir William. *Incunabula Medica. A Study of the Earliest Printed Medical Books, 1467-1480.* Printed for the Bibliographical Society. Oxford Univ. Press, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., Feb. 14, 1924, p. 88.

Paues, A. C. *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature. Vol. IV, 1923. Edited for the Modern Human-*

ties Research Association by A. C. Paues. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1924.

Invaluable to all students of English literature.

Pellizzari, A. *Il Quadrivio nel Rinascimento*. Naples: Perrella, 1924.

Phillips, Catherine Alison. *An Anthology of Sleep*. London: Chapman, 1924.

Plomer, Henry R. *English Printers' Ornaments*. London: Grafton, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., March 13, 1924, p. 159.

Pollard, Alfred W. *The Building Up of the British Museum Collection of Incunabula*. Library, v (Dec.), 193-214.

Proceedings of the British Academy, 1919-1920. London: Printed for the Academy, 1924.

Robertson, J. M. *The Evolution of English Blank Verse*. Criterion, II, No. 6, pp. 171-87.

Rollins, Hyder E. *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., Sept. 4, 1924, p. 544.

Schirmer, Walter F. *Antike, Renaissance und Puritanismus. Eine Studie zur Englischen Literaturgeschichte des 16 und 17. Jahrhunderts*. München: Max Hueber, 1924.

Schneider, Georg. *Handbuch der Bibliographie. Zweite, unveränderte Auflage*. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1924. Pp. 544.

Scholderer, Victor, A. W. Pollard, Henry Thomas, A. Esdaile, and F. G. Rendall. *Catalogue of Books Printed in the 15th Century now in the British Museum. Part V: Venice*. London: Quaritch and Milford, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., Oct. 16, 1924, p. 643.

Stearns, Mae G. *Check List of Books Printed in English before 1641*. Chicago: Newberry Library, 1923.

List of early books in Newberry Library.

Thomas, Henry. *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in France and of French Books Printed in Other Countries from 1470-*

- 1600 now in the British Museum. London: British Museum, 1924.
- Thomas-Stanford, Charles. *Early Editions of Euclid's Elements*. Library, Vol. v (June, 1924), 39-42.
- Thompson, E. N. S. *Literary Bypaths of the Renaissance*. Yale University Press, 1924.
- Rev. in LTS., June 5, 1924, p. 352.
- Tietjens, Eugenie. *Englische Zahlwörter des 15./16. Jahrhunderts. Formelles, Syntaktisches, Stilistisches*. Diss., Greifswald, 1924.
- Vedel, V. *Hoejrenaessancen, Syd og Nord for Alperne*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1923.
- Von Boehn, Max. *Die Mode. Menschen und Moden im 16. Jahrhundert*. Munich: F. Bruckman, 1923.
- Wells, H. W. *Poetic Imagery, Illustrated from Elizabethan Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Milford, 1924.
- Williams, E. Roland. *Some Studies of Elizabethan Wales*. Newtown: The Welsh Outlook Press, 1924. Pp. 169.

The work contains fourteen short studies, written some eight years ago, principally on Welsh adventurers and piracy in the Elizabethan period. Among the more interesting individuals treated at some length are Thomas Prys, "Gwilym Canoldref" (Captain William Myddleton), Sir Roger Williams, who is called "Fluellen in Real Life," the braggart David Gwynne, Sir Thomas Button, and Sir Robert Mansell. Of special interest to Americans is the chapter on Cambrial, the forgotten Welsh colony, which Sir William Vaughan attempted to establish in Nova Scotia.

On the whole, the book is interesting, and the author is not overzealous in his claims for the Welsh. In this last respect Mr. Williams's book is saner than some of the numerous studies which have recently discussed the Elizabethan Welshman.

- Wise, Thomas James. *The Ashley Library. A Catalogue of Printed Books, Manuscripts, and Autograph Letters Collected by Thomas James Wise. Vol. IV (Pope to Settle), Vol. V (Shadwell-Sterne)*. London: Privately Printed, 1924.
- Wright, C. T. Hagberg and Purnell, C. J. *Subject Index to the London Library. Vol. II (1909-22)*. London Library, 1923.

Wyld, Henry Cecil. *Studies in English Rhymes from Surrey to Pope*. New York: Dutton, 1924. Pp. xiii, 140.

A discussion, in simple language and without phonetic notation, of an important subject. The book is admirably organized since it gives, first, a clear statement of the problems to be solved; next, a discussion of the nature of these problems and the method of treatment; and, finally, a carefully arranged body of material from which the author's conclusions are drawn. Rhymes faulty to the modern ear are not to be dismissed as due to carelessness or ignorance or poetic license. The poet may not have pronounced both words as we do; or if his pronunciation was provincial or vulgar, it may have been perfect according to regional habits of speech. The argument is based on study of the language from Chaucer's time to the period under discussion; it tests material by poetic tradition, by statements of contemporary writers on pronunciation, by occasional spellings found in letters and private papers and documents and even printed books. The author concludes that "the more we know of the English language from Elizabeth to Ann the clearer and more certain becomes the perception of the intimate relation of the language of the great poets to that of real life."

Zabughin, V. *L'oltretomba classico, medioevale, dantesco nel Rinascimento*. Firenze: Olschki, 1923.

II. THE DRAMA AND THE STAGE

Adams, Joseph Quincy. *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas. A Selection of Plays Illustrating the History of the English Drama from its Origin Down to Shakespeare*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924. Pp. vii, 712.

A well selected collection of some sixty-four specimens illustrating the development of English drama up to the time of Shakspeare. The book is of the same general nature as Professor Manly's well-known *Specimens*, though of a somewhat more popular nature; hence it is suitable for both the general reader and the college student. Among the productions in the present volume which are not found in Professor Manly's collection are several liturgical plays, three St. Nicholas plays, *Duo Moraud*, *Mary Magdalene*, *The Castle of Perseverance*, *Everyman*, Heywood's *Johan Johan* and *Wether*, Gascoigne's *Supposes*, *Damon and Pithias*, *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, and *George a Greene*. In the case of early Latin productions the original text and prose translation are printed in parallel columns; throughout the work words and phrases that may cause trouble to the general reader are explained at the bottom of the page; helpful, but sometimes inadequate, introductions are given in foot-notes at the beginning of each play. Professor Adams has evidently labored conscientiously.

tiously to supply his readers with reliable texts; and the publishers have succeeded in printing those texts in decent type—an unusual performance in a seven-hundred page volume of selections.

Allison, Tempe E. *The Paternoster Play and the Origin of the Vices*. PMLA., xxxix, 789-804.

An ingenious study of medieval drama that should be read by all students of the Elizabethan stage.

Archer, William. *Elizabethan Stage and Restoration Drama*. Quarterly Review, No. 479 (April, 1924).

A criticism of ideas of Elizabethan stage as advanced by Mr. E. K. Chambers and Professor J. Q. Adams.

Aronstein, Phillip. *Der soziologische Charakter des englischen Renaissance-Dramas*. Germanische-Romanische Monats-schrift, xii, 155-71; 214-24.

Baldwin, T. W. *The Three Francis Beaumonts*. MLN., xxxix, 505-7.

Baskervill, Charles Read. *Mummers' Wooing Plays in England*. MP., xxi, 225-72.

Berdan, John M. *Marlowe's Edward II*. PQ., iii, 197-207.

Points out the parallels between events in the reigns of Edward II and James of Scotland, and suggests that Marlowe in his rather sympathetic treatment of Edward is answering the criticism that had been made against the Scottish claimant to the English throne.

Bittner, Konrad. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Volksschauspiels von Doktor Faust*. Prager Deutsche Studien, 27 Heft. Reichenberg, 1922.

Rev. by Hermann M. Flasdieck in Eng. Stud., Bd. 58, 250-3.

Boas, F. S. and Greg, W. W. *The Christmas Prince*. Malone Society Publications. Oxford University Press, 1923.

Rev. in LTS., Jan. 31, 1924, p. 62.

Seventeenth century MS. giving an account of the revels at St. John's College, Oxford, during winter of 1607-1608.

Bradley, J. F. and Adams, J. Q. *The Jonson Allusion-Book*. Yale Univ. Press, 1922.

Rev. by G. C. Moore Smith in MLR., XIX, 111-13.

Braines, W. W. *The Site of the Globe Playhouse, Southwark*. Published by Arrangement with the London County Council.

Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1924.

A reply to Mr. George Hubbard's *On the Site of the Globe Playhouse of Shakspeare* (1923). Mr. Braines gives further arguments for locating the theater to the south of Maid-Lane (Park Street).

Briggs, William Dinsmore. *First Song in the Beggar's Bush.* MLN., xxxix, 379-80.

Source is one of Erasmus's colloquies.

Briggs, William Dinsmore. *On the Meaning of the Word 'Lake' in Marlowe's Edward II.* MLN., xxxix, 437-38.

Busby, Olive Mary. *Studies in the Development of the Fool in the Elizabethan Drama.* London, 1923.

Rev. by W. W. Greg in MLR., xix, 230-1.

Byrne, Muriel St. Clare (ed.). *John a Kent and John a Cumber.* Malone Society Reprints. Oxford University Press, 1923.

Careful edition from the Mostyn MS.

Campion, Thomas. *The Maske. By Thomas Campion. As produced at Hatfield Palace on May 30 and 31, 1924, for the Benefit of the Hertfordshire County Nursing Association.* Chelsea Publishing Co., 1924.

Carter, Henry Holland (ed.). *Every Man in His Humour.* Yale Univ. Press, 1921.

Rev. by William Dinsmore Briggs in JEGP., xxiii, 142-8.

Chambers, E. K. *The Elizabethan Stage.* Oxford Univ. Press, 1923.

Rev. by W. J. Lawrence in *The Irish Statesman*, Jan. 12, 1924; by R. B. McKerrow in EHR., xxxix, 430-4; by Allardyce Nicoll in MLR., xix, 474-6; by John M. Manly in *Am. Historical Review*, xxix, 760-2; by A. W. Pollard in *Library*, iv, 332-6; in LTS., March 6, 1924, pp. 133-4; by George Saintsbury in *Nation and Athenaeum*, Feb. 9, 1924, p. 670.

Chambers, E. K. (ed.). *Four Letters on Theatrical Affairs.* Malone Society Collections, II, 2 (1924), 145-9.

Chelli, Maurice. *Le Drame de Massinger.* Paris: Société d'Éditions "Les Belles-Lettres," 1924. Pp. 389.

Rev. in LTS., May 29, 1924, p. 334; by Bourgeois in *Rev. Ang. Am.*, Oct., 1924, pp. 57-8.

In a brief preface to this posthumous work Professor Legouis informs us that the author died in 1918 at the age of thirty-five, that the present study is one of his theses accepted at the Sorbonne, and that a supplementary study entitled *Etude sur la Collaboration de Massinger avec Fletcher et son groupe* remains in manuscript. If the writer had lived to prepare his work for the press, he would, of course, have made several improvements. The study is sometimes unnecessarily detailed, it contains a few rather bad typographical errors, on several occasions the authorities cited are not the most reliable writers to whom the reader could have been referred, and certain valuable discussions of Massinger which appeared since 1918 are necessarily unnoted. On the other hand, the study, like most French theses, is characterized by its thoroughness, clarity and logical arrangement. On the whole, it is a permanent contribution to the literature on Massinger.

Roughly, the treatment of Massinger falls into three large parts. A brief and not altogether satisfactory survey of Elizabethan drama is followed by a careful and detailed presentation of the facts about the poet's life and reputation, which, while correcting various erroneous statements regarding the dramatist, adds little that is new. The rest of the thesis—nearly three hundred pages—is devoted to a minute dissection of Massinger as a dramatist, discussing at length the peculiarities of his verse and style, his manner of handling plot and stage situations, his methods in selecting and presenting his characters, his use of human emotions, and his treatment of such themes as love, politics, and religion. In view of the recent work of such students as Sykes and Cruickshank, one especially regrets that the treatment of Massinger's collaboration was not printed. From a statement of the results of M. Chelli's investigations (cf. pp. 80-1, 348-50), it is interesting to note that he did not believe that Massinger's hand is to be found in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* but entertained the view that *Henry VIII* was Shakspeare's work revised by Massinger and Fletcher.

- Craig, Gordon. *John Evelyn and the Theatre in England, France, and Italy*. The Mask, Vol. x (1924).
- Crawford, Lord. *John Lyly*. Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (1924).
- Cruickshank, A. H. *Massinger Corrections*. Library, v, No. 2, 175-9.
- Cruickshank, A. H. *Massinger*. LTS., June 5, 1924, p. 356.
- Dondo, Mathurin. *Marionettes in the Time of Shakespeare*. University of California Chronicle, xxv (July, 1923), 356-66.
- Dodds, M. Hope. 'Edmond Ironside' and 'The Love-Sick King.' MLR., xix, 158-68.

Dodds, M. Hope. *Anthony Munday*, N & Q., Vol. 146, No. 44, p. 331.

Cf. also Archibald Sparke, *ibid.*, p. 331.

Eliot, T. S. *Four Elizabethan Dramatists. I. A Preface.* Criterion, II, No. 6, pp. 115-23.

Flood, W. H. Grattan. *The Beginnings of the Chapel Royal.* Music and Letters, Jan., 1924.

Friedrich, Karl. *Die englische Dramatisierung des Katilinastoffes.* Summary (2 pp.) of Erlangen Diss. Erlangen, 1923.

Frijlinck, Wilhelmina P. (ed.). *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden Barnaveit.* Amsterdam, 1922.

Rev. by Phil. Aronstein in Beiblatt, XXXV, 67-9; by A. C. Judson in JEGP., XXIII, 150-2.

Garvin, Wilhelmina C. *The Development of the Comic Figure in the German Drama from the Reformation to the Thirty Years' War.* Pennsylvania doctoral dissertation. Philadelphia: Westbrook Publishing Co., 1923.

Considers in some detail the question of English influence.

Graves, Thornton S. *Ralph Crane and the King's Players.* SP., XXI, 362-6.

Gregg, Kate L. *Thomas Dekker: A Study in Economic and Social Backgrounds.* University of Washington Publications. Language and Literature, Vol. II, No. 22 (July, 1924), pp. 55-112.

This is a doctoral dissertation accepted by the Department of English at the University of Washington. A nine-page introductory chapter on the "Economic Interpretation of English Literature"—a chapter, I believe, in which the author rather overemphasizes the newness of her method and the strictness of the censorship—is followed by a detailed study of Dekker himself. His sensitiveness to the social and economic questions of his day is emphasized, with particular reference to his attitude toward the agrarian problem, the church, and the government. The writer is no doubt justified in stressing the amount of suffering and injustice in Elizabethan England, for the mass of "literature of discontent" produced by satirists and hack-writers of the period was somewhat more extensive than she apparently realizes. Interesting, to say the least, is her contention that the exuberant and braggadoccio quality characteristic of so much Elizabethan literature was due, not so much to self-confidence and the pure joy of living, as it was to the machination of the government in fostering a literature of deception as a means of combatting the grow-

ing spirit of discontent. Other Elizabethans could profitably be approached from a point of view very similar to that from which Miss Gregg has approached Dekker.

Greg, W. W. *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements: The Battle of Alcazar & Orlando Furioso. An Essay in Critical Bibliography.* Clarendon Press, 1923.

Rev. by J. Q. Adams in JEGP., xxii, 605-9; in N & P., 146, p. 73.

Greg, W. W. *More Massinger Corrections.* Library, v (June, 1924), 59-91.

A careful study of the corrections, which Dr. Greg lists and pronounces to be in Massinger's autograph, found in the volume of eight plays by Massinger secured by Mr. John Addington Symonds and now in the possession of Mr. Edmund Gosse.

Greg, W. W. "Arden of Faversham." LTS., Jan. 24, 1924, p. 53.

Shows weakness of emendation proposed by F. D. Simpson, *ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1924.

Grossmann, Rudolf. *Spanien und das elisabethanische Drama.* Hamburg, 1920.

Rev. by Walther Fischer in Beiblatt, xxxv, 115-19.

Grylls, Rosalie Glynn. *Greek and Elizabethan Drama.* Contemporary Review, Vol. 126, 638-44.

Harrison, G. B. *The Story of Elizabethan Drama.* Cambridge University Press, 1924. Pp. 134.

Elementary and brief but interesting and essentially accurate.

Jeffery, V. M. *Italian and English Pastoral Drama of the Renaissance.* I. Source of the 'Complaint of the Satyres against the Nymphes.' MLR., xix, 56-62; II. The Source of Peele's 'Arraignement of Paris,' *ibid.*, pp. 175-87; III. Sources of Daniels' 'Queen's Arcadia' and Randolph's 'Amyntas,' *ibid.*, pp. 435-44.

Jourdain, Eleanor F. *The Drama in Europe in Theory and Practice.* London: Methuen and Co., 1924.

The chapter (pp. 43-57) on Elizabethan drama, besides being too brief and sketchy to be of value, contains numerous novel statements, e. g., red curtains were employed for sacred dramas in England and blue-black ones for tragedy (p. 46), actors lived in the "actors' house" (p. 47), the pit was sometimes used for bear-baiting, Romans wore togas over court dresses (p. 51), acts were "a later division

imposed on Shakespeare's plays" though "there was one pause after the crisis" (p. 52), in 1625 all theaters were closed on account of the plague but were opened again in 1637 (p. 57), etc.

K., J. *The "But" of Ben Jonson*. N & Q., Vol. 147, No. 3, p. 45.
Koch, J. *Echte und "Unechte" Masken*. Eng. Stud., Bd. 58, 179-212.

Law, Robert Adger. *The "Shoemakers' Holiday" and "Roméo and Juliet."* SP., XXI, 356-61.

Lawrence, W. J. *John Kirke, the Caroline Actor-Dramatist*. SP., XXI, 586-93.

Lawrence, W. J. *The Rose Theatre of Shakespeare's Day*. LTS., Feb. 21, 1924, p. 112.

Shows that the mystifying couplet quoted by Rendle—

"In the last great fire
The Rose did expire"—

refers to the burning of a tavern during Restoration and has nothing to do with the playhouse.

Lawrence, W. J. *Bells on the Elizabethan Stage*. Fortnightly Review, July, 1924, pp. 59-70.

Lawrence, W. J. *Inigo Jones: An Identification*. LTS., Oct. 23, 1924, p. 667.

Cf. comment by W. W. Greg, *ibid.*, Oct. 30, 1924, p. 686.

Lawrence, W. J. *The Authorship of "The Careless Shepherdess."* LTS., July 24, 1924.

Argument that play a Cambridge production originally acted c. 1632. "T. G. Mr. of Arts" on title page of 1656 edition cannot be Thomas Goffe, since he was an Oxford man and a prologue of c. 1637 for a revival of play speaks of author as still alive. Goffe died in July 1629.

Lawrence, W. J. *Was Peter Cunningham a Forger?* MLR., XIX, 25-34.

Supports view of Law against attack of Mrs. Stopes.

Lawrence, W. J. *Thomas Ravenscroft's Theatrical Associations*. MLR., XIX, 418-23.

Lindsey, Edwin S. *The Music of the Songs in Fletcher's Plays*. SP., XXI, 325-55.

Lloyd, Bertram. *Jonson and "Thomas of Woodstock."* LTS., July 17, 1924, p. 449.

Lloyd, Bertram. *A Minor Source of 'The Changeling.'* MLR., XIX, 101-2.

Martin, Robert Grant. *The Sources of Heywood's If you Know Not Me, you Know Nobody, Part I.* MLN., xxxix, 220-2.

Chief source is Fox's *Acts and Monuments* either in original or Holinshed.

Matthews, Brander and Lieder, Paul Robert (eds.). *The Chief British Dramatists Excluding Shakespeare. Twenty-five Plays from the Middle of the Fifteenth Century to the End of the Nineteenth.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924. Pp. xviii, 1084.

This is a well printed and carefully selected collection of plays suitable for a rapid survey course in English drama, though it is, as the editors recognize, of no especial value to students of the Renaissance. The text proper is preceded by a very brief but interesting account of the development of the theater in England, obviously written by Professor Matthews, and followed by helpful notes on the dramatists and plays, a classified reading list, and an index of characters. Of the eight sixteenth and seventeenth century dramas contained in the volume the text of Ralph Roister Doister is based on the modernized version of Professor C. G. Child, collated with the editions of Arber and Manly, while the other seven follow the well-known text in Professor Neilson's *Chief Elizabethan Dramatists*.

Milton, Ernest. *Christopher Marlowe, A Play in Five Acts, with a Prologue by Walter De La Mare.* London: Constable, 1924.

Mundy, P. D. *Anthony Munday and his Connections.* N & Q., Vol. 147, p. 261.

Nethercot, Arthur H. *Recent Heresies concerning the Pre-Modern Drama.* Texas Review, April, 1924, pp. 228-32.

Discussion of the recent works of Archer and Schücking.

Nicoll, Allardyce. *An Introduction to Dramatic Theory.* London: Harrap & Co., 1923. Pp. 218.

Contains material of interest to students of Elizabethan drama.

Ramsey, Stanley C. *Inigo Jones.* Masters of Architecture Series. London: Benn, 1924.

Rhodes, R. Crompton. *Titus and Vespasian.* LTS., Apr. 17, 1924, p. 240.

Comment: W. W. Greg, *ibid.*, May 1, p. 268; John S. Smart, *ibid.*, May 8, p. 286 and June 5, p. 356; C. R. Rhodes, *ibid.*, May 22, p. 322; W. W. Greg, *ibid.*, May 15, p. 384.

Roberts, Morris. *A Note on the Sources of the English Morality Play*. Studies by Members of the Dept. of English, Univ. of Wisconsin, No. 18 (1923), pp. 100-117.

Robertson, J. M. *Tito Andronico*. LTS., May 29, 1924, p. 340.

Points out that "Tito Andronico" (Chambers, II, 285) only dative after von of German play of *Titus Andronicus*.

Robertson, J. M. *A Marlowe Mystification*. LTS, Dec. 11, 1924, p. 850.

Rose, H. J. *Mhkcoc and Xponoc: The 'Unity of Time' in Ancient Drama*. Aberystwyth Studies, Vol. VI, University of Wales, 1924, pp. 1-22.

Evidence that unity of time not a rigid principle in Greek tragedy.

Rollins, Hyder E. *The Drinking Academy, or The Cheater's Holiday*. PMLA., XXXIX, 837-71.

Reprint of an early manuscript play (c. 1620) in possession of Mr. W. A. White.

Schutt, J. H. *Beaumont and Fletcher's Phylaster, Considered as a Work of Literary Art*. English Studies, VI, June, 1924.

Seaton, Ethel. *Marlowe's Map*. Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, Vol. X. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924, pp. 13-35.

Argument that Marlowe was more careful about his geography than he has been given credit for being.

Simpson, Percy and Bell, C. F. *Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques & Plays at Court. A Descriptive Catalogue of Drawings for Scenery and Costumes mainly in the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K. G. with Introduction and Notes by —*. Printed for the Walpole and Malone Societies. Oxford University Press, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., Sept. 25, 1924, p. 591; by W. W. Greg in Library, V. (Dec., 1924), pp. 280-2; by Hamilton Bell in LR., Dec. 20, 1924, p. 7.

This magnificent work—made possible by the liberality of the Duke of Devonshire, the industry of the editors, the commendable policy of the Malone and Walpole Societies, and the skill of the Oxford Press—richly deserves the praise it is receiving from students, for it not only throws considerable new light upon the methods of Inigo Jones and the nature of the seventeenth century masque but makes accessible to scholars a reliable mass of material which is sure to lead to further study of court entertainments of the Elizabethan period.

Following the brief but helpful introductory remarks on the methods of staging masques, the history and style of the Jones drawings in possession of the Duke of Devonshire, and Jones's indebtedness to Italy, the invaluable "Catalogue of Drawings" lists and discusses nearly five hundred separate designs, most of which were prepared in connection with court entertainments. Of these some eighty-five are beautifully reproduced on fifty-two plates; and the value of the book is further enhanced by eight illustrations in the text. Surely such a wealth of illustrations should satisfy an ordinary person, but students of early drama will regret—as the editors no doubt regretted—that more of the designs could not have been reproduced. No doubt the editors had good reasons for their choice, but personally I do not see why they should have failed to include such interesting drawings as Nos. 241, 242, 257, and 361-4. Perhaps the chief impressions left by an examination of the material collected by Messrs. Simpson and Bell are that Jones made most extensive use of the work of Italians and that those whose business it was to provide amusement for the Stuart court took surprising pains in matters of detail.

Sisson, Charles J. *Le Goût Public et le Théâtre Elizabéthain*. Dijon, 1923.

Rev. by Bernhard Fehr in *Beiblatt*, xxxv, 16-20.

Smith, G. C. Moore. *Aurelian Townsend*. LTS., Oct., 23, 1924, p. 667.

Smith, G. C. Moore. *The Academic Drama at Cambridge: Extracts from College Records*. Malone Society Collections, II, 2 (1924), 150-230.

Stopes, Charlotte Carmichael. *Mr. W. J. Lawrence and Peter Cunningham*. MLR., xix, 340-3.

Sykes, H. Dugdale. *John Ford, the Author of 'The Spanish Gipsy.'* MLR., xix, 11-24.

Sykes, H. Dugdale. *Peele's Borrowings from Du Bartas*. N & Q., Vol. 147, pp. 349-351; 368-9.

Sykes, H. Dugdale. *The Authorship of 'A Knack to Know a Knave.'* N & Q., Vol. 146, No. 48, pp. 389-91; 410-12.

Argument that Peele is substantially the author.

Sykes, H. Dugdale. *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama. A Series of Studies Dealing with the Authorship of Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Plays*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.

Ten studies, nine of which have already appeared in periodicals, attempting to settle problems of authorship on basis of style, meter, and phraseology. The essay that is new argues that Webster, rather than Heywood, wrote *Appius and Virginia*.

Symons, Arthur. A Note on the Genius of Marlowe. *English Review*, xxxvi (Apr., 1923), 306-16.

Thaler, Alwin. *Thomas Heywood, D'Avenant, and the Siege of Rhodes*. *PMLA*, xxxix, 624-41.

A not particularly convincing argument that *The Fair Maid of the West* is "more or less at the bottom of *The Siege*".

Tiddy, R. J. E. *The Mummer's Play*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Pp. 257.

Posthumous work edited by Rupert Thompson. Fragmentary but contains interesting matter. Cf. especially Chaps. II, III, IV for Elizabethan material.

Wehrl, H. *A Merye Playe bothe Pytty and Pleasaunt of Albyon knyghte*. Erlangen Diss. (MS.), 1923.

Welsford, Enid. *Inigo Jones and the Italian Intermedio*. *LTS.*, Nov. 6, 1924, p. 709.

Whanslaw, H. W. *The Bankside Stage Book*. Darton: Wells Gardner, 1924.

Instructions for staging plays in Elizabethan manner.

Witherspoon, Alexander Maclaren. *The Influence of Robert Garnier on Elizabethan Drama*. *Yale Studies in English*, LXV. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924. Pp. vi, 192.

Rev. in *LTS.*, Sept. 18, 1924, p. 568.

In his doctoral dissertation the author has worked out carefully an interesting but somewhat neglected side of Elizabethan drama. Following the brief but helpful introductory chapter on Garnier's life and works is a valuable discussion of the relations between Seneca and the French dramatist, in which Dr. Witherspoon makes it clear that heretofore the influence of Seneca has been considerably misunderstood. The third chapter sets forth clearly those characteristics of Garnier which especially appealed to Lady Pembroke and her circle—Dyer, Fulke Grevill, Daniel, Fraunce and others—in their attempt to improve English drama. Here and elsewhere, I believe, the author has somewhat exaggerated the conscious reform motive of this circle as well as the increased "feminine" quality in late sixteenth century drama, but this latter thesis is at least an interesting one. More detailed is the long chapter setting forth the number and general nature of the translations and imitations of Garnier, with especial reference to the Frenchman's influence on the form, style, and diction of English drama. A final chapter presents briefly the reasons why the movement initiated by Lady Pembroke and her circle inevitably failed and Garnier exerted no lasting or important influence on English tragedy.

The dissertation is clear, well organized, and, on the whole, gives the impression of being a task well done.

Withington, Robert. "*F. S.*" in '*Knight of the Burning Pestle.*' N & Q., Vol. 146, p. 376.

Suggestion that "*F. S.*" misprint for "*L. S.*" (*locus sigilli*), put on documents to indicate place of seal. But see the replies of G. A. Anderson, *ibid.*, p. 419 and G. C. Moore Smith, *ibid.*, p. 474.

III. SHAKSPERE.

Adams, Joseph Quincy. *A Life of William Shakespeare.* New York, 1923.

Rev. by Bernhard Fehr in *Beiblatt*, xxxv, 72-6; by Harold N. Hillebrand in *JEGP*, xxii, 594-99; by Alwin Thaler in *Univ. of California Chronicle*, xxvi (July, 1924), 373-8; by Tucker Brooks in *Yale Review*, April, 1924 pp.604-9; by Thomas P. Harrison in *North Carolina Historical Review*, July, 1924, pp. 317-21.

Alden, Raymond Macdonald. *Shakespeare.* New York, 1922.

Rev. by C. Centre in *Rev. Ang.*, Aug. 1924, p. 537.

Alden, Raymond Macdonald. *The Punctuation of Shakespeare's Printers.* PMLA., xxxix, 557-80.

A timely and very effective protest against the use being made by certain writers of the recent "discoveries" regarding Elizabethan punctuation.

Alexander, P. "*II Henry VI.*" and the Copy for "*The Contention*" (1594). *LTS.*, Oct. 9, 1924, pp. 629-30.

Argument that greater part of *Contention* derived from reports supplied by two actors of rôles in *2 Henry VI*, through a fragmentary transcript of latter production was used in printing *Contention*.

Alexander, P. "*3 Henry VI*" and "*Richard, Duke of York.*" *LTS.*, Nov. 13, 1924, p. 730.

Argument that latter production is a debased version of Shakspeare's play.

Ashbaugh, S. S. *Shakespearean Problems.* Shakespeare Ass'n. Bulletin, Vol. i, No. 1, pp. 12-15.

Writer believes, among other things, that the MS. which Collier claimed to have found in Ellesmere Library and printed in *New Facts* (1835)—the 1589 list of sharers in Blackfriars—not a forgery; hence Shakspeare from beginning a member of the Burbage company instead of Pembroke's (recent view of Adams and others).

Bailey, John. *The Continuity of Letters*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923.

Contains section on Shakspeare's histories.

Baker, H. P. *A New View and Life of Shakespears*. London: Danegeld House, 1924.

Bald, R. C. *Shakespeare and Daniel*. LTS., Nov. 20, 1924, p. 776.

Baldwin, T. W. *Shakespeare's Jester: The Dates of Much Ado and As You Like It*. MLN., XXXIX, 447-55.

The jester is Armin, who joined Shakspeare's company in 1600; *AYLI* written between March and Aug., 1600, *Much Ado* acted between late summer of 1598 and winter of 1598/9.

Barker, H. Granville (ed.). *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The Players' Shakespeare. London: Ernest Benn, 1924.

Bayfield, M. A. *A Study of Shakespeare's Versification*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1920.

Rev. by Richard Ackermann in *Literaturblatt*, XLV, 119-20.

Berger, Arnold E. *Zur Technik des "Hamlet."* Shakespeare Jahrbuch, N. F., I, 109-22.

Bourgeois, B. A. F. *A Performance of 'Titus Andronicus' at Amsterdam in December, 1645*. N & Q., Vol. 147, No. 1, p. 7.

Bradford, Gamaliel. *The De-Idolization of Shakespeare*. NYT. Magazine, Jan. 20, 1924, pp. 4-5.

Brandes, Georg. *William Shakespeare: A Critical Study*. New York: Macmillan, 1924. Pp. xii, 721.

Rev. by Stanton A. Coblentz in LR., July 5, 1924, p. 869.

That this reissue of a book which was originally written more than a quarter of a century ago should appear at the present time is an occurrence of some interest; for, in addition to attesting the exceptional literary quality of Professor Brandes's production, it likewise indicates, perhaps, that, in spite of what modern scholarship can do to determine the facts about Shakspeare and the Elizabethan drama in general, the ordinary student prefers a pleasant account of what might have been to a more reliable but less poetic version of what probably was. There is possibly another reason for the reissue of Professor Brandes's well-known book. When it originally appeared, the volume was frankly directed at "a wretched group of dilettanti" in America and Europe who were so impudent as to deny Shakspeare "the right to his own life-work, to give to another the honour due to

his genius, and to bespatter him and his invulnerable name with an insane abuse which has re-echoed through every land". To these insults of the Baconians the eminent Dane replied by establishing at great length the personality of Shakspeare, who, he contended, "is not thirty-six plays and a few poems jumbled together and read pélemêle, but a man who felt and thought, rejoiced and suffered, brooded, dreamed, and created."

Can it be that the reissue of perhaps the most brilliant of the so-called studies of the Master's personality is, like the vigorous attempt to prove his hand in *Sir Thomas More*, a part of the crusade now being waged against that motley horde of skeptics somewhat loosely designated anti-Stratfordians? If so, then somebody has made a mistake in tactics, for it is such imaginative volumes as the one under discussion which have been, to a considerable extent, responsible for the skepticism that has recently made such a noise in the land. And no matter what motives prompted the publishers to supply the general public with more copies of Professor Brandes's study, it is unfortunate that the world was not honored with an edition which at least condescended to remove the flagrant errors of fact in the original. Even an imaginative work, for example, should hesitate to affirm that Marlowe broke his leg during a certain lewd scene on the Curtain stage, or to pronounce, in view of the activity of numerous males in less barbarous lands, that feminine criticism with its "lack of artistic nerve," whatever that may be, and "Americanism" with "its lack of spiritual delicacy" have "declared war to the knife against Shakespeare's personality." It is such platform-piffle as this which makes one look with some tolerance upon the anti-Stratfordians.

Bridge, Sir Frederick. *Shakespearean Music in the Plays and Early Operas*. New York, 1923.

Rev. by Edward Bliss Reed in LR., Feb. 9, 1924, p. 508.

Brock, H. I. *Cleopatra and the Make-Believers*. NYT Magazine, Feb. 24, 1924, p. 4.

Brooke, Tucker (ed.). *Coriolanus*. Yale Shakespeare. Yale University Press, 1924.

Bundy, Murray W. *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Psychology*. JEGP., XXIII, 516-49.

Calina, Josephine (Mrs. Allardyce Nicoll). *Shakespeare in Poland*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1923.

Rev. by L. Masing in Beiblatt, XXXV, 197-203.

Carroll, Sydney W. *Some Dramatic Opinions*. London: F. V. White, 1924.

Contains Shaksperian material.

Case, R. H. "*Much Ado*," V. 1, 16. LTS., May 1, 1924, p. 268.

"And sorrow wagge" (l. 16) = if sorrow wag (i. e., stir or move).

Chambers, E. K. *The Disintegration of Shakespeare*. British Academy. Annual Shakespeare Lecture. London: Milford, 1924.

Rev. in N & Q, Vol. 147, p. 237; in LTS., Sept. 11, 1924, p. 552.

A vigorous and stimulating objection to the methods of such scholars as Messrs. J. M. Robertson and Dover Wilson in their attempts to prove an abundance of non-Shaksperian matter in the plays printed in the First Folio.

Chambrun, Longworth. *La vogue de Shakespeare au grand siècle*. Revue hebdomadaire, July 26, 1924.

Chapman, Paul M. "*Much Ado*." *Beatrice's Speech* (II. i, 258). LTS., May 29, 1924, p. 340.

Churston, H. *A Bacon Mystification Revived*. Month, Nov., 1923.

Connes, Georges. *Une difficulté d'une des méthodes antistratfordiennes*. Rev. Ang. Am., Aug., 1924, pp. 529-31.

Crawford, A. W. *The Apparitions in Macbeth*. MLN., xxxix, 345-50; 383-87.

Cunningham, Henry. *Timon: an Emendation*. LTS., March 13, 1924, p. 160.

Cunningham, Henry. "*That is, hot ice, and wondrous strange snow*." LTS., June 12, 1924, pp. 371-2.

Would emend "strange" to "stranger" in *MND.*, v, i, 59.

Comment: A. H. F. S., *ibid.*, June 19, p. 388; Cunningham, *ibid.*, June 26, p. 404; B. A. P. Van Dam, *ibid.*, July 3, p. 420.

Cunningham, Henry. "*Measure for Measure*" (I, i, 8). LTS., Oct. 23, 1924, p. 668.

Comment by Francis E. Terry, *ibid.*, Oct. 30, 1924, p. 686.

Danchin, F. C. *Un autographe de Shakespeare*. Rev. Ang. Am., Feb., 1924, pp. 237-39.

Davies, Charles Llewelyn. *Shakespeare's Sonnets*. LTS., Dec. 25, 1924, p. 885.

Dawson, W. F. "*Pioned and Twilled Brims*." LTS., Sept. 18, 1924, p. 577.

Explains thus passage in *Tempest*: "'Pioned' means dug and regularly sloped like a glacier, and suggests the resemblance to the carefully dug slopes of a military work. 'Twilled' means plaited like

a hurdle. The 'brim' is the brim of the local 'Liris,' in this case the Avon."

Dean, John Candee. *The Astronomy of Shakespeare*. Scientific Monthly, Oct., 1924.

Dean of Winchester. *Fifty Years of Shakespeare on the Stage*. I. *The Comedies*; II. *The Histories*. Cornhill Magazine, Nov., 1924, 623-38, Dec., 1924, 753-66.

De Groot, H. *Hamlet: its Textual History*. Amsterdam, 1923.

Rev. by W. W. Greg in MLR., xix, 228-30; by A. W. Pollard in English Studies, vi, No. I (Feb., 1924); by Bernhard Fehr in Beiblatt, xxxv, 141-45.

Derocquigny, J. *Le prétendu cryptogramme de Bacon est un faux*. Rev. Ang. Am., Feb., 1924, pp. 235-6.

Derocquigny, J. *Shakespeare et Belleforest*. Rev. Ang. Am., Aug. 1924, pp. 526-7.

Dixon, W. Macneile. *Tragedy*. London: Arnold, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., Dec. 4, 1924, p. 819.
Contains criticism of Shakspera.

Dumesnil, R. *A Propos d'un Centenaire Shakespearien*. Bulletin du Bibliophile, 1923, pp. 320-330.

Ege, Karl. *Shakespeare's Anteil an Henry VIII*. Diss. Münster, 1924.

Ege, Karl. *Der Anteil Shakespeares an "The Two Noble Kinsmen"*. Shakespeare Jahrbuch, N. F., I, 62-85.

Roughly, on the basis of stylistic evidence, author assigns to Shakspeare: I; II, i, ii; III, i, ii; IV, iii; V, i, iii, iv; Fletcher writing rest of play.

Elton, Oliver. *A Sheaf of Papers*. Boston: Small, Maynard, 1924.

Contains an essay on Hamlet.

Fagus. *Essai sur Shakespeare*. Amiens: Mafère, 1923. Pp. 225.

Faure, Elie. *Shakespeare*. La Grande Revue. Oct.-Dec., 1923; Jan., 1924.

Fehr, Bernhard. Reviews of recent literature on *Hamlet*. Beiblatt, xxxv, 1-16.

Finney, Claude L. *Shakespeare and Keats's Hyperion*. PQ., III, 139-58.

Forrest, H. T. S. *The Five Authors of "Shake-speare's Sonnets."*
London: Chapman & Dodd, 1924.

View that the pirated 1609 edition of the *Sonnets* is the re-arranged contributions of five poets writing in competition at the patron's command. These poets are Shakspeare, Barnabe Barnes, Warner, Donne, and Daniel.

Förster, Max. *Die kymrischen Einlagen bei Shakespeare.* Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, xiii (Nov.-Dec.); 349-64.

Interesting addition to the large amount of recent literature dealing with Elizabethan Welsh.

Förster, Max. *Zum Jubiläum des Shakespeare-Folio.* Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde, N. S., xv, No. 5-6; xvi (1924), No. 3.

Fort, J. A. *The Two Dated Sonnets of Shakespeare.* Oxford University Press, 1924.

Fort, J. A. *Love's Labour's Lost.* LTS., Aug. 21, 1924, p. 513.

Cf. C. H. Herford and J. Dover Wilson, *ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1924, p. 525 and Fort's reply, *ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1924, p. 540.

Franz, W. *Shakespeare-Grammatik.* Third Edition. Heidelberg: Winter, 1924.

Fripp, Edgar I. *Master Richard Quyny, Bailiff of Stratford-on-Avon and Friend of William Shakespeare.* Oxford University Press, 1924.

Rev. in N & Q., Vol. 147, p. 255.

Fripp, Edgar I. and Savage, Richard. *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon. Vol. II (1566-1577).* Transcribed by Richard Savage, with an Introduction and Notes by Edgar I. Fripp. Pub. for the Dugdale Society. London: Milford, 1924.

Rev. in N & Q., 147, p. 255; in LTS., Oct. 2, 1924, p. 611.

Gordon, George. *Shakspeare a "Vile Nomen."* LTS., Jan. 10, 1924, p. 23.

Cf. *ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1924, p. 40 and Mrs. C. C. Stopes, *ibid.*, Jan. 24, 1924, p. 53.

Gordon, George. *Diana in the Fountain.* LTS., Nov. 13, 1924, p. 731.

Note on *AYLI.*, IV, i.

Gray, Austin K. *The Secret of Love's Labour's Lost*. PMLA, xxxix, 581-611.

The writer calls his article "a working hypothesis" in "narrative form." It is a clever bit of imaginative writing setting forth in considerable detail everything that took place on the occasion of the initial performance of Shakspeare's production in the park of Titchfield House on Sept. 2, 1591.

Green, Alexander. *A Shakespeare Find*. LR., Dec. 13, 1924, p. 9.

Sensible comment on Sir George Greenwood's *The Shakespeare Signatures* and "*Sir Thomas More*" and *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of "Sir Thomas More,"* edited by Professor Pollard and Mr. Wilson.

Greenwood, Sir George. *The Stratford Bust of Shakespeare*. LTS., Aug. 7, 1924, p. 489.

Discussion: Wm. A. Shaw, *ibid.*, Aug. 28, p. 525; *ibid.*, Sept. 18, p. 577; *ibid.*, Sept. 25, p. 596; Sir George Greenwood, *ibid.*, Sept. 4, p. 540; *ibid.*, Sept. 25, p. 596; M. H. Spielmann, *ibid.*, Sept. 18, p. 577.

Greenwood, Sir George. *The Shakspeare Signatures and "Sir Thomas More."* London: Cecil Palmer, 1924. Pp. xvii, 112.

Rev. in LTS., Oct. 30, 1924, p. 682. Cf. reply of Sir George, *ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1924, p. 710.

In the preface to *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More* (1923) Professor Pollard wrote that searching criticism of the little book on the part of the anti-Stratfordians was to be expected, since, if Shakespeare wrote the so-called "Addition D" to *Sir Thomas More*, "the discrepant theories which unite in regarding the 'Stratford man' as a mere mask concealing the activity of some noble lord . . . come crashing to the ground." That was an unfortunate sentence, not only because it implied that the anti-Stratfordians are far more formidable than their combined arguments would ever lead one to suspect who has witnessed the present combat from a safe distance, but also because it hinted at the somewhat unchristian desire to silence a harmless group of bookmakers, one of whom is an exceptionally pleasant writer and a debater of no mean talent. This one is, of course, Sir George Greenwood, who was quick to take advantage of Professor Pollard's invitation to argue the existence of Shakspeare on the basis of such treacherous and uncertain evidence as that contained in the signatures and the three-page "addition" to *Sir Thomas More*. In his present book, evidently written with much enjoyment, Sir George confines himself almost entirely to the matter of paleography; and while he admits that he is not a trained paleographer, he demonstrates very forcibly that he is a clever lawyer. And while sometimes he is obviously just debating and occasionally descends to some rather

questionable devices of the court-room, it must be admitted that he has discovered and fully exploited the real weaknesses in Sir E. Maunde Thompson's theory that the same hand which wrote the six Shakspeare signatures also wrote the three pages contained in the manuscript of *Sir Thomas More*. Those who have been swept off their feet by the claims of over-enthusiastic advocates of the "new bibliography" would do well to read carefully Sir George's book.

Griston, Harris Jay. *Shaking the Dust from Shakespeare. An Authentic Renovation of The Merchant of Venice. With a Preface by Daniel A. Huebsch, Ph. D. Second Edition.* New York: Cosmopolis Press, 1924. Pp. xxxix, 342.

Briefly, Mr. Griston's "renovation" is the insistence that for over two hundred years scholars and actors alike have misinterpreted Shakspeare's play, which, instead of having a Renaissance setting, is really one of the Roman plays. In other words, the legal background and general atmosphere of the play is that of the second decade of the fourth century when the blood bond and the complexities resulting from it could have legally and naturally taken place. In such an atmosphere, Mr. Griston insists, Antonio and Shylock become real human beings, and the play, instead of being impossible and inconsistent, is a masterpiece of dramatic structure. In addition to this main argument, the book contains numerous appendices, the most interesting of which are those dealing with famous Shylocks, the time analysis of the play, and the presence of Jews in England during the Elizabethan period.

I suspect that few critics will admit that Mr. Griston has given us the "Jew that Shakespeare drew"; his book, however, is worth serious consideration, not only because it makes it highly probable that the story of the blood bond had a Roman origin, but because it will help us to get away from the traditional view of the play, which, like a good many other traditional views, has arisen in consequence of human conceit and Shakspeare's vagueness. Unfortunately, many of the typographical errors that detracted from the first edition of Mr. Griston's book survive in the present edition, a few of which are rather serious, as, for example, the calling of Burbage a "comedian" (p. 260).

Haines, C. R. *Timon: And Other Emendations.* LTS., March 6, 1924, p. 144.

Haines, C. R. *Shakespeare Allusions.* LTS., June 5, 1924, p. 356.

Halpérine-Kaminsky, E. *Tolstoï contre Shakespeare.* Rev. hebdomadaire, June 21, 1924.

Hamlet: *The Story of Hamlet and Horatio.* London: Selwyn and Blount, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., Nov. 20, 1924, p. 756.

This is announced as "a new and original study of the probable authorship of *Hamlet*." It is. *Hamlet* is Bacon, the author of the play, Horatio is Shakspeare, Fortinbras is King James I, etc., etc. in detail through some seven hundred pages.

Harris, Mary Dormer. *Unknown Warwickshire*. London: John Lane, 1924.

Contains matter on Shakspeare.

Harrison, G. B. *Macbeth V.*, v., 1. LTS., Jan. 10, 1924, p. 24.

Harrison, G. B. (ed.). *The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke. By William Shakespeare*. Bodley Head Quartos. London: John Lane, 1924.

Reprint of Q 1. Suggests Q 1 a bad version of *Ur-Hamlet* partially revised by Shakspeare and cut for performance. Set up from a shorthand version by a reporter who used actor's written parts of Marcellus and Voltemar.

Hartmann, Georg. *Die Bühnengesten in Shakespeare's Dramen als Ausdruck von Gemütsbewegungen*. Shakespeare Jahrbuch, N. F., I, 41-61.

An interesting attempt, on basis of stage directions and textual evidence, to determine the nature and significance of facial play, gesture, etc., in Elizabethan drama. Emphasizes the influence of traditional acting and liberal amount of stage business called for in Shakspeare's plays.

Hemingway, S. B. (ed.). *The Tragedy of Cymbeline*. Yale University Press, 1924.

Hevesi, A. *Shakespeare sur la scène hongroise*. Revue de Hongrie, Jan. 15, 1924.

Hjort, Grethe. *Scilens*. London Mercury, Nov., 1924, pp. 80-1.

Cf. reply of J. Dover Wilson, *ibid.*, Dec., 1924, p. 187.

Hubbard, F. G. (ed.). *The First Quarto Edition of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet*. University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, 1924.

Irwin, Inez Haynes. *The Spring Flight*. McCall's, June, 1924.

An interesting example for scholarly perusal of how a publisher will pay cash for the veriest drivel, provided it drags in a bit of scandal about Shakspeare's intimacy with Mrs. Davenant or some other much abused female.

Jenkins, Herbert M. *Sir Thomas Cawarden and Shakespeare*. N & Q., Vol. 146, No. 31, p. 80.

Jones, Sir Henry. *Essays on Literature and Education*. Edited by H. J. W. Hetherington. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1924.

Contains an essay on "The Ethical Idea in Shakespeare."

Jusserand, J. J. *The School for Ambassadors, and Other Essays*. London: Fisher Unwin, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., Nov. 27, 1924, p. 793.

Contains three essays on Shakspeare.

Kaufman, Paul. *Outline Guide to Shakespeare*. New York: Century Co., 1924.

Not particularly helpful.

Keller, Wolfgang. *Shakespeare und Shakspere*. Der Türmer, Jg. 25 (July, 1923), pp. 688 ff.

Keller, Wolfgang. *Shakespeare, Ben Jonson und die Folio von 1623*. *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, N. F., 1, 123-29.

Suggestion that Jonson incited Shakspeare to print a complete edition of his own "works," the latter's wish being carried out by the editors of the First Folio.

Kellett, E. E. *Suggestions. Literary Essays*. Cambridge University Press, 1923. Pp. 212.

Following essays on Shakspeare: "Shakspeare's Amazons," "Some Medievalisms in Shakspeare," "Shakspeare as a Borrower," "Some Notes on a Feature in Shakspeare's Style," "Shakspeare's Children," "Shakspeare and Marriage." Point of view is possibly a bit too "modern," but discussions are stimulating.

Kenyon, Sir F. G. *The Handwriting of Shakespeare*. Discovery, March, 1924; Living Age for May 31, 1924.

Kingsland, Gertrude Southwick. *The First Quarto of Hamlet in the Light of the Stage*. Oshkosh: Castle-Pierce, 1924.

Kraner, Werner. *Die Entstehung der ersten Quarto von Shakespeares "Heinrich V."* Leipzig: Deutsches Buchmuseum, 1924. Pp. iv, 36.

Krappe, Alexander Haggerty. *A Byzantine Source of Shakespeare's Othello*. MLN., xxxix, 156-61.

Kühl, Paul. *Das Verhältnis von Shakespeares "Richard II" zu Marlowe's "Edward II."* Dissertation (8 page summary). Greifswald, 1923.

Kühnemund, R. *Die Rolle des Zufalls in Shakespeares Meister-*

tragödien. Studien zur Eng. Philologie, LXVII. Halle: Niemeyer, 1923.

Langenfelt, G. and Logeman, H. "*Danskers in Paris*" (*Hamlet*, II, i, 7). *English Studies*, VI, 1 (Feb., 1924).

Law, Ernest. *Shakespeare's Garden, Stratford-on-Avon*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1924.

Reprint of 1922 edition.

Lawrence, W. J. *The Ghost in 'Hamlet.'* *Nineteenth Century*, xcv (March), 370-7.

A sensible protest against the modern tendency to "rationalize" the ghost.

Lawrence, W. J. *The Pictures in "Hamlet."* *Solution of a Puzzling Problem*. *Dublin Magazine*, June, 1924, pp. 955-9.

Interesting argument that in Elizabethan theater two large paintings concealed by curtains hung close together on the walls of the Queen's chamber, Hamlet unveiling the pictures as he spoke his much discussed lines.

Lawrence, W. J. *The Shakespearean Fallacy of the Hour*. *New Statesman*, Sept. 20, 1924, pp. 674-5.

Sane protest against fad of acting Elizabethan plays without act intermission.

Lawrence, W. J. *Shakespeare's Lost Characters*. *Dublin Review*, Feb., 1924.

Reprinted in *Living Age*, March 22, 1924, pp. 579-81.

Disappearance of the "cousin Ferdinand" of *Taming of Shrew*, Antonio's son in *Tempest*, the silence of Antenor in *Troilus and Cressida* and Imogen in quarto ed. of *Much Ado*, etc. accounted for on basis of tinkering by later revisers of Shakspeare.

Lawrence, W. J. *Shakespeare on Masks*. *Irish Statesman*, Dec. 20, 1924.

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Lloyd, Bertram. '*Scamels*' in '*The Tempest*.' *MLR.*, XIX, 102-3.

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- Review of the editions of the play by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Mr. J. Dover Wilson and by Mr. H. Granville Barker.
- Morgan, A. E. *Some Problems of Shakespeare's "Henry the Fourth."* Shakespeare Association. Oxford University Press; London: Milford, 1924.
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Pleadwell, Frank Lester. *Shakespeare's Signature*. *Saturday Review of Literature*, Sept. 20, 1924, p. 134.

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Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur and Wilson, John Dover (eds.). *Much Ado about Nothing; Love's Labour's Lost*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1923.

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Robertson, J. M. *The Shakespeare Canon. Parts I and II*. London, 1922-3.

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Robertson, J. M. *An Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon Proceeding on the Problem of "Titus Andronicus."* London: Routledge; New York: Dutton & Co., 1924. Pp. viii, 494.

This is a considerably expanded edition of the same author's well-known *Did Shakespeare Write Titus Andronicus?* which appeared in 1905. As indicated by the title, the present volume is much more than an attempt to settle the vexed problem of who wrote *Titus Andronicus*, for Mr. Robertson concerns himself at considerable detail in discussing the authorship of many of the plays that have been connected particularly with Marlowe, Green, Peele, Lodge and Kyd. Relying primarily upon internal evidence so-called, the writer concludes, roughly, that *Titus* was largely written by Peele, while Greene and Kyd were responsible for much of what remains, with Marlowe contributing a smaller share. While believing that Shakspeare's part in the performance was somewhat more appreciable than he thought in 1905, Mr. Robertson is inclined to think that Shakspeare's work was confined to a rather careless revision "limited to trimming the speeches, eliding the feeblest matter, 'toning up' in respect of continuity, and making the lines scan."

There are few scholars, I predict, who will accept a good many of Mr. Robertson's conclusions; but there is no doubt that his book is

the most exhaustive and valuable contribution that has yet been made to the *Titus* problem. Furthermore it is a book that should be studied carefully by every student who contemplates working with the multitudinous puzzles of Elizabethan authorship. To one who has read thousands of pages in a conscientious attempt to keep himself informed on the Marlowe, Shakspeare and other canons, it is obvious that so far the attempt to arrive at anything like satisfactory results by the application of so-called tests of vocabulary, meter, style, etc. has most ingloriously failed. Many of the reasons for this failure are set forth by Mr. Robertson, who is at his best in destructive criticism of the methods of other investigators. It is to be hoped that the more "scientific" criticism toward which the author is trying to direct us will obtain results sufficiently consistent to allay the growing feeling that so-called internal evidence usually leads to a conclusion compatible with the temperament and prejudices of its user.

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Savage, F. G. *The Flora and Folk Lore of Shakespeare*. London, 1923.

Rev. by R. Pruvost in Rev. Ang. Am., Feb., 1924, pp. 247-9.

Schaefer, Elisabeth. *Zur Datierung von Shakespeare's "All's Well that Ends Well."* Shakespeare Jahrbuch, N. F., I, 86-108.

Argument that play originated in early seventeenth century; hence not the reworking of an earlier production.

Schücking, Levin L. *The Fairy Scene in 'The Merry Wives' in Folio and Quarto*. MLR., XIX, 338-40.

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Shackford, Martha Hale. *Shakespeare and Greene's Orlando Furioso*. MLN., XXXIX, 54-6.

Shakespeare's "Love's Labour's Lost." Newly printed from the Folio of 1623. The Players' Shakespeare. London: Benn, 1924.

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Snider, Denton Jaques. *The Redemption of the Hamlets (Son and Father). A Drama in Two Parts*. St. Louis: William Harvey Miner Co., 1923.

An interesting example of how very remarkable critical ideas may be expressed in blank verse. Hamlet, Jr., obsessed with the idea that

he is not his father's son, recovers from the notion that all women are bad; Hamlet, Sr., gives up the notion that the world should be bathed in blood.

Somès, Armand. *Le songe d'une nuit de la mi-été. Essai d'interprétation de W. Shakespeare*. Paris: De Boccard, 1923. Pp. 127.

Southam, Herbert. *Shakespeariana*. N & Q., Vol. 147, pp. 188-9. Comment by George Egerton, *ibid.*, p. 244; by Herbert Southam, *ibid.*, p. 334.

Spielmann, M. H. *The Title-page of the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays: A Comparative Study of the Droeshout Portrait and the Stratford Monument*. London: Milford, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., June 5, 1924, p. 351; in N & Q., Vol. 147, pp. 17-18.

Steinitzer, Alfred. *Shakespeares Königsdramen: Geschichtliche Einführung*. Munich, 1922.

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Stopes, Charlotte C. *In Defence of Dugdale*. LTS., June 12, 1924, p. 372.

Stokes, Francis Griffin. *A Dictionary of the Characters and the Proper Names in the Works of Shakespeare: With Notes on the Sources and Dates of the Plays and Poems*. London: Harrap; New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1924.

Stoll, Elmer Edgar. *Othello. An Historical and Comparative Study*. Minneapolis, 1915.

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Straus, Henrietta. *Clemence Dane and Shakespeare*. NYT Magazine, Jan. 27, 1924, p. 6.

Sydenham of Combe, Lord and Shepheard-Walwyn, H. W. *The "Shakespeare" Myth*. English Review, Aug., 1924, pp. 221-29.

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Vigorous criticism of the recent Barrymore performance.

Taylor, Pauline. *Birnam Wood: 700 A. D.—1600 A. D.* MLN., xxxix, 244-47.

Thorn-Drury, G. *More Seventeenth Century Allusions to Shake-*

peare and his Works not Hitherto Collected. London: P. J. and A. E. Dobell, 1924.

More than a hundred allusions (1644-1700) supplementing the same author's *Some Seventeenth Century Allusions to Shakespeare* (1920).

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Tilley, M. P. *Pun and Proverb as Aids to Unexplained Shakespearean Jest.* SP., XXI, 492-5.

Townsend, C. L. *The Foes of Shakespeare.* Publications of Southwestern Presbyterian University, II, 2 (1924).

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Tregaskis, James. *Shakespeare Allusions.* LTS., June 5, 1924, p. 356.

Trenery, Grace R (ed.). *Much Ado about Nothing.* Arden Shakespeare. London: Methuen, 1924.

Tucker, T. G (ed.). *The Sonnets of Shakespeare. Edited from the Quarto of 1609, with Introduction and Commentary by* ———. Cambridge University Press, 1924.

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Turnbull, Monica Peveril. *Essays—Hamlet, Macbeth, The Fool in Lear, Iago.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1924.

Originally appeared in author's *A Short Day's Work* (1902).

Van Dam, B. A. P. *The Text of Shakespeare's Hamlet.* London: John Lane, 1924. Pp. vii, 380.

Rev. in LTS., Sept. 25, 1924, p. 592. Cf. reply of Van Dam, *ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1924, p. 631.

Of the numerous treatises on the text of *Hamlet* which have recently appeared Dr. Van Dam's is the most pretentious, for it is an imposing volume of nearly four hundred large pages revealing an almost incredible amount of work. In spite of its length, however, and the technical nature of the subject, the book is frequently interesting and always thought-provoking.

Briefly, Dr. Van Dam contends that the "stolne and surreptitious quarto of 1603 was taken down in shorthand at a performance and hence is by no means a carelessly printed version of a play originally composed by Kyd and partly remodeled by Shakspeare. The large number of corruptions in the text he would partly explain by the carelessness or incompetency of stenographer and printer, but he

attributes most of them—and here he departs from the theories of earlier scholars—to the *lapsus linguae*, transpositions, and improvisations of the actors. In other words, the actors are responsible for most of the redundancies, faulty meter, contradictions and inconsistencies to be found in the text of *Hamlet*. The Second Quarto (1604), he holds, was probably printed from Shakespeare's autograph, employed as prompt-copy, the printer sometimes consulting the text of the First Quarto (1603) on account of the difficulties to be met in deciphering Shakespeare's handwriting. At this point it may be remarked that it seems hardly probable that Shakespeare's autograph, provided it caused the type-setter so much trouble, would have been employed by sensible persons to serve as prompt-copy. Surely the Shakespeare-autograph supposition has been worked rather hard of late. A considerable part of the Folio text, Dr. Van Dam believes, is a reprint of Q 2, the other portion being "printed and 'corrected' from a prompt-copy." The whole text was "modernized in Jaggard's printing office, and finally once more 'corrected' according to the guesses of Heminge and Condell." From such a remark it is apparent that Dr. Van Dam thinks the Q 2 text should serve as the basis for any edition of the play which attempts to determine what Shakespeare actually wrote; hence in his edition he reprints the Second Quarto with certain changes, the most interesting one being the printing in thick type of all interpolations by the actors.

In determining these interpolations Dr. Van Dam places much emphasis on prosody. It is at this point that many scholars will refuse to follow his lead; for he argues that Shakespeare and his contemporaries wrote only heroic lines. Many of the lines which appear to be irregular to modern ears, he explains, are really not irregular when pronounced in the Elizabethan fashion. Incomplete and extra syllable lines he regards as evidence of contamination by printer or actor. Such a method is, of course, dangerous and mechanical; and Dr. Van Dam, in spite of his great learning and industry, has not proved his theory.

Scattered through the work are numerous stimulating passages dealing with problems that have often been discussed, for example, his "correcting" "sleaded pollax" to "dreaded pollax" (p. 141), his emending the much discussed "too too solid flesh" (Q2 = "sallied") to "too too sallied (= assailed) flesh" (p. 148); his extremely plausible explanation (pp. 364-5) of *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 536-49; his exceptionally sane comments (pp. 164 ff.) on Mr. Percy Simpson's conjectures regarding Shaksperian punctuation; and his argument (pp. 369-71) that the so-called Addition D to *Sir Thomas More*, instead of being in the autograph of Shakespeare, is actually a "slovenly transcript." Dr. Van Dam is a daring and independent thinker who must not be followed too readily; he is also a scholar who has produced a book which must be carefully studied by any one who hereafter undertakes to do serious things with *Hamlet*.

Verdyš, Vl. *Introductory Chapter to a Study of the comic and the pathetic in Shakespeare's Comedies*. Studies in English by Members of the English Seminar of the Charles University of Prague. I. Prague: F. Rivnáce, 1924.

Wales, Julia Grace. *Character and Action in Shakespeare: A Consideration of Some Skeptical Views*. Studies by Members of Dept. of English, Univ. of Wisconsin, No. 18 (1923), pp. 118-145.

Wallis, Hardy. *The Ethics of Criticism: And Other Essays*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1924.

Contains essays on Marlowe, on Shakspeare's *Richard II*, and on *Henry V*.

Waterlow, S. P. *Shakespeare and Ibsen*. Adelphi, Oct., 1924.

Weyer, Constantin. *Falstaff, sa vie, sa mort*. Paris: J. M. Dent, 1924.

Rev. by Emile Legouis in Rev. Ang. Am., Dec., 1924, pp. 163-4.

Wilson, J. Dover. *Spellings and Misprints in the Second Quarto of Hamlet*. Essays and Studies by Members of the English Ass'n. Vol. x. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924, pp. 36-60.

Wilson, J. Dover. *Shakespearian Elisions in "Sir Thomas More."* LTS., Sept. 25, 1924, p. 596.

Reply to C. H. Herford, *ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1924. Cf. reply of Herford, *ibid.*, Oct. 9, p. 631 and Wilson's comment, *ibid.*, Oct. 16, p. 651.

Wilson, Violet A. *Shakespeare and a Yorkshire Quarrel*. North American Review, Vol. 219 (May), 653-61.

The author thinks she has found the source of the doings of Sir Toby and his fox-hunting friends at the expense of Malvolio in a lawsuit resulting from the invasion by Sir Richard Cholmley, William Eure and others of the Hackness residence of Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby. Unconvincing.

Winstanley, Lilian. *Hamlet and the Essex Conspiracy. Pt. I*. Aberystwyth Studies, Vol. vii. University of Wales, 1924, pp. 47-66.

Supplement to her *Hamlet and the Scottish Succession*.

Winstanley, Lilian. "*Othello*" as the Tragedy of Italy. Showing that Shakespeare's Italian Contemporaries Interpreted the Story of the Moor and the Lady of Venice as Symboliz-

ing the Tragedy of their Country in the Grip of Spain.
London: Fisher Unwin, 1924. Pp. 152.

Another "mythological" study by a writer who approaches Shakespeare from the point of view from which she has been accustomed to approach the allegory of Spenser. In *Othello* the Moor symbolizes both Spain and Philip II, Desdemona both Venice and Elizabeth of Anjou, Iago is Antonio Perez, etc.

Wolff, Emil. *Die sogenannte Shakespeare-Bacon-Frage.* Shakespeare Jahrbuch, N. F., I, 130-58.

A critical review of the attempt to assign Shakespeare's works to some noble lord.

Young, Karl (ed.) *The Two Gentlemen of Verona.* Yale Shakespeare. Yale University Press, 1924.

Young, Karl. *Samuel Johnson on Shakespeare: One Aspect.* Studies by Members of the Dept. of English, Univ. of Wisconsin, No. 18 (1923), pp. 146-226.

IV. NON-DRAMATIC WORKS.

Aberystwyth Studies. By Members of the University College of Wales. Vol. v. University of Wales Press, 1924.

Contains Professor Edward Benaly's Study of James Howell's letters.

Aldington, Richard. *A "Book of Characters." Drawn from the Works of Theophrastus, Joseph Hall, Sir Thomas Overbury, Nicholas Breton, John Earle, Thomas Fuller, and Other English Authors; Jean de La Bruyère, De Vauvenargues, and Other French Authors. Compiled and translated by Richard Aldington. With an Introduction and Notes.* London: Routledge; New York: Dutton, 1924.

Aldington, Richard. *Literary Studies and Reviews.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1924.

Contains essay on Cowley's activity as Secretary to Queen Henrietta Maria in Paris.

Allen, P. S. and Allen, H. M. (eds.). *Selections from the Works of Sir Thomas More.* Oxford University Press, 1924.

Andrilla, Franc. *Dr. Andrews and Bacon's Apophthegms.* N & Q., Vol. 146, No. 31, p. 85.

Cf. comment of Edward Benaly, *ibid.*, pp. 85-6.

Arensberg, Walter Conrad. *The Burial of Francis Bacon and his Mother in the Lichfield Chapter House. An Open Communication to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield concerning the Rosicrucians.* Pub. by author, 1714, Oliver Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1924.

Askew, H. *Richard Brathwaite.* N & Q., Vol. 147, pp. 215-16, 307-8.

Cf. Bensly, Edward, *ibid.*, pp. 249-50.

Aurner, Robert Roy. *Caxton and the English Sentence.* Studies by Members of the Department of English, Univ. of Wisconsin, No. 18 (1923), pp. 23-59.

Baak, Frida. *Das poetische Bild bei Edmund Waller.* Diss., Münster, 1924.

Bacon, Sir Francis. *Essays, Religious Meditations, Places of Per-swasion and Disswasion. From the First Edition of 1597.* Haslewood Reprints. London: Etchells and Macdonald, 1924.

"*Ballads and Broad-sides.*" Leading article in LTS., Feb. 21, 1924.

Rev. of Hyder E. Rollins's *Cavalier and Puritan*, New York Univ. Press, 1923.

Bensly, Edward. *Adulation of Queen Elizabeth.* N & Q., Vol. 147, p. 189.

Bredvold, Louis I. *Sir T. Egerton and Donne.* LTS., March 13, 1924, p. 160.

Browne, Sir Thomas. *Sir Thomas Browne's Letter to a Friend, 1690.* Haslewood Reprints, No. 1. London: Frederick Etchells and Hugh Macdonald, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., June 5, 1924, p. 353; by J. St. Loe Strachey in NYT Book Rev., Sept. 17, 1924, p. 12.

Bullen, A. H. *Elizabethans.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1924. Pp. xi, 226.

Rev. in LTS., May 23, 1924, p. 319; N & Q., 146, p. 442; by H. H. Furness, Jr., in LR., Oct. 25, 1924, p. 2.

The volume contains ten productions of a miscellaneous nature composed by the late A. H. Bullen at odd times between the years 1888 and 1916. They are brief studies of Drayton, Daniel, Chapman, Dekker, Breton, Campion, William Bullein, Dr. Hakewell's *Apologie*, Fulke Greville and Shakspeare. Had the author lived to prepare his

studies for the press, he would, of course, have made many additions and changes in view of more recent discoveries; but in spite of such limitations necessarily imposed upon such a collection as the present, the book is interesting and valuable because it makes accessible the miscellaneous productions of a man to whom all present students of Elizabethan literature are deeply indebted.

Bush, Douglas. *The Classical Tales in Painter's Palace of Pleasure*. JEGP., XXIII, 331-41.

Byrne, M. St. Clare. *An Early Translation of Seneca*. Library, iv, No. 4 (March, 1924), 276-85.

Discussion of E. A.'s (Edward Aggas?) translation of selections from Seneca's philosophical works printed apparently in 1577.

Byrne, M. St. Clare. *Thomas Churchyard's Spelling*. Library, v (Dec.), 242-8.

Cawley, R. R. "Areytos" in *Sidney's Defence of Poesy*. MLN., XXXIX, 121-3.

Caxton, William. *Ovyde: Hys Booke of Metamorphose, Books X-XV. Translated by William Caxton. Newly printed from the Manuscript in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1924.

Rev. in LTS., Oct. 9, 1924, p. 624.

Colville, K. N. *Fame's Twilight: Studies of Nine Men of Letters*. London: Philip Allan, 1923.

Contains studies of Lyly, Sir Thomas North, Launcelot Andrewes, John Barclay, Cowley.

Cooper, W. B. Rev. *The Life and Work of William Tindale*. London: Longmans, 1924.

Conway, Agnes. *A New Stanza to "You Meaner Beauties of the Night."* LTS., Sept. 4, 1924, p. 540.

Cf. comment by G. E. Manwaring and Mabel E. Wotton, *ibid.*, Sept. 25, p. 596; A. E. H. Swaen, *ibid.*, Oct. 9, p. 631; Agnes Conway, *ibid.*, Oct. 30, p. 686; Davidson Cook, *ibid.*, Nov. 6, pp. 709-10; Agnes Conway, *ibid.*, Dec. 11, p. 850.

Crawford, B. V. *Teaching by Dialogue*. PQ., III, 23-31.

Includes Renaissance material.

Crofts, J. E. V. *A Life of Bishop Corbett, 1582-1635*. Essays and Studies by Members of the Eng. Ass'n. Vol. x. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924, pp. 61-96.

- Davis, Herbert J. *Dr. Anthony Scattergood's Commonplace Book*. Cornhill, June, 1923, pp. 679-91.
- De Perrot, Joseph. *The Mirror of Knighthood*. *MLN.*, **xxxix**, 441-42.
- Des Granges, René. *Sir Thomas More. Trois Actes en Prose*. *La Revue générale*, Sept. 15, 1924, pp. 288-306.
- Dawbarn, C. Y. C. *Uncrowned. A Story of Queen Elizabeth and the Early Life of Francis "Bacon." As Told in his Secret writings and in other contemporary records of her reign. Some supplemental notes*. London: Longmans, 1924.
- "*Donne, the Divine*." Leading article in *LTS.*, Dec. 25, 1924.
- Review of Evelyn M. Simpson's *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne* and Mary Paton Ramsay's *Les Doctrines Médiévales chez Donne*.
- Dormer, Ernest W. *Gray of Reading, Sixteenth-century Controversialist and Ballad-writer*. Reading: Bradley and Son, 1924.
- Douglas, Robert Langhton and Hugh Harris (eds.). *Bandello. Tragical Tales. The complete novels translated by Geoffrey Fenton (anno 1567). With an introduction by Robert Langhton Douglas. Modernized and edited with a glossary by Hugh Harris*. London: Routledge, 1924.
- Rev. in *LTS.*, Sept. 18, 1924, p. 572.
- Dudok, G. A. *Sir Thomas More and his Utopia*. H. J. Paris: Amsterdam, 1923.
- Eliot, T. S. *Homage to John Dryden. Three Essays on Poetry of the Seventeenth Century*. London: Hogarth Press, 1924.
- One essay titled "The Metaphysical Poets."
- Evans, A. Owen. *Edmund Prys: Archdeacon of Merioneth, Priest, Preacher, Poet (1544-1623)*. Cymrodorion Society Publications, 1924.
- Faulkner, John Alfred. *English Bible Translations*. *Biblical Review*, **ix**, 199-231.
- Fausset, Hugh P Anson. *John Donne: A Study in Discord*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., n. d. 1923. Pp. 318.
- Rev. in *LTS.*, Oct. 16, 1924, p. 647.
- Feuillerat, Albert (ed.) *Sidney's Defence of Poesie, Political Dis-*

courses, Correspondence, Translations. Cambridge University Press, 1923. Pp. xiii, 439.

Rev. by F. C. Danch in *Rev. Ang. Am.*, Feb., 1924, pp. 246-7.

The third volume of Professor Feuillerat's definitive edition of the complete works of Sidney is characterized by the thorough scholarship that has made the undertaking one of the outstanding events of recent Renaissance scholarship. The notes supply a complete critical apparatus; the introduction gives the necessary information as to manuscripts and editions, and promises a fourth volume, completing the edition, which is to contain the text of the so-called "Older Arcadia." We are very glad that Professor Feuillerat and the Cambridge University Press have arranged for the expansion of what was planned, fifteen years ago, as an edition consisting of three volumes, for the old Arcadia, with the texts now collected in this third volume, will give material for the study of the development of Sidney's mind and the many-sided personality that made him truly representative of his age.

Fiedler, Anna. *Orthographie und Flexion in Lord Berners' Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius Emperour and Eloquent Oratour.* Münster Dissertation, 1924.

Finney, Claude L. *Drayton's Endimion and Phoebe and Keats's Endymion.* PMLA., xxxix, 805-13.

Gore, Roselle Gould. *Concerning Repetitions in Greene's Romances.* PQ., III, 69-75.

Greene, Guy Shepard. *A New Date for George Wilkins's Three Miseries of Barbary.* MLN., xxxix, 285-91.

Evidence for 1607 as date of publication.

Greg, W. W. 'Guy of Warwick.' MLR., xix, 337-8.

Griffith, R. H. *The Second Newspaper of English News.* LTS., Dec. 4, 1924, p. 823.

Discussion of *A Continuation of the True Diurnall* (1642).

Griffith, R. H. *Some Unrecorded Newsbooks.* LTS., Dec. 11, 1924, p. 849.

Several newsbooks between 1641 and 1645 not mentioned by Williams and others.

H., R. H. *Sir Thomas Browne.* Bodleian Quarterly Record, iv, No. 43, pp. 146-7.

Hamilton, George Rostrevor. *The Soul of Wit: A Choice of English Verse Epigrams.* London: Heinemann, 1924.

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within the reach of all scholars, Dr. Rollins has given us an accurate text and an abundance of scholarly notes.

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V. SPENSER

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VI. MILTON

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(August, 1924). Pp. 94.

It is fitting that with the present revival of interest in Milton Professor Hulme should make available for students of the poet two such interesting early lives as those by John Toland (1698) and Elijah Fenton (1725). Of the two productions that by Toland is, as the editor is careful to emphasize, of especial interest and value, though, strangely enough, it has not been printed since 1699. Fenton's life, although frequently reprinted, has not heretofore been easily accessible; hence Professor Hulme has seen fit to reprint the reprint of 1785. He has attempted to provide students of Milton with reliable texts of the productions of Toland and Fenton, wisely refraining from burdening the text with elaborate annotations. Of special interest is the fact that the present pamphlet is apparently a sort of introduction to a comprehensive study of Toland's life and influence which Professor Hulme is preparing for publication.

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Saurat, Denis. *Blake and Milton*. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh: The Dial Press, 1924.

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VII. HISTORY, MANNERS, AND CRITICISM

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Anderson, A. G. (ed.). *The Assize of Bread Book, 1477-1517*.

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Benaly, Edward. *Parents of Cyriack Skinner*. N & Q., Vol. 147, No. 24, p. 431.

Benians, Sylvia. *From Renaissance to Revolution*. New York: Dutton, n. d. (1924). Pp. xii, 203.

This book, described by its subtitle as "a study of the influence of the Renaissance upon the political development of Europe," is a contribution to the history of ideas somewhat similar to Bury's *Idea of Progress*. Like that work, it is semi-popular in nature. It is based upon wide reading in both history and literature, and compresses a great deal of learning into brief compass without sacrifice of interest. The book will be useful to all who desire a brief introduction to some of the influences of the Renaissance upon European thought in later centuries.

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Brooks, E. St. John. *Samuel Cox, Lord Chancellor Hatton's Secretary*. N & Q., Vol. 147, pp. 223-4.

Burghclere, Winifred. *Strafford in Ireland*. Quarterly Review, July, 1924, pp. 88-106.

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Rev. by S. B. Liljegen in *Beiblatt*, xxxv, 356-7.

The author considers the Elizabethan artisan from the point of view of his individuality rather than from that of his relationship to the guild and society in general. The general method of approach is briefly indicated by the four chapter headings: "The Craftsman as a Heroic Figure," "The Artisan as Speculator and Philanthropist," "The Craftsman and his Work," "Social Aspirations of the Artisan." Mr. Camp has read rather extensively in Elizabethan drama, ballads, pamphlets, etc. in collecting the materials for his doctoral dissertation, and he has succeeded in producing a very readable and useful book; still one feels that he has covered an immense field somewhat superficially. In justice to the author, however, it should be noted that "the volume does not contain all that the writer has to say on the subject of craftsmen in literature." A minor defect of the study is the considerable number of naive or superfluous comments, e. g., the statement that Shakspeare was unhistorical on a certain occasion, the reflection that the story of Whittington's cat is "not wholly impossible, as cats were greatly in demand in some parts of the world," and the explanation that when a certain maiden in *Eastward Hoe* exclaimed "chittizens" she really meant "citizens."

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- Coate, Mary. *Social Life in Stuart England*. New York: D. Appleton; London: Methuen, 1924.
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- Fordham, Sir Herbert George. *The Road-Books and Itineraries of Great Britain, 1570 to 1850*. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1924.

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This book, as its title indicates, is devoted to that praise of the contemplative life that was a favorite theme of classical and medieval writers. For it Mr. Zeitlin supplies an admirable introduction, in

which the literature of the active and contemplative ideals of life is passed under review and the significance of the book itself as a revelation of Petrarch's personality is clearly set forth. This significance, Professor Zeitlin thinks, is that Petrarch is really advocating withdrawal from the world not as a means to spiritual grace but as the sign and seal of the scholar. It is to devote himself to learning that he betakes himself to Vacluse. In his book, therefore, we see the emerging ideal of the scholar of the Renaissance. Students of the development of modern civilization will prize it as one of the authentic documents in intellectual history. Those who are called to the life of the scholar will find it a creed and a confession of faith.

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THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE LEGEND OF SNEDGUS AND MAC RIAGLA¹

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The few scholars who have made studies of the original character or of the development of the legend of Snedgus and Mac Riagla, one of the least known but not least interesting of the early Irish sea-voyage tales known as *imrama*, are not agreed upon the initial problem of the historical setting of the original form of the story. Does the apparently personal participation of Columcille of Iona (*ob.* 597) mean a sixth-century setting? Or were the events originally conceived as taking place near the middle of the seventh century after the death of High King Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire, as the weight of textual evidence seems to indicate, in spite of the fact that the King Donnchad of the legend can not be identified among the historical sons of Domnall? Or is Domnall to be identified with the eighth-century high king Domnall, who did have a son Donnchad, himself a powerful high king of Ireland?

The existing forms of the legend include:

1. *Imrum Snedghusa ocus Mic Riagla*, "The voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla," *Yellow Book of Lecan* (YBL), cols. 391-395, a complete, though brief, account in prose with interspersed sections in verse paralleling the prose. Since the stanzas of the poetry form a complete poetic unit and seem linguistically older than the

¹ I am indebted to Professor John M. Manly for assistance in establishing a point of view toward one aspect of this study and to Professor Tom Peete Cross for numerous courtesies and invaluable hints. Neither of these scholars, however, is responsible for the argumentative position assumed in the paper.

prose, they are regarded as a separate version. Following Thurneysen I shall call these two forms *Prose A* and *Poem*. The prose seems in part at least to be based upon the verse.^{1a}

2. A later, longer version appears in three variant forms: a) *Eachtra Cleirech Choluim cille*, "The Otherworld Adventures of the Clerics of Colum cille," *YBL*, cols. 707-717. There is a break in column 714, the remaining part, written in a larger hand, being less detailed in style, apparently following some representative of the *Prose A* version, and closing with the same section of *Poem* as appears in *Prose A*. It is unique in its inclusion of a long passage from *Fís Adamnáin*, "The Vision of Adamnan." Following Thurneysen, I call this *Prose B*.² b) *Merugud Cleirech Choluim Chille*. "The Wanderings of Colum cille's Clerics," *Book of Fermoy*, 86a (old folio 58) and *BM Add. Ms.* 30, 512, fo. 1a, 1 ff. This version closely resembles *Prose B* except that it lacks the vision material, is provided with verse sections (not from *Poem*), and has a different concluding section. I shall refer to this as *Merugud* or *M*.³ c) *Sechran clerech C. C.*, "The Wan-

^{1a} *Poem* is printed, with translation, by Professor Rudolf Thurneysen in *Zwei Versionen der mittelirischen Legende von Snedgus und Mac Riagla* (Halle, 1904), pp. 1-26. *Prose A*, without the poetry, was edited with translation by Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique* (*R. C.*), ix (1888), 14-25. Thurneysen included a translation of *Prose A* in *Sagen aus dem alten Irland* (1901), pp. 126-130. Summaries of the complete document are given by O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (*Ms. Mat.*), Dublin, 1873, pp. 333-334 and by Zimmer in *Keltische Beiträge II, Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* (*ZDA*), xxxiii (1889), 212-215. The dependence of *Prose A* on *Poem* has been noted by O'Curry, Thurneysen, and Zimmer (*op. cit.*), and by Kuno Meyer, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (*ZCP*), xi, 148.

² *Prose B* is edited and translated by Stokes, *R. C.*, xxvi (1905), 130-167 and by Thurneysen, *Zwei. Vers.*, pp. 31-50 (vision material omitted). It should be noted that all the texts in *Zwei. Vers.* were based on the unsatisfactory facsimile of *YBL* (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1896); cf. Kuno Meyer, *ZCP*, i (1896-97), 493 ff. On the texts in *Zwei Vers.*, cf. *R. C.*, xxvi, 130; *ZCP*, v, 418-21; vi, 234-235.

³ Text of *M*, from the *BM ms.* printed by Tomás Ó Máille in *Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer* (Halle, 1912), 307-26. Ó Máille gives linguistic data to show that *M* is older than *Prose B*. I am indebted to Séamas Ó Duibhlearga, B. A., University College, Dublin, for assistance in securing a dependable translation of *M*, especially of some of the difficult variant readings from the *Book of Fermoy*.

derings of the Clerics of Colum cille," is embodied in Manus O'Donnell's *Betha Colaim Chille*, "The Life of Colum cille," compiled in the sixteenth century. O'Donnell's *Betha* is preserved in a Bodleian manuscript, *Rawl. B 514*. This form I shall refer to as *Sechran* or *S*.⁴

Following is a summary of the tale, based upon Stokes's edition of *Prose A* (section numbers after Zimmer). The footnotes record important differences in the other versions:

Sec. 1. After the death of Domnall son of Aed son of Airmire and after the taking of Ireland by Maelcoba's sons, the two sons of Domnall, Donnchad and Fiacha, became kings over Tir Connell and the Men of Ross, respectively. The Men of Ross, who had never before been subject to a king, were sorely oppressed under Fiacha, who allowed them neither weapon nor colored raiment.⁵ At the close of the first year of his reign, Fiacha held an assembly at Boyne-Mouth and demanded of the Men of Ross still more service. They replied, "We can not do more." He said, "Let each and all of you put your spittle on my palm." It was found to be half-spittle and half blood. "Your service is not proper yet, for all the spittle is not blood. Cast the hills into the hollows that they may be (level) land. Plant trees in the plains that they may be forests." A deer passed the assembly. All the king's men pursued it, leaving their chief, Fiacha, at the mercy of the men of Ross, who killed him with his

⁴ Text and translation of the *Betha*, including *S* (Sec. 355, pp. 382-401) are printed by A. O'Kelleher and G. Schoepperle in *University of Illinois Bulletin*, Vol. xv, No. 48 (July, 1918).

⁵ *Poem* (St. 2): "... in the beginning of the reign of Donnchad after Domnall's death." Rest lacking.

Prose B, M, S: Donnchad succeeded Domnall as king of Erin. Fiacha was given dominion over the Men of Ross and the Mugdorn Maigen; it was their custom to kill their own sovereign.

The reference to the wearing of colored raiment may be an allusion to the use of colored raiment to indicate social rank, one color in the clothes of slaves, two in the clothes of soldiers, etc. See *Four Masters (FM)* at year 3664 (ed. John O'Donovan, *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, Dublin, 1856, 7 vols.). Cf. P. W. Joyce, *Social History* (London, 1903), II, 192.

⁶ *Poem*: Lacking. *Prose B, M, S*: The assembly was held at the beginning of Fiacha's rule. The subjects submissively performed the great tasks Fiacha assigned them. *Prose B*: "And after the weariness of toil they would put the gore and blood of their hearts over their lips." *M*: "And through the mightiness of the task it was spitting of blood that they used to spit out." Note that the presentation of the blood-spittle incident in all these versions is briefer and less dramatic than in *Prose A*.

own weapon.⁷ Fiacha's brother Donnchad came and took prisoner all the men of Ross and put them into one house to be burned alive.⁸ But Donnchad decided not to burn the men of Ross without consulting his *anmchara*, "soul-friend" (confessor), Colum cille, to whom he sent messengers.⁹ Snedgus and Mac Riagla, the messengers, came from Colum cille with this counsel to Donnchad: cast sixty couples of the men of Ross on the sea that God may pass his judgment on them.¹⁰ The men of Ross were set upon the sea in small boats and men went to watch them that they should not return.¹¹ The two clerics set out on their return to Iona to Colum cille. As they were in their coracle they bethought themselves of going of their own account into the outer ocean on a pilgrimage, even as the

⁷ *Poem*: Lacking. *Prose B, M, S*: The passing of the deer seems to be the result of an intrigue formed by the native crown princes, Diarmait Olmar and Ailill.

⁸ *Poem*: Lacking. *Prose B, M, S*: the proposal to burn the prisoners alive is lacking (cf. the effort to burn alive Cuchullin and his companions in an iron house in *Mesca Ulad*, "The Intoxication of the Ultonians," W. M. Hennessey, *Royal Irish Academy, Todd Lecture Series*, Vol. 1, Part 1, Dublin, 1889, pp. 40 ff.; the *Orgainn Dind rig*, ed., Whitley Stokes, *ZDA*, III, 1899-1901, 1-14 [Sec. 26], and further parallels there noted by Stokes). Immediately after the slaying of Fiacha the men of Ross are said to have placed themselves under the safeguard of Ronan the Fair and Maine mac Niall.

⁹ *Poem*: Lacking. *Prose B, M, S*: Donnchad marched with a great army to violate the sanctuary of the protectors Ronan and Maine. Donnchad agreed to the proposal of the protectors that the matter be referred to Colum cille for decision.

¹⁰ *Poem*: Lacking though the names of the voyaging clerics appear in St. 1. *Prose B, M, S*: The outcasts are never to come to Ireland again, and their land is to be given to God and Patrick. The messengers are unnamed in *S* and appear in *M* as "Sneaghus" and "Mac Niaghus."

It was a recognized right of the *anmchara* to send penitents on a pilgrimage, *Ancient Laws of Ireland* (ed., Hancock and others, Dublin, 1865-1901, 6 vols.), III, 131. Cf. John T. McNeill, *The Celtic Penitentials* (Univ. of Chicago dissertation), Paris, 1923, pp. 134-136. McNeill thinks the heroes of *Imram Curaig Hua Corra*, "The Voyage of the boat of the Húi Corra," (Stokes, *R. C.*, XIV, 1893, pp. 22-63), who are represented as making a voluntary pilgrimage into the ocean after performing the penance prescribed by St. Finnian, were really penitents sent out on pilgrimage by their *anmchara*. On punishment by being set adrift see further *Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature* (Chicago, 1923), p. 277, n. 1.

¹¹ *Poem*: Lacking. *Prose B*: Snedgus and Mac Riagla themselves went as witnesses and returned to Donnchad after accompanying the sixty couples "a long way into the lap of the sea."

sixty couples had gone, though unwillingly. So they turned righthand-wise and the wind wafted them northwestwards.¹²

Sec. 2. After three days, great thirst seized the clerics but Christ took pity and brought them to a stream "well tasting like new milk," which satisfied them. They decided to leave the direction of their voyage to God.¹³

Sec. 3. The clerics reached an island with a fence of silver over the midst of it and a fish-weir therein and a plank of silver. Huge salmon were leaping against the weir, each bigger than a bull calf. The voyagers ate their fill.¹⁴

Sec. 4. They reached an island with many warriors with heads of cats upon them. One Gaelic champion appeared and said he was the last of a boat's company who came there. The rest had suffered martyrdom at the hands of the heathen inhabitants of the island. He placed food in their boat and they exchanged blessings.¹⁵

Sec. 5. The wind blew the voyagers to an island whereon was a great tree with beautiful birds. Atop the tree was a great bird with a head of gold and wings of silver. He recounted the whole biblical story. "When he told of doomsday the birds beat their sides with their wings so that showers of blood issued from their sides. "Communion and creature was that blood." The great bird gave the clerics a leaf from the tree. It was as large as the hide of a large ox. The bird told them to place it on Colum cille's altar. "So that is Colum cille's flabellum (*cuilfaid*) today. In Kells it is." The birds were the birds of the plain of heaven, "making melodious music a-singing psalms and canticles, praising the Lord."¹⁶

¹² *Poem*: Lacking. *Prose B, M, S*: The two clerics were entertained by Donnchad until spring. They then set out for Iona but were driven out of their course northwestwards by a wind.

¹³ *Poem*: takes up story at this point (Sts. 4-8). *Prose B, M, S*: The milk-like water stream is definitely described as on an island, where no inhabitants are seen.

¹⁴ *Prose B, M, S*: The clerics felt safe in eating of the salmon because they were sure it was God's household abiding in the isle. [Account more detailed]

¹⁵ *Poem, Prose B, M, S*: The voyagers feared the catheads and skirted the coast till they saw the lone Gael, who appeared as a young Irish cleric. He told them (except in *Poem*) how he and his companions won half the island from the catheads. [No mention of putting food in boat.]

¹⁶ *Poem*: The leaf and *cuilfaid* not identified. Reference to Kells lacking. But St. 31 says of the leaf, "It was on the altar of Colum cille." *Prose B, M, S*: More detailed account of the song of the bird. At its close the clerics were charmed to sleep by the melody of the music (*Prose B* adds that on the leaf was inscribed the story of the household of heaven and of the angelic stations and of hell). The island mysteriously disap-

Sec. 6. Dog-headed men with manes of cattle (*ceatra*) were found on the next island, but a cleric, at God's command, came from the island and gave the voyagers food.¹⁷

Sec. 7. The voyagers reached the isle of the swine-headed men, "and they were reaping corn in midsummer."¹⁸

Sec. 8. A multitude of Gaelic folk appeared on the next isle. The women were singing a *sianan* and invited the clerics to the house of the king of the island. These people were the sixty couples of the Men of Ross who had been set adrift. The king revealed himself as the slayer of Fiacha. The company had reached the earthly paradise. Elijah and Enoch were on this island. There were two lakes, one of water and one of fire, which long ago would have come over Ireland had not Martin and Patrick been praying. The clerics were told that they could not see Enoch. [It is not made clear that Elijah appeared, although the request of the clerics to see Enoch doubtless reflects the situation as given in *Poem*, which the author of *Prose A* perhaps did not fully understand.]¹⁹

Sec. 9. A lofty isle with a holy king and a prophet, dwelling in an ideal monastery was reached. There were an hundred doors and an altar

peared. At this point *Prose B* interpolates the long passage from the *Fís Adamnáin*. The souls of the clerics are substituted for the soul of Adamnan.

¹⁷ *Poem*: manes of horses (*eachaha*). So *Prose B* and *S. M, S*: Description of luxuriant vegetation on the isle. The clerics skirted the shore till they found berries and fruit, and met the old cleric. *Prose B*: resuming tale after the vision passage, places the dogheads on one island, the old cleric on another.

¹⁸ *Poem*: Transitional passage and midsummer detail lacking. *Prose B, M, S*: The swineheads pelted the clerics with stones (*Prose B*, "sea-acorns") and warned them not to approach. They said they were of the race of Ham, or Cain (*Prose B*: "Ham, or Cain the accursed"; *M*: "of wicked Cain"; *S*: "of shrewish Ham"). Their dwelling was in the sea and they cultivated the land.

¹⁹ *Poem*: Elias spoke to the clerics of the part he was to play at the last judgment in the conflict with Antichrist (St. 58, cf. *ZCP*, VI, 234). He uttered the prophecy about the lakes and explained to the clerics that they could not see Enoch because he was in a secret place of honor, awaiting the day of the battle with Antichrist. *Prose B, M, S*: The king seems to make the prophecy about the lakes. He said that Elijah and Enoch were on the island awaiting the war with Antichrist, but the clerics were not permitted to see either. In *Prose B* and *S*, but not in *M*, the clerics before departure bathed in a well at the entrance to the island, the water of which was warm or cold, according to desire. [The author of the original of the long versions seems to be trying to rectify the ambiguity of *Prose A* by having the clerics ask to see both Enoch and Elijah, a fact which suggests that he did not have *Poem* before him.]

and a priest offering Christ's body at each door. The king told the clerics to tell the men of Ireland that a great vengeance was about to befall them. Foreigners would come and inhabit half the isle. This vengeance was to come because the Irish had neglected God's teaching. He also prophesied that the clerics would arrive home safely after a year and a month at sea. They are to tell their tidings to the men of Ireland.²⁰

On linguistic and other evidence the composition of the earlier forms, *Prose A* and *Poem*, is placed in the ninth or tenth century, *Poem* being older than *Prose A*.²¹ The prophecy of the impending

²⁰ *Prose B*: Follows *Prose A*, though not literally. This section is by the second scribe in *YBL. M*: No mention of king and no prophecy. When the clerics entered the house a golden cowl was let down upon the floor before them and given to the clerics of Colum cille. One week after their departure they reached Iona and related to Colum cille their adventures. "And that leaf and hood still remain on the altar of Colum cille." (*Book of Fermoy* says only that the leaf is still in existence.) *S*: No king, no prophecy. "Two hundred" doors. The ending is distinctive: "Then the clerics were in sadness and heaviness, thinking on Colum cille, and as they said these words, there came a blast of wind right cold and bleak against them and drove them to Iona." Colum cille met them in person and heard their tidings, "and the cowl and leaf were given him. And they still exist, the leaf in Iona. And they wrote down the story."

²¹ Zimmer, *ZDA*, xxxiii, 218, suggested late ninth or tenth century for the *imram* (*Poem-Prose A*). Thurneysen favored tenth century, *Zwei Vers.*, p. 6. Cf. Kuno Meyer, *ZCP*, xi, 148 ff.

A literal interpretation of Stanza 31 of *Poem* would necessitate accepting a much later date, ca. 1100. *Prose A* says (Sec. 6) that the great bird gave the clerics a leaf and told them to place it on the altar of Colum cille, "so that is Colum cille's flabellum today. In Kells it is" (*conid hi cuilfaid Coluim cille andiu: a Cenandus ata-side*). For speculations on the meaning of flabellum, see Thomas Olden, *Proc. R. I. A.*, Sec. Ser., Vol. II, Polite Lit. and Antiq., Dublin, 1879-88, p. 356; and cf. O'Curry, *Ms. Mat.*, p. 332 and Reeves, *Adamnan (The Life of St. Columba*, Dublin, 1857), pp. 321 ff. *Poem*, which does not mention *cuilfaid* or Kells, says of the leaf (St. 31): *doi for altoir colaím cille*, "it was on the altar of Colum cille." The Annals of Tigernach at 1090 says, "Colomb cille's reliquaries, to wit, The Bell of the King's (*clog na Rígh*) and the Flabellum (*cuilebaidh*), and the two gospels were brought out of Tyrconnell, together with seven score ounces of silver and Oengus Húa Domnallain was he who brought them from the North." (*R. C.*, xviii, 12.) This Aengus died, according to *FM*, in 1109. These facts would seem to point to a date after 1090. O'Curry, and Thurneysen at first (*Sagen*, p. 127), accepted this conclusion. But Zimmer (*ZDA*, xxxiii, 219, note), and Thurneysen later (*Zwei Vers.*, p. 7) were unwilling to accept so late a date, preferring the hypothesis

invasion of Ireland by foreigners was presumably inspired by the Norse occupation of the ninth century.²² Of the later, longer versions, *Merugud* is probably the oldest.²³

Poem places the events in the reign of Donnchad, son of Domnall. *Prose A* and all the later forms say Donnchad son of Domnall son of Aed son of Ainmire. This Domnall ruled Ireland from 628-42. So far as known he had no son Donnchad and no son Fiacha. The annalists indicate some uncertainty as to his successor, the evidence favoring a joint reign by Conall Cael and Cellach, sons of Maelchobo, Domnall's brother. Another king Domnall Domnall Mac Murchado, was high king of Ireland in the eighth century (died 763). This Domnall did have a son Donnchad who himself became king six years after his father's death, ruling from 769-797. There was no Fiacha connected with this family so far as known. In all the prose versions, and possibly by implication in *Poem*, Donnchad resorts for advice to Colum cille of Iona, who died in 597.

O'Curry, with only the short *YBL* version (*Poem* and *Prose A*) before him, by a misreading or misrendering of the text, made it appear that not Colum cille, but a successor of his, was appealed to by Donnchad. This misinterpretation served to obviate all the chronological difficulties so far as the versions then in question were concerned. Zimmer pointed out the error.²⁴

of a scribal alteration. Thurneysen pointed out that *Poem* does not certainly identify the leaf and the *cuilfaid* and does not indicate with certainty that the leaf was ever in Iona. He thought the preterit form *boi* suspicious. The late versions say nothing of *cuilfaid* or Kells. *M* and *S* mention two relics, a leaf and a cowl. *S* says that both still exist, the leaf at Iona. The BM manuscript of *M* says that both leaf and cowl remain on the altar of Colum cille, the *Book of Fermoy* text saying only that the leaf is still in existence (*Meyer Miscellany*, pp. 320, 324).

²² Stokes at first (*R. C.*, ix, 25, n. 2) thought the Anglo-Norman invasion was meant, but later (*R. C.*, xxvi, 131, 167, n. 1) referred it to the Norse invasion as did Zimmer (*ZDA*, xxxiii, 218, n. 2) and Thurneysen (*Sagen*, pp. 126-27; *Zwei Vers.*, p. 6). On the chronology and phases of the Norse invasions, see Eoin Mac Neill, *Phases of Irish History* (1920), Ch. ix.

²³ Ó Máile thinks the prose of the BM ms. may be as late as the fourteenth century, the *Book of Fermoy* version being somewhat older (*op. cit.*, pp. 311-312).

²⁴ O'Curry, *Ms. Mat.*, p. 333; Zimmer, *ZDA*, xxxiii, 215-216.

The two most important studies of the legend are those of Zimmer²⁵ and Thurneysen,²⁶ although important comments have been made by O'Curry,²⁷ Stokes,²⁸ and Ó Máille.²⁹ The earliest work of Stokes as well as the studies of O'Curry and Zimmer, were based on the *Prose A-Poem* version only, while Thurneysen's published studies are limited to this form and to *Prose B*.

In his first study Zimmer attributed the participation of Columcille to the author's knowledge of the part the great saint played in the famous council of Druim Ceta, held by Aed son of Ainmire in 575 A. D. This Aed must have been the grandfather of the Donnchad and Fiacha of the story. This chronological confusion, Zimmer notes, argues a date of composition much later than the time of the historical persons named and confirms other evidence that the tale was written in the ninth or tenth century.

Zimmer advanced a striking interpretation of the story, read in the light of conditions prevailing in Ireland during the Norse occupation: The author was a pious, patriotic Irishman and his purpose was to exhort his countrymen to observe better God's teachings so that the punishment of God, the presence of the Norse conquerors, might be taken from them (note prophecy in Sec. 9). The cat-headed, dog-headed, and swine-headed islanders are the pagan Norse inhabiting the Faroes. The descriptions are not to be taken literally: they are contemptuous comparisons for the different physiognomy of another race.³⁰ That they are unbelievers

²⁵ *Loc. cit.* and a second paper, "Ueber die frühesten Berührungen der Iren mit den Nordgermanen," *Sitz. der kgl. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Vol. xvi (1891), pp. 295-99.

²⁶ *Sagen*, pp. 126-127; *Zwei Vers.*, pp. 1-8, 26-30.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*, and *Manners and Customs*, III (Dublin, 1873), p. 385.

²⁸ *R. C.*, ix (1888), 14 ff.; xxvi (1905), 130 ff.

²⁹ *Meyer Miscellany*, pp. 307-12.

³⁰ Zimmer here recalls that in the Irish Annals King Cairbre has a nickname *Cinncait*, "Catheaded," and that the Norse Amlaib (Olaf) is called *Cenncairech*, "Sheepheaded." Cairbre, who was of course an Irish, not a Norse king, is mentioned in *FM* at 10 and 14 A. D. Keating, *History of Ireland*, Vol. II (*Irish Texts Society*, Vol. VIII), pp. 237, 239, quotes an old stanza to explain the epithet:

Thus was Cairbre the hardy,
Who rules Ireland south and north:
Two cat's ears on his fair head,
Cat's fur upon his ears.

is stressed in the verses for Sec. 4: *Dochotar martrai lahechtrando ceneris hite trebaid cencuid cubais isinninis*, "They suffered martyrdom through the unbelieving strangers who dwell in the island without a trace of confession."³¹

The descriptions, says Zimmer, reflect an actual journey such as Irish clerics of the seventh century are known to have taken to the Orkneys, Shetland Islands, and the Faroes.³² The stream with the taste of new milk (Sec. 2) is the Gulf Stream flowing west of the Hebrides. From Dicuil's description of the bird-infested islands of the Faroes the author drew material for Sections 5 and 8, which also reflect the old story of Elijah under the tree of life in paradise preaching to the souls in bird shape, who beat their wings till blood flows.³³ The latter conception, the author contaminated with the conception, appearing in *Imram Curaig Hua Corra*,³⁴ of angels in bird shape surrounding God, the most brilliant bird being the archangel Michael.

In his later study, in which he stressed the knowledge of the Norse on the part of the Irish of the seventh century, Zimmer elaborated his view that an actual voyage of Ionan monks is reflected in the story, and that the monstrous inhabitants of some of the islands are the Norse. The "manes" of the dog-headed men represent the beards of the Northmen.³⁵ From Adamnan Zimmer

³¹ Zimmer explains *cubais* as the equivalent of *confessionis*. Cf. Thurneysen's translation "*ohne alles Gewissen*." Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 456, gives *conscientia* for *cubus* (from *Grammatica Celtica*).

³² Zimmer cites the passage from Dicuil, *De Mensuris Terrarum* (825 A. D.):

Sunt aliae insulae multae in septentrionali Britanniae oceano, quae a septentrionalibus Britanniae insulis duorum dierum ac noctium recta navigatione plenis velis assiduo feliciter vento adiri qucunt. Aliquis presbyter mihi rettulit quod in duobus aestivis diebus et una intercedente nocte navigans in duorum navigula transtrorum in unam illarum introivit. Illae insulae sunt aliae parvulae. Fere cunctae simul angustis distantibus fretis, in quibus in centum ferme annis heremitae ex nostra Scotia navigantes habitaverunt. Sed sicut a principio mundi desertae semper fuerunt, ita, nunc causa latronum Nortmannorum vacuae anachoritis plenae innumerabilibus ovibus ac diversis generibus multis nimis marinarum avium.

³³ *Dá Brón Flatha Níme*, "The Two Sorrows of the Kingdom of Heaven," ed., G. Dottin, *R. C.*, xxi (1900), 349-87.

³⁴ *R. C.*, xiv (1893), pp. 22-63. Cf. pp. 31, 33.

³⁵ Zimmer notes the striking effect made upon the Irish by the bearded

quotes the striking parallels to the *inrama* found in the accounts of the sea journeys of such sixth-century Ionan monks as Cormac mac Liathain. Although he had previously accepted the personal participation of Colum cille as a part of the original form of the story, he here suggested that possibly not the great saint himself, but the Ionan establishment, was meant, or that perhaps the author of our text of the tale had substituted Colum cille for a possibly unnamed successor of Colum cille in his original. Zimmer accepted the statement of the text of *Prose A* that Domnall was the seventh-century Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire.

Thurneysen was convinced that *Poem* formed the basis for the whole tradition, *Prose A* being derived, with changes and additions, from *Poem*, which in form is a complete poetic unit. The author of *Prose A*, wholly reliant on *Poem* for his material, was forced to supply an introduction from the very meagre intimations in *Poem*. Stanza 2 of *Poem* placed the voyage *i tosach flatha Donnchodha iar ndith Domnaill*, "in the beginning of the kingship of Donnchad after the death of Domnall." The author of *Poem*, in so dating the events of the tale, must have had in mind a well-known King Donnchad—he must have meant the much mentioned king of Ireland, Donnchad mac Domnall, whose father, Domnall mac Murchado, had died in 763, Donnchad himself becoming king in 769. The fact that this Donnchad was named in the *Félire Óengusso Céili Dé*, "The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee,"²⁶ may have suggested laying the story in his reign, which would fit well the poet's purpose of prophesying the Viking invasion as imminent. Whether the death of a brother of Donnchad, Fiacha, at the hands of the men of Ross, is historical or not is uncertain, though the statement, unmotivated by the story, that afterwards only two of the brothers of Donnchad were alive (St. 47) might point to a recollection of historical facts.

The author of *Prose A*, according to Thurneysen's hypothesis,

Norse and recalls that the Irish champion Cuchullin is presented in several descriptions as beardless.

²⁶ Whitley Stokes, ed., *Henry Bradshaw Society* (London, 1905). The entry in question, Prologue 221, reads: Donnchad the wrathful, ruddy, chosen, or Victorious Bran of the Burrow, visiting tombs takes not from me the weariness of weakness." Thurneysen thought the diction of this document perhaps influenced the author of *Poem*.

misunderstood the reference in *Poem* to Snedgus and Mac Riagla as belonging to *muntir Coluim Cille*, "the family of Colum cille." The poet must have meant merely that they belonged to the monastic establishment of Colum cille; but the author of *Prose A* took the expression to mean that the two heroes were actual contemporaries of Colum cille. This misunderstanding produced in the mind of the author of *Prose A* a chronological difficulty, since Colum cille belonged to the late sixth century, Donnchad to the late eighth century. To solve this difficulty, he went back to an older king Domnall, whose rule ended in 642 and whose father Aed mac Ainmire was a contemporary of Colum cille, having died in 598. Although it is true that the reign of this king would come too late, this approximate synchronism was sufficient for a narrator and narrative of this sort. But this Domnall had no son Donnchad, and the author of *Prose A* invented a son Donnchad, and made him ruler over Tir Connell, as Fiacha was ruler over the men of Ross. Fiacha's tyranny was utilized for the motivating of his murder at the hands of the men of Ross and Colum cille was brought in to give the counsel that sixty couples of the men of Ross be set adrift on the sea as punishment. Having provided this introductory and motivating machinery, lacking in *Poem*, the author of *Prose A* went on with the story in *Poem*, following his source closely. He shortened occasionally, as in the Elias episode, which probably was not clear to him.

Prose B Thurneysen thought was based on *Prose A*, perhaps in the form we have it, with the verses of *Poem* interspersed among the prose sections. The author of *Prose B* was less learned than the author of *Prose A*. He not only followed *Prose A* in seeing in Domnall the seventh-century Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire, but he blundered in having this Donnchad succeed Domnall as king of Ireland. He also introduced the fifth-century Maine mac Niall. He was poorly versed in geography, having Fiacha rule not only over the men of Ross but over Mugdorn Maigen as well, presumably because these districts at times had the same chiefs. Thurneysen rejected the theory that the presence of both similarities and differences in the introductory parts of *Prose A* and *Prose B* indicated a common source for the two forms. He thought the differences were to be explained partly as variations which even a medieval author allowed himself, and partly as a closer following of *Poem* by the author of *Prose A*.

The discussion which follows, based on some comparison of all the known versions, and a re-examination of the evidence afforded by the annals, the other *imrama*, and various hagiological documents, proposes to give some reasons for the following convictions:

1. Although Zimmer's interpretation of the tale can not be endorsed in all its details, this scholar was right in stressing the real experiences of Ionan clerics as the probable source of the tradition out of which our *imram* sprang and perhaps right also in attributing to the author some churchly and patriotic purpose.

2. Colum cille belonged to the original form of the tale.

3. The Domnall mentioned is Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire.

4. Donnchad, whether an historical person or not, was originally conceived as the son of Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire, and was ruler over Tir Connell, not over Ireland.

5. The time-setting is that heroic period of Irish church history which embraces parts of the sixth and seventh centuries—the era of Colum cille, of the famous sea-pilgrims, and of the missionary journeys to continental Europe.

6. The chronological error of making Colum cille and Domnall contemporaries is chargeable to the original author rather than to a reviser.

That *Poem* is the sole basis of the later forms of the *imram*, or that the author of *Prose A* relied exclusively upon it for his legendary materials, seems to me improbable. The presentation of the story in *Poem* is confessedly incomplete, and this fact, as well as a recognition of the character of the verse itself, indicates that the author was writing a poetic, half lyric paraphrase of a story which must have been known to him, and to his audience, in a more complete form. Whether the tradition were available to him in written form one can not be certain, although it would not seem improbable that it was. Kuno Meyer thought that *Poem* was probably written by the poet who composed the poem on Maelduin's voyage.³⁷ If this conjecture be accepted, there is

³⁷ *ZCP*, xi (1916-1917), 148. The poem itself is printed by R. I. Best, *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1907), i, 50 ff. and by Meyer, *loc. cit.* Cf. Thurneysen, *ZCP*, v, 421; vi, 235; viii, 80. Thurneysen argues against Meyer's view, and thinks the evidence suggests imitation by the author of the Maelduin poem rather than identity of authorship. (*ZCP*, xii, 1918, 278.)

strong analogical evidence that the author of *Poem* was basing his verses on a prose account, as he seems to have been doing in the case of the Maelduin poem.³⁸ Fortunately, the old prose version of Maelduin's journey, *Imram Curaig Maelduin*, "The Voyage of Maelduin's Boat," is preserved. It perhaps dates from the eighth century or earlier.³⁹

The following extracts from *Poem*, quoted from Professor Thurneysen's text and translation,⁴⁰ will suggest the general character of the verse. I include the stanzas which give the hints for the background of the story:

1. Snedgus ocus Mac Riaghuil do munntir Coluim Chille,
ros bui do brig: ro charsad rig flatha nime.
Snedgus und Mac Riaguill von Colum Kille's Genossenschaft-sie
hatten solche Tüchtigkeit; sie liebten den König des Himmelsreichs.
2. Ar-roldatar fairggi fergaidh fedma comluind
i tosach flatha Domcodha iar ndith Domnaill,
Als sie auf die zornige See der Kampfesanstrengung gegangen
waren im Anfang der Herrschaft Donnchads nach Donnalls Un-
tergang,
3. Dos rala (for) mor di ruinib de—din nad gairde—
in nindsib inn aceoin uathaigh osin fairrgi.
trafen sie auf manches von den Geheimnissen Gottes—kein kurzer
Schutz! auf den Inseln des schrecklichen Oceans, über der See.

The following group of stanzas is from the section dealing with the visit to the Isle of the Men of Ross. The chief has just welcomed the clerics.

45. Can bar cenel? . . . "A tir Erind—eirim nglindi—;
ni chelim ruin, di muintir duin (n) Coluim Chille."
Woher stammt ihr? . . . "Aus Irland,—eine sicherer Fahrt—

³⁸ Zimmer, *ZDA*, xxxiii, 149; Thurneysen, *ZCP*, viii, 80; xii, 278; Meyer, *ZCP*, xi, 148.

³⁹ The *imram* is preserved in *LU*, *YBL*, *Harleian* 5280, and *Egerton* 1782. *YBL* and *Harl.* include the verse paraphrase. As to the date of the prose version, see Zimmer, *ZDA*, xxxiii, 48; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours*, Vol. I, ch. 8. But J. Strachan, *Trans. London Phil. Soc.*, 1891-94, criticizes some of the linguistic evidence on which Zimmer based his view. It must perhaps be admitted that the question of date for *Imram Maelduin* and its relations with *Navigatio Brendani* are not settled. Cf. the present writer's remarks in *Manly Anniversary Studies*, p. 283, n. 2.

⁴⁰ *Zwei Vers.*, pp. 9 ff., 21 ff.

wir verbergen kein Geheimniß wir gehören zur Genossenschaft Colum Kille's."

46. "Cinnus do sluagh tire Temrach torme comland
An fitir lat, cia meit mac as beo do Domnoll?"
Wie steht es mit der Schar des Landes von Temair, wo Kämpfe
dröhnen, Weisst du, wie viel Söhne Domnalls am Leben sind?"
47. Dlomaís an cleireach la heolus— ord ro derbudh—
os cathair cli: "Ad bi tri maic do ri Temrach.
Es erklärte der Kleriker mit Kenntnis—die Würde wurde gewissen—
auf dem linken Stuhl: "Drei Söhne des Königs von Temair
leben.
48. Do rochair Fiacha mac Domnaill—derba samle—
la Fíru Roiss ro gab foss, in nuir a adhbha.
Fiacha Domnalls Sohn ist gefallen—das sind sichere Beschrei-
bungen—; durch die Männer von Ross fand er Ruhe; im Boden
ist seine Wohnung.
49. Assa decheng lassa torchoir, tresiu fairind—
[ba] coib corach—: Diarmait Olach ocus Ailill.
Dies sind die zwei Helden, durch die er gefallen ist, stärker als eine
Menge,—ein wurfreicher Sieg—: Diarmait Olach und Ailill.
50. Es rocartha isan ngním sin cen chuit cairde
seasca lanamna cen burbai forsin fairrgi."
Ausgewiesen wurden ob dieser Tat ohne jede Freundschaft sechzig
Paare ohne Torheit auf die See."
51. "Is fir duib, a cleirchiu fiadha[t]—fiach ro derbadh.—
Is forgoll ffr. Messi ro marb mac rig Temrach.
"Ihr sprecht wahr, Kleriker des Herrn!—die Schuld wurde er-
wiesen.—Es ist ein wahres Zeugnis. Ich bin's der den Sohn des
Königs von Temair getötet hat.

In some of the stanzas the lyric character of the verse appears more prominently, as in Stanza 60:

Dal fer nime—nert la cride, crechadh allmar—,
dal fer nifirnn—uathmur comrum—, dal fer talmun.
Die Versammlung der Männer des Himmels—Herzenstarke—Herr-
liche Beute!—, die Versammlung der Männer der Hölle—schreck-
licher Kampf!—, die Versammlung der Männer der Erde.

From these stanzas we learn that the voyage of the two clerics of Colum cille's *munntir* took place in the beginning of the kingship of Donnchad after the death of Domnall; that Domnall was king of Ireland; that Fiacha was killed by the Men of Ross, by the heroes Diarmait Olach and Ailill, to be exact; that sixty pairs

of Men of Ross were set adrift on the sea as punishment for the deed; that the voyaging clerics Snedgus and Mac Riagla found these people on a terrestrial island paradise; and that two sons of Domnall still were alive when the clerics left Ireland. We do not learn why Fiacha was killed, although the inference is clear that the killing was regarded as justifiable; we are not told who passed judgment on the Men of Ross; and, more strangely still, we do not know how or why the two clerics happened to undertake the voyage upon the sea.

In all the other *imrama*, and in all other forms of this *imram*, the motive for the voyage of the hero or heroes is given some stress, and is always made clear. The absence of this element in *Poem* can only be explained, it seems to me, on the theories that the poet was writing a poem to accompany a more detailed account, perhaps in prose; or that he assumed his audience, from some other source, to be familiar with the story. That the missing introductory matter was the same essentially as that found in *Prose A* seems probable. If not, the author of *Prose A*, though a somewhat slavish and not always clear-minded follower of *Poem*, must be credited with the invention of the whole introductory machinery, inspired only by the hints in Stanzas 1-3 and 45-51 of *Poem*. But this author's very close dependence on *Poem*, especially in his treatment of the Elias episode, which he neither understood nor clarified,⁴¹ suggests that in the introduction he was following some authority.

The happy way in which the introductory elements first appearing in *Prose A* fit in with the part of the story preserved in *Poem* suggests a common source for the two pieces rather than an author for *Prose A* who was clever enough to invent motivating machinery and other structural and introductory matter with great aptness, yet so stupid as to misunderstand the poet's use of *muntir*,

⁴¹ He omits much of the detail found in *Poem*, such as the description of Elias' dwelling, the Gospel Book used by Elias, the sermon of Elias, the reference to Antichrist, etc. He does not make it clear that it is Elias who welcomes the clerics. In fact, from *Prose A* alone one does not learn that the clerics even saw Elias, although their later request to be allowed to see Enoch, copied from *Poem*, is only explainable on the assumption that they had already seen Elias (cf. *Poem*, Stanzas 56 ff.). *Prose B* makes the clerics see both Elias and Enoch, ignoring the fact that they had already seen Elias.

misconceive the Elias episode, and introduce chronological confusion. The conception of Snedgus and Mac Riagla as playing the role of messengers of Colum cille, bearing the decision of the great saint that the Men of Ross be set adrift to be punished by God, the errand itself suggesting the undertaking of a voyage of their own, would seem under the circumstances, a particularly inspired piece of invention. The introductory parts of *Prose A*, with which *Poem* has nothing to correspond, include the rather elaborate motivation of the murder of Fiacha, the details reading like genuine tradition. Note especially the detailed historical statement; the striking blood-spittle incident; the deer lure motive; the putting of the prisoners into one house to be burned alive; and the peculiar fact that the Men of Ross had never before been subject to a king. If the author of *Prose A* were merely inventing enough material to make the narrative materials in *Poem* intelligible, he could have omitted much of this. The style of the introductory section is marked by the same crispness and brevity as characterizes the rest of the piece; yet it takes up considerably more than one-third of the whole account.

The author of *Prose A*, throughout, uses as few words as possible, and seems to me to be condensing, as he certainly was in the Elias episode, if, as seems likely, he was following *Poem*, or some earlier version with a similar presentation. The form of the deer-lure incident seems especially to betray signs of condensation, *Prose A* not making it evident even that the appearance of the deer was the result of an intrigue:

Prose A: It was then that a deer passed near them. All the king's household go after the deer. Then the Men of Ross took his own weapons from the king, for none of them had a weapon, and so they killed him.

Prose B: Now one day there was an assembly held by them, and present with them were the two crown princes of their native lords, to wit, Diarmait Olmar and Ailill. And these said, "Truly yon neighboring lord who is over you is worse for you than we are. For neither our fathers nor our grandsires inflicted hardships like this, though ye continually slew them."

Then the gentry of the assembly formed a plan to kill Fiacha. Not long afterwards Fiacha entered the assembly, and his men saw a stag passing them, and loosed their hounds against it. They themselves went after the hounds, leaving Fiacha alone in the assembly. Then those gentry betrayed him and killed him, and after the murder they went to the safeguard of Ronan the Fair and Maine mac Niall, etc.

That the intrigue feature belonged to the original form of the incident is further suggested by a similar appearance of the motive in another piece of Celtic tradition. The sixth-century St. Cairnech aided King Muircheartach mac Erca in killing Cairnech's brother, King Luirig. Muircheartach visited King Luirig in his assembly. The Lord sent a fawn out of the mountain into the king's assembly [evidently to fulfill a prophecy the saint had made to the king]. All the host went in pursuit of the fawn except the king and his women. Muircheartach then killed King Luirig.⁴² Here clearly the appearance of the deer was no accident. Its appearance in *Prose A* as an accident suggests condensation, although it may possibly indicate imperfect knowledge of source materials.

It may be noted that the presentation in *Prose B* is not only more complete and intelligible, but perhaps more primitive, and that it harmonizes with Stanzas 49 and 51 of *Poem*. *Prose A* does not mention the part played by the native princes.

The abrupt turn of affairs in the section immediately following this incident also suggests the result of condensation, there being nothing to motivate the king's sudden change of mind. In all the later versions the suggestion of the resort to Colum cille comes from the protectors to whom the Men of Ross had fled. It is possible that the text of *Prose A* at this point indicates that the author had before him and was rejecting some such version as *Prose B*. *Prose A* reads:

That deed [the murder of Fiacha] was evil in his brother Donnchad's eyes, and he came and took them all prisoners, and puts them into one house to be burned alive. Then he himself said (*Bá andsin asbert-som-fesin*), "It is not meet for me to do this deed without counsel from my soul friend, from Colum cille." So he sends messengers to Colum cille.

The suggestion that the author of *Prose A* substituted the seventh-century Domnall for the eighth-century Domnall because he misunderstood *muntir Colaím cille* in *Poem* offers a plausible explanation of the change in time-setting if other evidence shows

⁴² Found in *The Legend of St. Cairnech*, preserved in one version of the Irish Nennius (J. H. Todd, ed., *The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius*, Irish Archeological Society, Dublin, 1848, pp. 183-84: the passage in question appears in the *Book of Ballymote* text only; cf. *Preface*, p. xli).

that there actually was such a change. Since the word would be appropriate, however, either in the sense of contemporary disciples of Colum cille or of members of the Columban establishment in subsequent times, the suggestion itself affords no direct evidence. The Irish life of Colum cille in the *Book of Lismore*, for example, affords many instances of *muntir* in the sense of contemporary disciples.⁴³ In the absence of conclusive evidence, therefore, that the time-setting really was altered by the author of *Prose A*, it seems fair to suppose that the phrase in *Poem* meant what the authors of all the prose versions took it to mean, members of the Ionan establishment in Colum cille's own time.

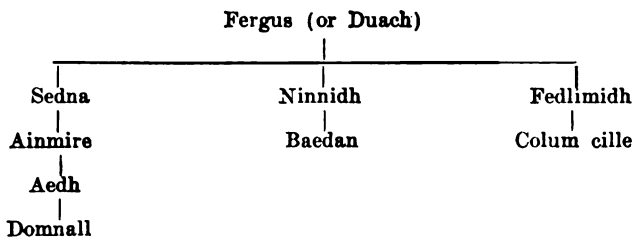
The absence in *Poem* of specific reference to Colum cille as playing the part of counsellor to Donnchad is not necessarily significant, since the resort to Colum cille belongs to the introductory section of the story, which is wholly lacking in *Poem* (except for the scattered hints in Stanzas 1, 2, 47-50). The failure of *Poem* to identify Domnall as Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire is also of doubtful significance in view of the nature of the presentation in *Poem*. The whole name would be unwieldy in the verse,⁴⁴ and if, as seems probable, the author felt his audience to be familiar with the events of the story, he would not feel any narrative responsibility for being more specific.

⁴³ *Betha Coluim Chille* in Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, Oxford, 1890, lines 896-897: *Orachuala Colum cille inni-sin doraidh re mhuinntir*, "So when Colum cille heard that, he said to his household," etc.; other instances appear in lines 885, 966, 973, 1012, and 1027 and in other lives in the same collection: *Betha Brenainn*, lines 3669, 3673; *Betha Shenain*, line 1815; etc.

I do not presume to challenge Professor Thurneysen's judgment on a linguistic matter but would merely point out by examples that the word was common in the narrower sense in which the authors of our prose versions understood it. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 342, explains *muntir*: "The family, vernacularly called *muintir* and in Latin *familia*, consisted of *fratres* or *commembres* whom the founder styles *mei familiares monachi*—and addressed as *filioli*." Cf. further *ibid.*, p. 162, n. x, and J. H. Todd, *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland* (Dublin, 1864), p. 159. On the derivation of *muntir* see J. Vendryes, *ZCP*, ix, 289 ff.; Julius Porkorney, *ZCP*, x, 202 ff. and other authorities cited therein.

⁴⁴ Even the use of two proper names seems to have furnished the poet some difficulty; see Thurneysen's note on the meter of Stanza 2, *Zwei Vers.*, p. 15.

Colum cille belonged to the same clan as Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire, being in fact a first cousin of Ainmire. Both belonged to the northern branch of the Hy Neills (the eighth-century Domnall belonged to the southern branch of the family). Colum cille's blood relationship with the line of kings mentioned in the prose texts may be shown as follows:⁴⁵



That Colum cille figures as the *anmchara* of a king of this line is of course peculiarly appropriate—he was the patron saint of the clan.⁴⁶ Donnchad's resort to Colum cille may have been suggested not only by the blood relationship involved but more probably by the history of Colum cille's political and religious affiliations with Donnchad's father and grandfather. Zimmer in his first study of the legend plausibly suggested that the author was thinking of Colum cille's participation in the great council of Druim Ceta, held by Aed in 574 A. D.⁴⁷ Aed's three objects in calling this assembly were to banish the poets from Ireland, to impose a tribute on the Scottish Dal Riada, and to oust Scannlan Mor from the kingship of Ossory.⁴⁸ Colum cille came to the council with a strong clerical party. He plead for the Scottish Dal Riada and for Scannlan Mor and persuaded Aed to modify his proposed move against the poets. Although Aed does not seem to have sent for Colum cille in this instance, the account does show the great saint in the role of influential adviser of Aed mac Ainmire and as an arbiter between the king and his enemies. On

⁴⁵ Cf. the more detailed genealogical chart in Reeves, p. 251.

⁴⁶ Keating, *History*, Book III, Sec. xii (*ITS*, ix, 1906, printed 1908).

⁴⁷ According to *AU*. The "verified" year would be 575. Cf. Mac Carthy, ed., *Annals of Ulster*, Vol. iv (Dublin, 1901), p. 2. Textual dates in *AU* are one year earlier than the verified year, from 487 to 1013 A. D.

⁴⁸ Keating, III, ix; O'Donnell, *Betha*, Secs. 315-55; *Lismore Lives*, pp. 309 ff.

another occasion, according to a tradition preserved in the *Book of Lenster*,⁴⁹ and in O'Donnell's *Betha* (Sec. 94), Colum cille gave Aed a cowl which would preserve him from death. Aed gave Colum cille the royal fort at Derry, where one of the great Columban monasteries was established.⁵⁰ Colum cille is said to have brought to life the drowned daughter of Aed.⁵¹ Ainmire and his associates won the battle of Cul dreimne through the prayers of Colum cille, according to *AU* (at 560).

Colum cille's relations with the youthful Domnall on the occasion of the council of Druim Ceta are especially suggestive. Conall, son of Aed's queen, was incited by his mother to throw missiles at the clerics in order to insult them. Colum cille cursed Conall for the deed and said that he should be deprived of coming to the estate of kingship. His attitude toward Domnall offers a striking contrast. Upon first reaching the assembly the saint went directly to the party of Domnall, and after being received with extreme courtesy by the young prince, prophesied that Domnall should survive his brethren, should be a famous king, and should never be delivered into the hands of his enemies.⁵² O'Donnell's *Betha* preserves the tradition (Sec. 95) that Colum cille once prophesied in Tir Eogain that "to this sanctuary shall come one Domnall mac Aeda mac Ainmire, king of Erin, and the tribe of Conall with him." The account contains the further prophecy that Domnall and his associates shall violate the sanctuary and that Colum cille, who will at that time be in Alba, shall prevail upon God to bring weakness upon them until they make proper terms with Colum cille's successor.

It may be noted in passing that neither O'Donnell nor presumably his sources scrupled at making Colum cille appear to be alive during Domnall's kingship, a situation affording an inter-

⁴⁹ Quoted and translated by Stokes in *Lismore Lives*, pp. 306 ff.

⁵⁰ *Lismore Lives*, pp. 174-75.

⁵¹ O'Donnell, *Betha*, Sec. 94. For further evidence of the relations between Colum cille and Aed, see *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, ed., the Rev. Dennis Murphy (Dublin, 1896), p. 94.

⁵² Keating, *loc. cit.*; Adamnan, *Vita S. Columbae*, I, x; *Lismore Lives*, pp. 310-11; C. Plummer, ed., *Bædæ Opera Historica*, II (Oxon., 1896), p. 65. O'Donnell's *Betha* (Sec. 136) cites the incident and asserts that it was by virtue of Colum cille's blessing that Domnall secured the kingship of Erin.

esting parallel to the comparatively slight anachronism involved in placing Colum cille and Domnall's son in the same period.

A still more significant parallel is found in the Preface to the *Hymn of St. Cummian*.⁵³ Colum cille here actually appears as the *anmchara* of Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire. Domnall, wishing to make confession to his *anmchara*, sends a messenger to ask Colum cille whether he shall go eastward to Colum cille himself, or, if not, whom he shall accept as *anmchara* (in Colum cille's stead). The incident evidently took place during Domnall's kingship (cf. the line "Now . . . Domnall recognizes a king above him, etc."). The incident therefore also offers a parallel for the sort of anachronism involved in our *imram*, since Colum cille had been dead thirty years when Domnall became king, and suggests that the author of our story would not be disturbed by the anachronism involved in making Colum cille and Donnchad contemporaries.

The chief strength of Professor Thurneysen's position lies perhaps in the fact that the seventh-century Domnall had no son Donnchad, so far as known, while the eighth-century Domnall was the father of the powerful high king Donnchad. Yet it must be remembered that none of the existing versions identifies Domnall or Donnchad with the eighth-century rulers, that the phrase used in *Poem* is inconclusive, and that the earliest complete version, *Prose A*, makes Donnchad ruler over Tir Connell, not over Ireland. There is an equal lack of evidence for the existence of a son Fiacha in the case of both Domnalls. The significance of the combination Donnchad mac Domnall in identifying the royal persons of the story is also lessened, I think, by an examination of the occurrence of these names in the records of the sixth and following centuries. Donnchad ("Duncan") and Domnall ("Donnell"), and Fiacha are all names which appear frequently in the annals. They sometimes appear in suggestive combinations. They seem especially common in the clan to which Domnall mac Aed and Colum cille belonged.

Maelcobha, a brother of Domnall mac Aed, father of the immediate successors of Domnall, himself a king of Ireland early in the seventh century, had a grandson named Domnall who had a

⁵³ *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ed., J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson (London, 1898, *Henry Bradshaw Society*), pp. 9-10.

son named Donnchad.⁵⁴ This same Maelchoba had a grandson Donnchad who was one of the successors of Colum cille as abbot of Iona.⁵⁵ There are at least five Donnchad mac Domnalls mentioned in the annals, four of whom were kings, including a king of Leinster, two kings of Meath, and the eighth-century high king (*AU* 768 *et seq.*, 927, 949, 998, 1088; cf. *FM* 759 *et seq.*, 922, 989 *et seq.*, 1035, 1071).

Fiachra, or Fiachna, appears as a son of Feradhach or Fergus, a first cousin of Ainmire and Colum cille. Eoghan, a brother of Colum cille and a first cousin of Ainmire, was the father of an Aedh who was father of Donnchad father of Domnall.⁵⁶ Conall, the brother of Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire, whom Colum cille cursed at Druim Ceta, had a son Fiachra, who died in 617 (*AU*). A Fiacha, son of Baedan, was slain by the Picts in 604 (*FM*). Another Fiacha, son of Baedan, was killed in 622 (*FM*) by Fiachna son of Deman. The latter Fiachna had a son Donnchad who died in 643 (*FM*) or 646 (*AU*). A Fiachra son of Ciaran son of Ainmire died in 615 (*FM*) or 619 (*AU*). Suibhne, king of Ireland in 611 (*FM*) was a son of Fiachna.

A Domnall mac Donnchad was slain by his brothers in 798 (*AU*). A Fiachra son of Ailene, lord of Mugdorna, was killed in 745 (*FM*). This Fiacha had a brother Donnchad, who seems later to have been a lord of Mugdorna. This Donnchad mac Ailene was killed in 773 in a war with Donnchad mac Domnall, high king. Here is a Fiacha, ruler over Mugdorna, who has a brother Donnchad, a combination which offers an interesting parallel to the situation in our story. Yet obviously these are not the historic persons who figure in the legend. Another conjunction of the names Fiacha and Donnchad appears at 779 (*FM*), where a royal meeting is said to have been arranged between Donnchad mac Domnall and Fiacha, son of Aed Roin, at Inis na Righ. A Duncath mac Eugam died in 620 (*AU*). As to the frequency of the occurrence of the proper names in question one may consult further the following entries in *FM*: For Domnall, 537, 599, 601, 605, 617, 624, 722, 738, 739, 758, 772, 778, 781, 799, 862, 874, 883, 901; for Donnchad, 616, 635, 643, 657, 665, 669, 673, 674, 675,

⁵⁴ Reeves, *Adamnan*, opp. p. 342.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 379. Cf. Bede, *Hist. Eccl. Lib. v, Cap. xxii*.

⁵⁶ Reeves, *Adamnan*, opp. p. 342.

679, 681, 693, 705, 718, 722, 730, 733, 759, 766, 768, 773, 781, 784, 821, 837, 844, 869, 874, 885; for Fiacha, 501, 590, 592, 593, 604, 611, 613, 614, 615, 620, 622, 625, 626, 643, 646, 661, 706, 742, 745, 747, 753, 754, 759, 765, 771, 779, 781, 835, 886, etc. The index to MacCarthy's edition of *AU* lists 35 Donnchads, 107 Domnalls, and 34 Fiachas (including Fiachra and Fiachna).

The names Fiacha and Donnchad, as well as Domnall, are seen to be extremely common ones, both in the seventh and eighth-century annalistic entries. None of the Fiachas of the later period seems to be closely related with the ruling house. In the earlier period there are several Donnchads and Fiachas nearly related by blood with Colum cille and with Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire. Tir Connell, over which *Prose A* makes Donnchad ruler, was Colum cille's native province (cf. O'Donnell's *Betha*, Secs. 188-89 and 275), a fact that again suggests that the relation of Colum cille and Donnchad in the story is an original feature. Manus O'Donnell, who collected a vast amount of tradition dealing with Colum cille, never mentions Domnall mac Murchado, although Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire appears frequently (Secs. 95, 128, 136, 142, 243, 327, 328, 329, 331, 348, 350, 354, and 355).⁸⁷

The statement of *Prose A* is not out of harmony with the historical facts so far as known. The annalists are in doubt as to who succeeded Domnall mac Aed. *FM* names Conall Cael and Cellach (sons of Maelchoba mac Aed mac Ainmire). *AU* has a similar entry but adds, "Here it is doubted who reigned after Domnall. Other historiographers say that four kings reigned, viz., Cellach and Conall Cael, and the two sons of Aed Slane"⁸⁸ (son of Fergus Cerrbhoil, son of Conall Cremthainn, son of Niall Nine-

⁸⁷ It is true, on the other hand, that some indications in the annals point to the association of the late eighth-century kings with Iona. Both Domnall and his son Donnchad made proclamations of the law of Colum cille (tribute to Iona). Niall Frosach, who reigned after Domnall mac Murchado but before Donnchad, seems to have abdicated after a seven-year reign to become a monk at Iona, where he "died on his pilgrimage" in 778 (*AU*). I find no basis in the annals or elsewhere for the passage quoted in O'Flaherty's *Ogygia* (Dublin, 1793), II, 376, on the authority of Ware, which says that Domnall mac Murchado died in Iona in 763 on a pilgrimage.

⁸⁸ Aed Slane had a son Donnchad whose son Finnachta was promised the kingship of Erin, according to O'Donnell's *Betha*, Secs. 136-137.

Hostager),⁵⁹ viz., Diarmait and Blathmac, in joint sovereignty." The *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, under 614, lists the fourteen kings reigning after Domnall, the first four being Connell, Cellach, Blathmac, and Dermot. According to *FM* the latter two began a joint sovereignty in 647, after Conall and Cellach. Tigernach, the most ancient of the annalists, seems to reflect both explanations.⁶⁰ *Prose A*, it will be remembered, mentions the taking of Ireland after Domnall's death by Maelchoba's sons, saying that Domnall's sons, even Donnchad and Fiacha, were in sovereignty over Cénell Conaill, and the Men of Ross. Though the annalists mention several sons of Domnall, one finds no Donnchad and no Fiacha among them.⁶¹

An examination of the other proper names in the early versions seems to afford little help. The earliest mention of the Men of Ross I have been able to find is in *Three Fragments*,⁶² at 677, where there is a long account of the relations of Finnachta son of Donnchad son of Aed Slane, already cited, with the king of Fer-Ros, who figures as an adviser of Finnachta before the latter became king. There are references to the Men of Ross in *AU* at 827, 851, 923, and 937.⁶³ Snedgus and Mac Riagla are uncommon names. *AU* mentions at 769 (*FM*, 765) a Snedgus son of Ainftech, and a

⁵⁹ Matter in parenthesis in one ms. only (Hennessy, ed., Vol. I, p. 107, n. 7).

⁶⁰ *R. C.*, xvii (1896), pp. 186, 187. Cf. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia* (1793 ed.), II, 374.

⁶¹ According to *FM* Aengus son of Domnall was slain in 646 (*AU*, 649). Two other sons, Conall and Colgu, were slain in 662 (*AU*, *FM*). In 665 (*AU*, *FM*) another son, Ailill Flann Easa, died. *AU* lists at 657 the death of a Fergal son of Domnall, and that of a Fergus son of Domnall at 653 (*FM*, 649).

⁶² John O'Donovan, ed., *Annals of Ireland, Three Fragments Copied from Ancient Sources by Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh*, Dublin, 1860, *Irish Arch. and Celtic Soc.* See pp. 71 ff., 35, 45.

⁶³ As to the Mugdorne Maigen, linked with the Men of Ross in later versions, see William Reeves, *Eccl. Antiq. of Down, Connor, and Dromore* (Dublin, 1847), pp. 26, 205 ff. Ó Máile quotes the references in *AU*, ranging from 611 to 793, and notes that they were a people of unknown race (cf. John Mac Neill, "Early Irish Population Groups," *Proc. R. I. A.*, xxix, Sec. C, p. 91). The modern barony of Cremorne preserves the name (from *Crichmugdhorna*). The older name for the district was *Benna Bairche*, "The Peaks of Bairche."

Snedgus the Ruddy in 726 (*FM*, 721). "Mac Riagla," which seems to mean "son of the rule," I do not find elsewhere. Diarmait Olach and Ailill, princes of the Men of Ross, are not known, though the names are common ones in early Irish. Donnchad son of Aed Slane (Aed Slane was the immediate successor of Aed mac Ainmire) had brothers named Diarmaid and Oilill.⁶⁴

It is of course not impossible that Domnall mac Aed had sons named Donnchad and Fiacha besides the sons mentioned in the annals. The fact that Domnall was succeeded not by his own, but by his brother's sons⁶⁵ would fit well the situation in the story, where, considering *Poem* only, Fiacha rules over a minor district, and considering *Prose A*, Donnchad and Fiacha rule over neighboring minor districts. The situation would harmonize equally well, however, with the assumption that the author was merely selecting an appropriate historical setting for a fictitious or legendary voyage tale. Professor Thurneysen's suggestion that the reference in Stanza 47 of *Poem* to the fact that after Fiacha's death only two sons of Domnall [mac Murchado] remained alive pointed perhaps to a recollection of historical facts finds little support in the annalistic records, since five or six sons of this Domnall seem to have lived long after the beginning of Donnchad's reign.⁶⁶

The most important actors in the story are most difficult to identify with historical persons. The voyaging monks are not known. The principals in the quarrel which leads to the events of the story, Fiacha, Diarmait Olmar and Ailill, are not known. Donnchad can not be identified with certainty. The assertion that the Men of Ross had no king before Fiacha seems dubious in view of the entry in *Three Fragments*. But Colum cille and King Domnall are historical. The latter does not play a part, the events

⁶⁴ *AU*, 634, 694; *FM*, 659; cf. Keating, III, xii.

⁶⁵ Under the Irish law of succession or inheritance, kingship was not inherited but elective, the election being confined to the male members of the dead king's *derbfine*, family group, MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History*, p. 230.

⁶⁶ Murchadh was slain in battle in 760 (*FM*) or 764 (*AU*). The rest lived on till late in the century. Innreachtach died in the same year as Donnchad (792 *FM*, 796 *AU*). Other sons seem to be: Finsheachta and Diarmait, killed in battle in 793 *FM* (796 *AU*); Diarmait the Black, 763 *AU*; and Eithne, 794 *AU*. At 797 *FM* mentions a Muireadhach son of Domnall.

merely being dated soon after his death. Colum cille figures, at long range, in the motivating machinery, though in a dignified role. This situation suggests that the author was connecting with famous historical figures of an heroic epoch a tale which, though perhaps resting upon a legendary basis, is as it stands, a fictitious, literary production belonging to a recognized type of early Irish narrative literature, the *imram*. The mass of legend connecting Colum cille with Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire and his family, as well as the closer agreement in chronology, strongly suggests that the seventh-century rather than the eighth-century Domnall was involved in the original form of the story. And all the versions which are specific on the point do so specify him. Since the only one which does not complete the identification, *Poem*, glorifies the men of Ross for killing Fiacha, it would seem more probable that its author had in mind the early Domnall rather than one so close to his own time.

The testimony of Stanza 2 of *Poem* is important but difficult of interpretation. The voyage is placed *i tosach flatha Donnchadh iar ndith Domnaill*, "in the beginning of the reign of Donnchad after the death of Domnall." If the poet meant that Donnchad occupied the same seat of authority as Domnall, there is strong support for Professor Thurneysen's view, unless, as is not impossible, the poet was himself confused as to which Domnall figured in the legend upon which he was basing his poem. On the other hand, the equally natural inference from Stanza 2 that Donnchad was an immediate successor of Domnall and that the events took place soon after Domnall's death, speak very strongly against Thurneysen's interpretation, because seven years elapsed between the death of Domnall mac Murchado (*FM* 763) and the first year of the reign of his son Donnchad (*FM* 769), during which interval Niall Frosach was king.

It is perhaps true that the prophecy of the Norse invasion would be particularly apt in a tale the setting of which is but a generation or two earlier than the invasion itself. The language does not certainly imply that the invasion was imminent, however, and in any event the important fact in this connection is the date of authorship, the environment of the author. An author working under the shadow of the Norse invasion might quite as readily insert a prophecy of the invasion in a tale of seventh-century set-

ting as in one of eighth-century setting, especially if his legendary materials had to do with the earlier period. The author of *Prose A* was not disturbed by the placing of the prophecy about two hundred years before the event. The giving to the prophesying Irish cleric on his island paradise powers of prophecy comparable with those of the Biblical prophets would in no wise daunt the clerical author of our *imram*. The later, longer versions do not contain the prophecy, if one excepts its appearance at the close of *Prose B* in the part which is obviously a copy of the *Prose A* version.

The incomplete presentation of the story in *Poem* indicates that *Poem* drew upon a more complete version, the missing elements of which may very probably be reflected in *Prose A* and possibly in the later versions. If so, it seems highly probable that both Colum cille and the son of Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire belonged originally to the story. This view is confirmed, I think, not only by the annalistic evidence but also by a further study of the structure of the tale.

If Snedgus and Mac Riagla were the original voyagers, and surely one may assume that they were, the device whereby their journey is motivated may reasonably be assumed likewise to have been present in the first literary version. The clerics, in performing their errand connected with the punishment of the Men of Ross, not unnaturally conceive the idea of making a voluntary pilgrimage upon the ocean. If they were not messengers of Colum cille, then of whom? If Colum cille did not pass judgment, who did? If the clerics were not messengers at all, then what was their role and how did it lead to the voyage? Efforts to make it appear that the text indicates Donnchad's resort to a successor of Colum cille instead of to Colum cille himself are unsupported by evidence.⁹⁷

The story is a religious legend, and it is unlikely that the presumably clerical author would have his king resort to a little known, especially to an unnamed, saint. The simplest explanation of the chronological difficulty seems to me the most plausible; namely, that the author of the *imram*, writing two or three hundred years after the events involved, interested chiefly in ecclesiastical lore and perhaps not expert in royal chronology, acquainted,

⁹⁷ *Supra*, p. 354.

through Adamnan and other sources such as Manus O'Donnell utilized, with Colum cille's close connection with Aed mac Ainmire and with traditions connecting Colum cille and Domnall, looking upon the sixth and seventh centuries as an heroic period in church history, recalling perhaps the tales of sea-pilgrims of that era,⁶⁸ and desirous of glorifying the Columban establishment, chose his legendary material from a body of tradition involving a royal line closely connected with Colum cille both by blood and by careers, through the use of two real or imaginary sons of Domnall mac Aed mac Ainmire, Donnchad and Fiacha. He was either unaware of the anachronism or undisturbed by it. Indeed he may have felt that he was following literary precedent in having so great a saint as Colum cille live on into a succeeding generation,⁶⁹ or he may have been following legendary materials which already contained the chronologically inharmonious elements.

The authors of the later versions, some of whom seem to have drawn upon tradition not preserved in *Poem* or *Prose A*, are a unit in regarding Colum cille as a participant and in identifying Domnall as the seventh-century high king. In *Sechran*, for example, Snedgus and Mac Riagla are "Colum cille's own fosterlings," and the protectors say, "We will yield thee the judgment of Colum cille, son of Fedlimid." If the author of *Prose A*, relying solely on *Poem* for his materials, recognized Donnchad as the late eighth-century king, it is strange that he did not give *muntir* an interpretation to correspond. If he did not so recognize him, one of the chief reasons for supposing Stanza 2 of *Poem* to refer to Domnall mac Murchado seems weakened.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Cf. *Manly Anniversary Studies*, pp. 276-283.

⁶⁹ The annals attribute extremely long lives to various saints as does hagiological tradition in general in Ireland. Bishop Ibharr, for example, died in 500 A. D. (*FM*), aged 304 years; St. Darerca in 517 (*FM*), ninety-score years old; St. Mochta in 534, aged 300 years; St. Sinchell, in 548, aged 303 years; St. Cathert, 554, 150 years; St. Mochaemhog, 655, 413 years; St. Ultan, 656, 180 years old; Brennan of Birr, 573 (*Three Fragments*, Frag. 1), 180 or 300 years old. Ailbe was one famous saint who is connected with tradition which would make him both earlier and later than Patrick. Cf. C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, (Oxford, 1910), I, *Introd.*, pp. xxv, xxviii ff., and esp. p. xxx.

⁷⁰ "So datieren konnte der Dichter nur, wenn er einen allbekannten Donnchad meinte," *Zwei Vers.*, p. 26. The confusion between the Dom-

The introduction of Maine mac Neill and Ronan Finn in the later versions as the "chief protectors" or "chief saints" to whom the murderers of Fiacha resort for protection, has been regarded as complicating the problem of historical setting, so far as these versions go. This is certainly true if the famous fifth-century Maine mac Niall is meant. There is, however, a seventh-century Maine mac Neill who comes much nearer to the time of the supposed events of the story and it is possible that it is he who is meant. He appears in the list of kings and bishops and abbots who signed the famous Law of Adamnan in 697 A. D. He died in 712.⁷¹

Ronan Finn, whom none of the students of our legend seems to have identified clearly, was a contemporary of Domnall mac Aed and of his sons. There seem to have been two important saints named Ronan Finn, who are sometimes confused. One is Ronan Finn son of Saran son of Colchu, etc., who was connected with Lann Ronain in Hui Each of Ulster, and whose day is May 22 in the calendars.⁷² The other, who seems certainly the one meant in the texts (*Merugud* actually calls him "Ronain fhinn mic Beraid") is Ronan Finn son of Bearach son of Criodhan, etc., a saint celebrated in Irish legend and not without close connections with the persons named in our tale. He played a prominent part in the Battle of Magh Rath (fought in 637 A. D. between Domnall mac Aed and Congall Claen). He it was who cursed Domnall's enemy Suibhne. According to *FM* this Ronan died in 664. He figures as *oirnidhe*, "patron," in *Buile Suibhne*.⁷³ Whatever

nalls and the uncertainty of identifying Donnchad is somewhat similar to the confusion in English monastic legends between the Anglican king Offa, an epic hero mentioned in *Widsith* and the *Beowulf*, with the historic Mercian king Offa, 757-796 A. D.; Edith Rickert, "The Old English Offa Saga," *Modern Philology*, II (1904-05), pp. 29-48; 321-376. On confusion of names in general in early Irish history, see Plummer, *VS*, I, p. xc, n. 6; Kuno Meyer, *Betha Colmáin Maic Lúacháin*, p. xiii.

⁷¹ Kuno Meyer, *Cáin Adamnáin, Anecdota Osoniensa* (Oxford, 1905), pp. 16, 17, 42.

⁷² Reeves, *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 313, note o; *Féilire Oengusso*, Stokes, ed., p. 125.

⁷³ For the romantic accounts of Ronan Finn's activity in the events of Domnall mac Aed's reign, see not only *Buile Suibhne*, "The Frenzy of Suibhne," ed. and trans. by J. G. O'Keeffe as "The Adventures of Suibhne

weight these proper names added in the late versions has, therefore, seems to confirm the theory of a seventh-century setting.

Zimmer, it will be remembered, stressed the probability of a close connection between our *imram* and the traditions of experiences of Ionan clerics on the sea. This position appears to me to be a sound one, supported strongly by the evidence in Adamnan and elsewhere. Unfortunately, however, the brilliant German scholar seems to have run somewhat ahead of the evidence in his rather fantastic explanation of the specific interpretation of the geographical facts supposedly reflected in the account. I shall call attention briefly to what seem to me untenable features of this part of Zimmer's explanation of the legend.

The inaptness of identifying the stream of water which tasted like sweet milk (Sec. 2) with the Gulf Stream would seem sufficiently evident from the fact that the main point of the episode is the quenching of thirst. Zimmer figured that three days of rowing from Boyne-mouth would bring the clerics to the Gulf Stream. But three days is the conventional interval between wonder islands in the *imrama*,⁷⁴ there is no data on the velocity of the wind which is blowing the boat, and it is clear from the story that the three days of drifting did not begin at Boyne-mouth, but followed an indefinite period of rowing. The later versions place the stream on an island, and it seems probable that the stream was on an island in the form of the story which *Poem* incompletely records.⁷⁵

The island visited in Section 3 Zimmer makes no effort to identify. It is a typical *imram* marvel and recalls the salmon-producing

Geilt," *ITS*, XII, (London, 1913); but also John O'Donovan, *The Banquet of Dun na n-Gedh and the Battle of Magh Rath*, (Dublin, 1842). This saint's day is November 18 in *Féilire Oengusso*.

⁷⁴ In *Imram Maelduin*, for example, the interval is three days in six of the eight cases where the time is given.

⁷⁵ That the stream is not specifically placed on an island in *Prose A* is probably an omission due to the author's close following of *Poem*, where, owing to the necessities of poetic treatment, the absence of specific mention of an island is less significant. For parallels, see *Navigatio Brendani*, Sec. xxiv (Schröder, ed., pp. 4, 35). According to Schirmer (p. 50), the voyagers in the *Life of Machutes* find *aqua suavissima*, which relieves hunger and thirst. As the Latin text is inaccessible to me, I do not know whether this stream is on an island or not.

water arch in *Imram Maelduin*, Ep. 25. It provides food as the preceding marvel had provided drink.

The probability that the author meant to identify the monsters with heads of cats, dogs, or swine, with the Norse seems lessened by the fact that the presentation of unknown wonder islands requires that the inhabitants be conceived as extraordinary beings;⁷⁶ hence the common occurrence of giants, amazons, fairies, monsters, and the like in journeys of wonder. They are more often hostile than friendly. The essential character of the animalheaded beings in our *imram* is probably primarily that of hostile otherworld monstrous beings.

That there existed a widespread tradition, possibly going back to a primitive belief in the possibility of unnatural unions between animals and human beings, of the existence of races of beings with human bodies and with the heads or faces of animals, there can be no doubt, and there is evidence of its presence in Ireland. Nor is the selection of dogs, cats, and swine accidental, as all three animals have bad reputations in folk lore and particularly in the superstitions of the sea. An interesting example of the demonic character of the cat is found in *Imram Maelduin* (Ep. 11), where the cat guardian of the deserted banquet hall leaps through the thief and reduces him to ashes. The cat is a common familiar of witches. The hostile sea-beasts in *Betha Brennain*⁷⁷ are sea-cats,⁷⁸ as in the related legend, "The Three Clerics and the Cat."⁷⁹ Swine have been in particularly bad repute since they became the habitation of the devils which Christ cast out of an afflicted mortal. Fishermen especially regard swine as ill-omened beings.⁸⁰ Among the most clearly infernal of the otherworld beings encountered by Maelduin are the swinelike creatures of Episode 10.⁸¹ It is unlucky

⁷⁶ Paul Sébillot, *Legendes, croyances, et superstitions de la mer* (Paris, 1886), I, 351.

⁷⁷ *Lismore Lives*, pp. 257, 258.

⁷⁸ Fletcher J. Bassett, "Sea-Phantoms, or Legends and Superstitions of the Sea" (Chicago, 1892), p. 278, notes the bad reputation of the cat at sea.

⁷⁹ H. Gaidoz, *Mélusine*, IV, cols. 6-11, and Stokes, *Lismore Lives*, Preface, pp. vii-x, give text and translation.

⁸⁰ Bassett, pp. 134, 279, 429, 450.

⁸¹ *R. C.*, IX, 473, 475. In connection with Zimmer's belief that not only this story but that of Maelduin reflected actual scenery of the northern

for fishermen to meet a dog at sea.⁸² Cerberus is of course an early example of the dog as an uncanny being. Satan is said at one time to have appeared as a dog at sea and raised a storm.⁸³

Irish tradition seems to have known a race of catheads and dogheads. A passage in the *Book of Lenster*⁸⁴ refers to Cattchen, "Cathead," king of the Cattchin, "Catheads." Note also a passage in *Cath Finntraga*, where in a roll of the kings and hosts of the world assembled before the world king, Duire Donn, one finds *Comur Croingeann ri Fer Conchenn ocus Caitchenn ri Fer Caitchenn*, "Comur of the curved sword, the king of the dogheads and Cathead, king of the men of the catheads."⁸⁵ In this instance there is neither evidence of the identification of the catheads or dogheads with the Northmen nor evidence that the names appear as nicknames for individuals. Swine-headed men are encountered by clerics in one of the continental forms of the Brendan legend.⁸⁶

In general, the tradition of a dogheaded or dogfaced race seems widespread. Marco Polo describes the Island of Andaman where dwelt cannibalistic, dogheaded, idolatrous savages.⁸⁷ Friar Odoric describes the dogheaded people on the Isle Vacumeran, *alias* Nychoneran.⁸⁸ The Travels of Sir John Mandeville⁸⁹ tells of a dogheaded race on the island of Nacumero. *The Voyage of Johannes de Plano Carpini* has dogheads in Chapters XV and XXIII.⁹⁰ The conception seems to be as old as Ctesias,⁹¹ and there is evi-

islands, note that Johannis de Fordun, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, Lib. II, Cap. x ("Historians of Scotland" edition, p. 43), mentions an "*Insula Helantmok*, i. e., *insula porcorum*," in a list of northern Scottish islands.

⁸² Bassett, pp. 279, 430.

⁸³ Bassett, p. 90.

⁸⁴ Noted by Stokes, *R. C.*, xxi, 139, n. 1.

⁸⁵ Kuno Meyer, ed., *Anecdota Ozoniensia, Med. and Modern Ser.*, Vol. I, Part IV (Oxford, 1885), p. 1.

⁸⁶ *Vom sente Brendan*, line 1245. Printed by Schröder, *Peregrinatio Sancti Brendani*.

⁸⁷ Col. Henry Yule, *The Book of Marco Polo* (3d ed. revised by Henri Cordier, London, 1903), Book III, Chap. 13, pp. 309 ff.

⁸⁸ Henri Cordier, ed., *Les voyages en Asie au XIV^e siècle du bienheureux Frère Odoric de Pordenone* (Paris, 1891), pp. 201 ff.

⁸⁹ A. W. Pollard, ed., *Sir John Mandeville's Travels* (London, 1900), p. 130. As to probable borrowings of this piece from Odoric, cf. Cordier, *Odoric*, *Introd.*, p. 1.

⁹⁰ Pollard, *op. cit.*, pp. 233, 248.

⁹¹ *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, 311.

dence of the existence of the tradition not only in the Orient, but in Europe and America. The Cubans told Columbus that the Caribs were maneaters with dogs' muzzles; the Danes told of Cynocephali in Finland; the Arab geographer Ibn Said described the Borús (Prussians) as dogfaced.⁹² Cordier discusses the tradition of a race of dogheads at length in his *Odoric* and prints several old pictures.⁹³ In one early map, the dog-headed race was placed in Scandinavia.⁹⁴

A passage in *LU* on the history of the monsters, after telling of Noah's cursing of Ham, continues: "so that Ham is the first person who was cursed after the deluge; and so that he is Cain's successor after the deluge; and so that of him were born *Luchrupáin* [dwarfs] and Fomoraig [Fomorians] and Gaborchinn [horseheads] and every unshapely appearance moreover that is on human beings." The same document further on reflects the same doubt as do our versions of the Snedgus and Mac Riagla legend as to whether Ham or Cain were the ancestor of the monstrous beings.⁹⁵

The Fomorians figure in Irish legend as monstrous beings, particularly as giants,⁹⁶ and were at times identified with the Northmen.⁹⁷ The *LU* passage reflects the conception of the Fomorians

⁹² *Op. cit.*, II, 309-12. Col. Yule also notes other tales of Oriental races which trace the ancestry of certain tribes to unnatural unions of human beings and animals. Similar conceptions appear in Ethiopian and Portuguese tradition. Compare the dog as the father of hags in Celtic, D. Hyde, *Beside the Fire* (London, 1890), pp. 79, 163. Cordier (*Odoric*, pp. 212-13) quotes from an unpublished Persian manuscript a passage which gives an explanation of the origin of the dogheads: The wife of Japheth, son of Noah, having died in childbirth, the child was nursed by a dog and developed such fierce canine traits that it was sent away into the west, where it became the ancestor of the dogheads. Compare the explanation of the swineheads in our legend as of the race of Ham or Cain.

⁹³ Cordier cites further H. de Charency, *Les Hommes-Chiens* (taken in part from *l'Athénée orientale*, 1882, No. 4, p. 209). Cf. further Bassett, p. 298.

⁹⁴ Cordier, *Odoric*, p. 209.

⁹⁵ Stokes, *R. C.*, I, 257 and d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le Cycle Mythologique* (Paris, 1884), pp. 92 ff. Compare Keating, Book I, Chap. VII, where the Fomorians are mentioned as navigators of the race of Cham from Africa.

⁹⁶ d'Arbois, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Eleanor Hull, *The Cuchullin Saga*, p. 81; cf. Zimmer, *Berührungen*, p. 312.

⁹⁷ See Alexander Bugge, *On the Fomorians and Norsemen* (Christiana,

as gigantic monsters rather than as Northmen and certainly lends some support to the conceptions found in the late versions of our story of the monstrous inhabitants of the islands as descendants of Cain or Ham.⁹⁸ It must be admitted, however, that the author may have been thinking of the Northmen when he described the martyrdom of the ship's company on the Isle of the Catheads. Neither *Poem* nor *Prose A* refers to Ham or Cain in the account of the Swineheads, and traditions of actual experiences of Ionan clerics among the heathen Norse are not improbably reflected. This does not mean, of course, that the author had any specific, particularly satiric, purpose of identifying the Norse with the monsters as such.⁹⁹ Zimmer's attempt to identify the sources of Sections 5 and 8 seems needlessly complex;¹⁰⁰ but does not require discussion here.

1905) for text and translation of Duaid mac Firbis' sixteenth-century treatise "On the Fomorians and the Lochlannachs."

⁹⁸ An interesting Oriental parallel may be found in a quotation from *Legends of the Koran* (quoted by Bassett, p. 298): the plague-stricken descendants of the maker of the golden calf dwell on an island in the Red Sea, whither Moses had sent their guilty ancestor. When a ship approaches, they run to the beach to cry, "Touch me not."

⁹⁹ The dogheads in Oriental legend are called idolaters (Yule, *Marco Polo*, loc. cit.). Grendel and his dam in *Beowulf* are heathen and are descendants of Cain.

¹⁰⁰ The elements which Zimmer traces to the fragmentary *LU* version of "The Two Sorrows," to *Imram Hua Corra*, and to *Dicuill* were all present in traditional vision literature accessible to the author (*Fis Adamnain* itself seems as old as our *imram*, Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 167), and in current conceptions of *terra repromissionis*. Bird-islands appear in *Imram Maelduin*, Episodes 3, 18, 19 (cf. Ep. 10); in *Navigatio Brendani*, Sec. 10, and elsewhere. On the possible geographical basis for the accounts of bird-islands in early Irish literature, see D. Du Noyer, *Proc. R. I. A.*, VIII, 429 ff.; Schröder, *Perigrinatio S. Brend.*, p. 40, note 6; Westropp, *Proc. R. I. A.*, XXX, 237; as well as *Dicuill*. The tree with birds as a feature of otherworld descriptions seems common to pagan and Christian literature, A. C. L. Brown, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 82 ff.; Plummer, *VS*, I, clii; and Boswell, *Irish Precursor of Dante* (London, 1908), p. 85. The notion of souls appearing in the form of birds is also common to pagan and Christian tradition (Plummer, p. cxlvii), and is a widespread motive, especially common in Celtic: see T. P. Cross, *R. C.*, XXXI (1910), p. 437, note 2.

In an earlier article,¹⁰¹ I presented, in condensed form, evidence of the extremely close similarity between Ionan tradition recorded in Adamnan's life of Colum cille and the *imram* tradition, and called particular attention to the career of Cormac mac Liathain,¹⁰² itself almost a complete *imram*. I also surveyed some of the evidence which indicates not only that the sixth and seventh centuries constituted a heroic period in Irish church history and were the era par excellence of the sea pilgrim, but that all other *imrama* have their settings in this early period. These facts, I think, offer strong corroborative evidence that the original time-setting of the legend of Snedgus and Mac Riagla, clerics of Colum cille, was this heroic era rather than late eighth century. The chronological error of making Colum cille a contemporary of early seventh century kings is chargeable, I believe, to the original author of the tale, who did not think in terms of centuries and who did not scruple to make Colum cille a contemporary of the son and grandson of royal persons with whom the great saint did have intimate personal relations.

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¹⁰¹ "Clerical Sea Pilgrimages and the Imrama," *Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature*, pp. 276-283.

¹⁰² For the text, see Adamnan, *Vita Sancti Columbi*, *Lib. I, Cap. vi* and *II, xlii* (Reeves or Fowler edition—Skene's edition in "Historians of Scotland" series has different chapter numbers).

THE OLD FRENCH RETENTION OF LATIN *a* IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES

BY HENRY DEXTER LEARNED.

A statement long dignified by the name of "Darmsteter's Law"¹ calls for a division of a Vulgar Latin polysyllable into two more or less equal parts, one containing the tonic syllable together with the final, the other including whatever syllables may precede the tonic; so *canta-torem*, *quadri-furcum*; both parts following parallel courses of development, each with an accented and an unaccented syllable, the vowels of each unaccented syllable being eventually dropped in French. Two exceptions are noted: (1) any vowel will be retained as "mute" *e*, in either part of the word, if its loss would produce an awkward consonant group; and (2) the vowel *a* is retained, as "mute" *e*, in any case. Thus *canta-torem* gives *chante-dor*, *quadri-furcum* gives **quadre-forc*, French *carrefour*, *partem* gives *part*, *portum* gives *port*, but *portam* gives *porte*.

The explanation proposed for the retention of *a* where all other vowels are lost is that *a* possessed a certain heaviness or sonorous quality, which is, conversely, denied to the others.

This explanation has long enjoyed unquestioned acceptance. It simply postpones the ultimate solution of the problem; we must still ask how the *a* acquired or why it possessed this quality. Stability was not characteristic of *a* in Latin or Romance in unaccented syllables other than final. Even there, *e* and *o*, in the other languages, are as persistent as *a*. A Greek loanword like *μαχάρα* (Attic *μηχανή*) becomes Latin *machina*; the compounds of *cado* and *sacro*, for example, with short *a*, have *i* : *accido*, or *e* : *consecro*, while the short *o* of *rogo* remains in *irrogo*, *arrogo*, and the long *ā*, *ē*, in *invādo*, *irrēpo* suggest that length may have something to do with stability in some cases, making allowances, of course, for the date of the new quantitative accentuation in Latin (cf. *caedo* : *occido*).

Again, there is no tendency to distinguish *a* from the other

¹ *Rom.* v, 140.

vowels in the syncopation of Vulgar Latin proparoxytones such as *colaphum*: *col-po*: French *coup*.²

It is pertinent to inquire at what period, or under what circumstances the Vulgar Latin of Gaul developed this characteristic pronunciation of *a* which was unknown to the language at the time these changes were taking place.

Scrutiny of the Old French words which retain Latin unaccented *a* in an *internal* syllable provokes some doubt as to whether the treatment of *a* here is really different from that of any other vowel similarly placed. The Old French forms in which *a* is retained may, in the cases that have been cited in support of Darmsteter's law, be due either to the fact that the loss of *a* would produce an awkward consonant group, as in *sacramentum*: OF *sairement* (i. e., *sai-rə-ment*): F *serment*, or else to the clear analogy of some other form of the word in question, in which the syllable containing *a* was accented or final.³ The words which are supposed to show retention of accented *a* in an internal syllable fall into several fairly distinct groups:

1. The class of *sacramentum*: OF *sairement*, **cacoabella*: OF *c(h)ache-velle*, in which *e* representing Latin *a* is clearly a "vowel of support" as in *carrefour* from *quadrifurcum*;
2. *Nomina agentum* in *-tor-em*, with which may be included feminines in *-tura*: *canta—tor-em*, *furca—tura*, *aura—tura*, OF *chantedour*, *fourcheure*, *oreure*, with *e* for Latin *a*.

Any one of several influences would satisfactorily explain the retention of *a* here, without the necessity of attributing extra heaviness to it: the nominative singular in *-ator*, where *a* was accented (OF *-edre*) might have affected the oblique cases with unaccented *a*; or again the consonant group might have been awkward, as *-nt-t-* in *canta—tor-em*, causing the retention of a "vowel of support"; or the influence of the simple (primitive) word might easily be sufficient to keep rarer derivative forms in line;

² The two most recent studies in this direction: E. Philippon, *L'a médial posttonique dans les langues romanes*, *Rom.* XLVIII, 1-31, and E. Seifert, *Die Proparoxytona im Galloromanischen*, Beiheft 74 zur *ZrPh* 1923, fail to show any general or constant peculiarity in the development of the unaccented *a* in French in internal syllables.

³ This point has been made before. So A. Thomas, *Rom.* XXI, 7.

3. Words like *orationem*: *oraison*, *oreison*, *oroison*; *venationem*; *ligationem*, may have been strongly influenced, not only by their own nominative singulars and by simpler forms like *orare*, etc., but also by the sound of commoner words like *raison*, *saison*, *maison*.⁴

Whether or not we have sufficient evidence in support of a special treatment of unaccented *a* in the *first* part of the word, there is no question that the *a* in *final* syllables stands out clearly differentiated from all other vowels: it is consistently retained as "mute" *e*, the others are consistently dropped unless required for the support of a consonant group. Here, then, we have more material in which to study the origin of the peculiar quality evidently to be assigned to final syllable *a* in Old French.

It is clear that the disappearance of a vowel cannot come about suddenly, but must proceed by gradual weakenings, that is, shortenings, until no length is left and the vowel ceases to be pronounced at all. For various reasons the Germanic languages offer the best documentation of the process; but the same thing must have happened, and must still be happening, in any language which, like Germanic and Latin, has an expiratory (stress) accent. In primitive Germanic a post-tonic short vowel (one mora) loses one mora and disappears; a vowel originally long (two moræ) becomes short (one mora), so that I.-E. long *ō* corresponds to P. Germ. short *a*; while a vowel originally hyper-long (three moræ, indicated in Greek by the circumflex accent) becomes simply long (two moræ), so that I.-E. hyper-long *ō* corresponds to P. Germ. long *ō*. Gothic preserves this state of affairs, while in younger dialects these remaining vowels lose length progressively, one mora at a time, until a practical disappearance of inflections results.

The disappearance of any vowel in Latin, at any period, must similarly have been preceded by one or more stages at which the vowel was progressively shortened, the last stage before complete disappearance no doubt having the "mute" *e* sound perhaps to be read in very early double spellings like *op(ī)tumus*: *optimus*.⁵ As we should expect, long vowels resist change better: *incido* but *invādo*, *colligo* but *irrēpo*, *surgere* but *surrēxi*.

⁴ The word *allemand*, Latin *alamannus* must be a special case in several respects; REW suggests Italian influence.

⁵ Cf. Rydberg, *Geschichte des frz.* 2 1, § 13, page 23.

We may put the situation in Old French in this way: every *a* in a final syllable, long or short, persists as though, for some reason, Old French had from the earliest period pronounced every final syllable *a* somewhat *longer* than *i, e, o, u*, similarly placed.

Unaccented final syllables occur in the following types of Latin words:

1. Nouns and adjectives (including pronouns, with a few rare exceptions), in which the final syllable was the inflectional ending of the nominative or accusative, singular or plural, of one of the first three declensions to which the mass of inflections was reduced in early Vulgar Latin;
2. Verbs, whose personal endings and mood forms were kept fairly intact;
3. Adverbs and prepositions, a small list having more than one syllable, as *ante, super, contra, retro, heri*;
4. Numerals (except *unus, duo, tres*, which fall in with the adjectives); **quattro, *cinque, septem, octo, novem, decem, viginti, *trinta, *quarranta* and so on to *centum* and *mille*.

Since the force of analogy is strong in Vulgar Latin, the relative importance of these groups in the spoken language is of great moment. It may be roughly estimated for each group on the basis of its relative frequency of occurrence. For instance, a small group of nouns and adjectives belonging to the "i-stems" in the third declension is not kept distinct from the much larger number which have no special forms in their endings.

Analysis of the first five chapters of Tacitus' *Agricola* (about 650 words) reveals the fact that of all words containing more than one syllable, a safe majority (something over 75%) fall into the noun-adjective declensions; that is to say, of all final unaccented syllables, 75% are inflectional endings of one or another of the noun-adjective declensions (first, second, third). In compiling the data, all nominatives were counted as found, except that feminine nominative plurals in *-æ* were counted under *-a*; all oblique cases were reduced to the accusative, as in Vulgar Latin; neuter plurals were counted, of course, in the same class as feminines of the first declension. Tabulation of the results follows:

Vowel of final syllable (totals)	Nouns and adjectives	Verbs	Adverbs	all others
a 126	fem. 87 neut. } plu. } 21 } = 85%	5	9	4
e 149	105 = 70% incl. all 3d decl. forms	24 = 16%	15 = 10%	5
i 40	8 2d decl. nom. plu. masc.	25	1	6
o 187	158 = 85%	1	0	0
u (incl. in total of o-forms)	(incl. in o as 2d decl.)	17	7	4
Totals 502	379	72	32	19
Per cent. 100	75.5	14.3	6.4	3.8

The consistency of these proportions is sufficient evidence of their accuracy. The style of this particular document is narrative, differing, of course, from ordinary conversation (aside from the formality of the language) in a dearth of verbs in the first person and first person pronouns. Also, the passage examined is short. But the essential ratios between the frequencies of the groups are so clear that they must be trustworthy.

It would seem probable, from these figures, that the Vulgar Latin treatment of unaccented final syllables in general would be strongly influenced by the treatment of the inflectional endings (reduced to the nominative and one oblique) of the noun-adjective declensions, in that the development of the noun-adjective endings would become typical for all final syllables, no other single group of which is even one-fourth as large.

These Latin noun-adjective endings originally contained important quantitative distinctions which do not appear very clearly in historic times. In Indo-European the "first declension" was marked by the addition of long *-ā* to the root of the noun or adjective before the case ending; the "second declension" by the

addition of short *-o*; while the "third declension" added the case ending directly to the root of the noun or adjective, with no connecting vowel. These case endings in Indo-European were: nominative singular *-s* (which was omitted in the *a*-declension feminines and in some Latin second and third declension nouns and adjectives), accusative singular *-m*; nominative plural *-es* (lengthened in the Latin third declension, apparently after the analogy of "*i*-stems" like **tre-i-es* > *trēs*, and entirely replaced in the first and second declensions by a feminine dual and a masculine pronominal ending: *-ai, -oi* > *i*); accusative plural *-ns* (in which *n* would regularly disappear in Latin with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel).⁶

The noun-adjective endings would thus appear as follows in early Latin:

Indo-European		Old Latin
Nom. Sing.	-ā (also neuter plural)	-ā (also neuter plural)
Acc.	-ā-m	-ām
Nom. Plu.	(-ai)	-ai
Acc.	-ā-ns	-ās
Nom. Sing.	-o-s	-os
Acc.	-o-m	-om
Nom. Plu.	(-oi)	-oi
Acc. Plu.	-o-ns	-ōs
Nom. Sing.	(cons) (s)	(cons) (s)
Acc. m̄ em
Nom. Plu. es es > -ēs
Acc. Plu. ns ens > ēs

At this point we may remark that it seems not impossible that Plautus' occasional short *-es* forms in the nominative plural of third declension nouns may have persisted in the vulgar pronunciation; that is, the relatively rare *i*-stems, though favored by the poets, may not have extended their nominative plural forms to all other consonant stems in the colloquial speech, as has been supposed. It would seem especially unlikely that an inflectional ending should acquire additional length from the analogy of a much smaller group of endings, in the face of a persistent initial stress accent of which the language at least as late as Terence and Plautus shows clear traces. This *a priori* unlikelihood is further supported by

⁶ Brugmann: *Grundriss*.

the fact that a confusion arises as early as 150 A. D.⁷ between the nominative singular *-is* and the accusative plural, where long *-ēs* is required phonetically (for **-ens*). This would seem to point to a fairly early *shortening* of the original *long* accusative plural ending *-ēs*, hard to reconcile with a slightly earlier *lengthening* of an originally *short* nominative plural *-ēs*.

If we could trace or justify a retention of original quantity in these inflectional syllables through the republican period in the *sermo plebeius*, as Greek retains it, we should have a logical phonetic explanation of the differential treatment of final syllables containing *a* in Old French. If these *relative* quantities had been retained while vowels in final syllables were becoming progressively shorter, then, no matter how much final syllables were shortened, those containing *a* would be longer at every stage than those containing *e* or *o*; and when at last *e* and *o* had lost all length and therefore completely disappeared, there would still be enough left of *a* to be heard, at least as a "mute" *e*. A diagram will make this clearer:

Indo-European	Supposed Republican Vulgar Latin	Supposed Gallo-Roman ca. A. D. 500	Earliest Old French
-o-declension			
Nom. S. -o-s	-os	-əs	-s
Acc. S. -o-m	-om > -o	-ə	-
Nom. P. (-oi)	-i > i (1)	-e > (6)	-
Acc. P. -o-n-s	-ēs > -ōs (2)	-əs	-s
-ā-declension			
Nom. S. -ā	-ā	-a	-ə
Acc. S. -ā-m	-ām > -ā	-a	-ə
Nom. P. (-ai)	-ai > -ē > ē (3)	-e (7)	-es
Acc. P. -ā-n-s	-ās > -ās (4)	-as	-es
consonant declension			
Nom. S. -(s)	-(s)	-(s)	-s (8)
Acc. S. -m	-em > -e	-ə	-
Nom. P. -es	-ēs	-es	-(9)
Acc. P. -n-s	-ēs > ēs (5)	-es	-s

(1) Unaccented *i*, *u* could not hold length as well as *e*, *a*, *o*, as a matter of general phonetic experience.

⁷ Evidence summarized and bibl. in Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin* 244; so also Probus 95 "apes non apis."

- (2) Here the *o* would early become indistinguishable from a close *o* so that the accusative plural and nominative singular would fall together, as in fact they did in VL.
- (3) The change is complete by the third or fourth century; cf. Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin* 174, 210.
- (4) There is no need to assume retention of "circumflex" quantity in this form after the shortening of *-os* in the accusative plural masculine.
- (5) Complete by 150 A. D.; bib. in Grandgent *ib.* 244.
- (6) Compare the development of unaccented close *e* elsewhere in OF, as *securum*, *levare*, to *e*.
- (7) This would be the weakest ending of the whole feminine series, tending to disappear, and early supplanted by an ending identical with the accusative plural (*-as*). A (surviving?) nominative plural feminine *-as* is found in Oscan in the first century B. C., cf. Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse* III, 30, p. 155.
- (8) This final *-s* is analogical, introduced into OF before our earliest documents appear.
- (9) Analogy of the second declension causes loss of historical and phonetic *-s* here in OF.

The typical final syllable *a* would then carry with it all the other cases of *a* in the same situation in other sorts of words, many of which had a long *a* historically, as *cantās*, **trintā*; that is, every final syllable *a* would be pronounced with sufficient length to preserve it.

The correctness of this reconstruction rests upon the validity of a single new assumption: that the original length of the connecting vowel in the Indo-European long *a* declension was not entirely lost in the nominative and accusative singular and accusative plural by the end of the republic, but still made itself heard in the *sermo plebeius*, and was carried into Gaul.

We have no direct evidence in support of this assumption. In fact, what little we do find seems quite contrary. In the Latin poets, even in Plautus, there seems to be no trace of *-ā* or *-ām* in nominatives and accusatives.* The grammarians do not notice extra length here, as they notice the changing quality of other vowels; but this is not surprising: an over-long final *a* whose quality had remained unimpaired would not provoke criticism, and could easily

* Lindsay, *Latin Lang.* III, 40; *Early Latin Verse* III, 4.

escape notice. The difference between the polished short *a* and the slightly longer vulgar pronunciation need not have been so great as the difference between British and American words like *contrary*, *literature*.

The evidence of the modern Romance languages often belies the statements of Latin grammarians and the practise of Latin poets. It is legitimate to draw conclusions as to a Vulgar Latin phenomenon from results that seem to require its existence.

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RECLAIMING ONE OF SHAKSPERE'S SIGNATURES

BY SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

I

That the reclamation of anything so precious as a genuine Shaksperian relic is a task not unworthy of any student's or antiquarian's labors will, considering the veneration in which the greatest of English dramatic poets is held and the scantiness of such relics known to be in existence, be generally admitted, even if only on sentimental grounds. But to scholars who devote a large part of their time and energies to the study of the great master's life and work, the reclamation of one of his signatures, especially one that was in all probability written almost a decade before the earliest of those generally known to be authentic, is a matter of considerable value from the standpoint of scholarship. A knowledge of more of Shakspeare's handwriting characteristics would enable students not only to pass with greater confidence on the question of the Shaksperian authorship of documents now extant or yet to be discovered, but also to understand how some of the corrupt readings got into the early quartos and the first folio, and, consequently, to suggest suitable corrections of the text. Of these the former is unquestionably the more important.

Excluding William Henry Ireland's longer and more ambitious Shakspeare manuscript forgeries (deeds, letters, contracts, receipts, a confession of faith, plays, parts of plays, a catalogue of books, an autobiographic diary, etc.), and some verses concocted by John P. Collier, there are scattered throughout the world to-day a little more than one hundred books purporting to contain either Shakspeare's signature or his signature and annotations in his hand, not less than seventy-five of these being unquestionably of Ireland's manufacture. The British Museum contains two manuscripts (*Harl.* 7368 and *Sloane* 1090) which have been attributed to Shakspeare by some scholars. A few writers (Col. Jeaffreson, Mr. Yeatman, Miss Thumm-Kintzel) have contended that Shakspeare wrote his will with his own hand. Two other legal documents, one of them now preserved at the Birthplace Museum in Stratford, have been supposed or alleged to contain one the poet's signature

and the other his endorsement. One graphologist was of the opinion that Shakspeare himself wrote the purchase-deed and the mortgage-deed relating to his purchase of a house near the Blackfriars theatre. Malone seems to have had some information concerning a Shakspeare manuscript in France. The Earl of Northumberland owns a manuscript volume whose "index page" has been said (Thumm-Kintzel, Mr. Wm. Thompson¹)—on grounds wholly lacking in validity—to contain about a dozen of Shakspeare's scribbled signatures and a line from the *Rape of Lucrece* in his handwriting. The Bodleian Library recently exhibited a scrap of paper, the closing lines of a letter, for which the owner claimed a Shaksperian authorship. Years ago a London jeweler exhibited a fragment which he said was the conclusion of a letter written and signed by the immortal William himself. And Madame Thumm-Kintzel, the graphologist previously referred to, was of the opinion that William Shakspeare, in the capacity of secretary to Sir Francis, wrote not only Bacon's *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* (about fifty small folio sheets preserved at the British Museum,—*Harl. MS.* 7017) but also his letter to Sir John Puckering (*Harl. MS.* 6997, f. 72). In the latter half of the nineteenth century there were some rumors of the existence of two letters written by Shakspeare, one of them to Anne Hathaway. And only a few months ago Captain William Jaggard of Stratford-on-Avon informed me of his discovery ("on the fly-leaf of a pamphlet sermon dated 1610 by Lancelot Andrewes") of a six-line quotation from Du Bartas's *Quatrains of Pibrac* in what he thinks may be Shakspeare's hand and for which, he says, he has refused an offer of £20,000!²

The above list makes no reference to the six unquestioned, *i. e.*, generally accepted as authentic, autographs with which all Shakspeare scholars and many laymen are familiar. One of these (herein referred to as "Deposition") is the hurried and abbreviated signature on a deposition made on May 11, 1612, and now preserved in the Public Record Office, London. The second one is attached to the purchase-deed of the house in Blackfriars, is dated March 10,

¹ *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, by William Thompson, in "The Quarterly Review," April 1925, vol. 243, pp. 209-26.

² All these and other claimants for the distinction of a Shakspearian paternity are fully considered in my forthcoming book, *Shakspeare's Autographs, Genuine and Questioned*.

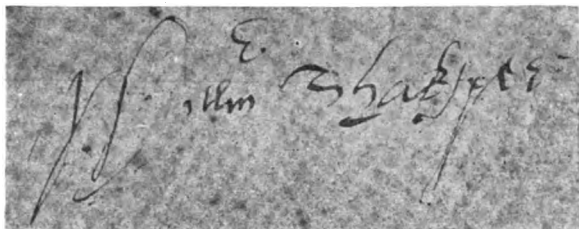
1612-13, and is preserved in the Guildhall Library (and hence herein referred to as "Guildhall"). The third ("British Museum") occurs on an insufficiently cured strip of parchment attached to the mortgage-deed relating to the Blackfriars purchase, is dated March 11, 1612-13, and is preserved in the British Museum. The remaining three ("T1," "T2," and "T3") occur severally on the three pages of the poet's will, dated March 25, 1616, and are preserved in Somerset House, London. These six signatures are the only extant specimens of handwriting which are known positively to have been made by the dramatist's own hand and which therefore constitute what handwriting experts call our "standard for comparison," i. e., the standard by which the genuineness of any alleged specimen of Shaksperian calligraphy must be tested and with which it must tally if it is to be accepted as authentic. These "unquestioned autographs," considerably enlarged, are reproduced in facsimiles 3 to 7 and 10 to 12. (For additional comments on them the reader is referred to my essay, *Shakspeare's Unquestioned Autographs and the Addition in 'Sir Thomas Moore,'* in *Studies in Philology*, April 1925, pp. 157-8.)

II

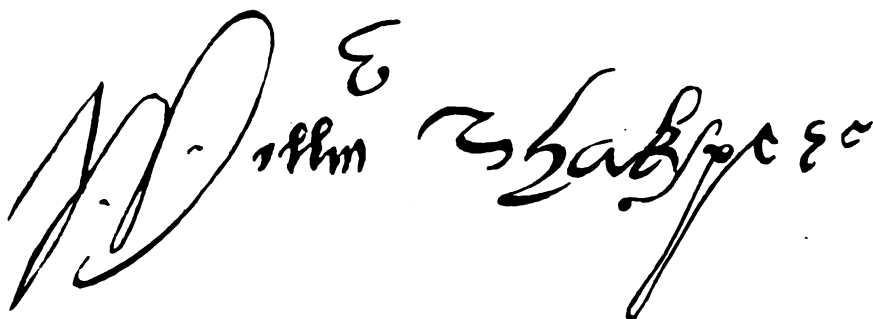
Among the many books bearing what purports to be the signature of William Shakspeare, in full or in some abbreviated form, on the title-page, fly-leaf, or somewhere within the book, there is one, a copy of the 1603 edition of John Florio's English translation of Montaigne's *Essayes*, which is of greater interest and value than all the others combined, inasmuch as the signature (*cf.* facss. Nos. 1 and 13) adorning "what was originally its first fly-leaf (but is now a lining paper of the cover)" is, in the present writer's opinion, unquestionably genuine.

Of this volume's history all that is known is that it was the property of the Reverend Edward Patteson of East Sheen, Surrey, who, having been persuaded in 1836 to show the volume to Sir Frederic Madden, then Librarian of the British Museum, and "the greatest authority of his day on ancient handwriting," told Sir Frederic that it had been bequeathed him by his father, the Reverend Edward [? Edmund] Patteson of Southwick, in Staffordshire. "How or when this gentleman," says Sir Frederic,³ "first

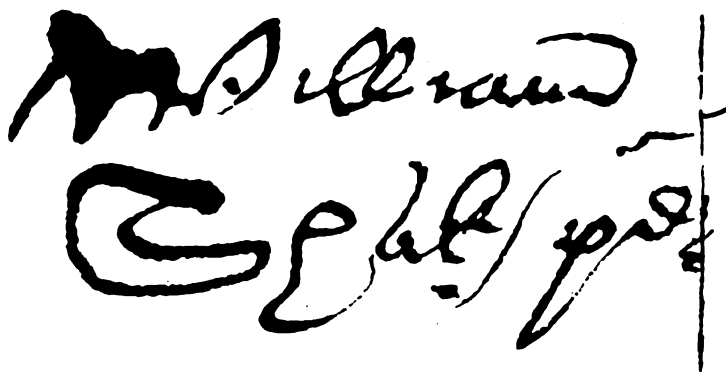
³ *Observations on an Autograph of Shakspeare, and the Orthography of*



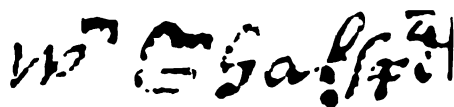
No. 1—"Montaigne" (Natural size)



No. 2—"Montaigne" (Madden's facsimile enlarged x 2)



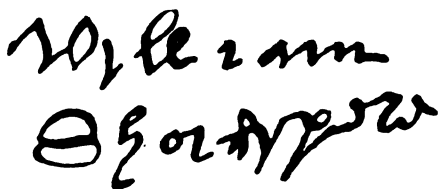
No. 3—"Guildhall" (x 3)



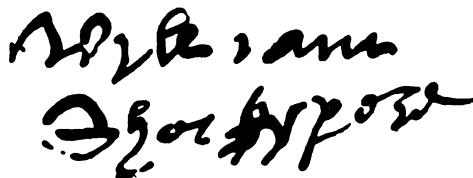
No. 4—"British Museum" (x 2)



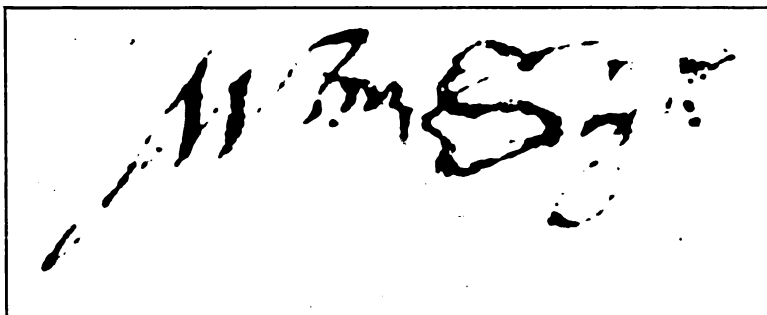
No. 5—"T1" (x 2)



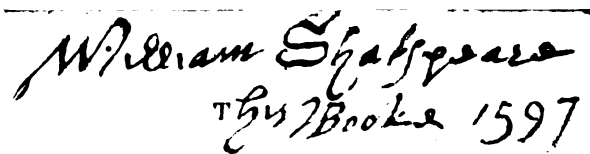
No. 6—"T1" (Steevens' facsimile x 2)



No. 7—"T1" (Chalmers' facsimile x 2)



No. 8—The Bodleian's Autograph (x 3)



No. 9—The Bertholomeus Autograph*

* This facsimile departs from the original in numerous details owing to unauthorized liberties taken by the engraver.

became possessed of it, is not known: but it is very certain that previous to the year 1780, Mr. Patteson used to exhibit the volume to his friends as a curiosity, *on account of the autograph*," which, he goes on to say, "*challenges and defies suspicion*, and has already passed the ordeal of numerous competent examiners, all of whom have, without a single doubt, expressed their conviction of its genuineness." At the recommendation, no doubt, of Sir Frederic, the trustees of the British Museum purchased the precious volume in June 1838 from the bookseller Pickering who had acquired it the previous month, May 14, when it was sold (for £100) at auction at Evans's of Pall Mall.⁴ It was then placed on exhibition as a unique Shakspeare relic—a book which had unquestionably been read by him and drawn upon considerably for material in the composition of *The Tempest*. But by 1872 belief in the authenticity of the signature had gradually grown so weak that—on the instruction of Sir Edward M. Thompson, the then Director—the Museum authorities withdrew it from public view. Since its purchase opinion concerning it has, for no apparent reason, fluctuated, some scholars (Bohn, Knight, W. C. Hazlitt, Gollancz,) thinking it genuine and others (Lee, Rolfe, Mabie, Wallace,) being undecided about it. Lately, Sir Edward M. Thompson, the distinguished English paleographer, has maintained ⁵—on grounds which I shall

his Name, in "Archaeologia," vol. 27, pp. 113-123. This essay, dated "Jan. 11, 1837," was reprinted in pamphlet form later in the year and again in 1838. Unfortunately Sir Frederic's finely engraved facsimile of the signature was so unfaithful to the original in certain of its details that it has misled almost all who have examined it. Cf. facs. No. 2. For an even worse facsimile cf. W. C. Hazlitt's *Shakespear*, 1902, p. 74. It is probably worth pointing out that in such a study as this in which we are now engaged, properly prepared photographic facsimiles are every bit as good as—and from several viewpoints even better than—the original writings. For proofs of this statement the reader is referred to Chapter IV of Mr. Osborn's *Questioned Documents*. With traced facsimiles the matter is wholly different. Line cuts have to be checked up by comparison with photographs or good half-tones made from photographs.

⁴ Sir Sidney Lee (*A Life of William Shakespeare*, 1916, p. 518) makes the frequently quoted, but erroneous statement, that "Sir Frederick . . . purchased the book . . . of Patteson's son for £140 in 1837." Mr. R. F. Sharp, the present keeper of the Printed Books at the British Museum, who has kindly given me the above account, writes me: "We do not appear to have a record of the amount the Museum paid for the book."

⁵ *Two Pretended Autographs of Shakespeare*, The Library, July 1917, pp. 193-217.

prove to be as unsatisfactory and insufficient as they are erroneous—that this signature is an “undoubted forgery.” In the following pages Sir Edward’s arguments will be analysed and considered and the signature will be studied by the method of the modern handwriting expert.

Those who have been accustomed to hear it said that Shakspeare’s handwriting was an “illiterate scrawl” or that his signatures were so badly written that they have to be “deciphered” and that even expert paleographers cannot tell just how the great poet spelled his name, may be surprised to be told that Shakspeare’s penmanship may justly be characterized as both easily legible and artistic. It is a fact which has but seldom been recognised that, judged by his unquestioned autographs, Shakspeare wrote an exceptionally neat, clear, simple, legible, and fine, though somewhat careless, hand. To those who do not know the Elizabethan script or who are not sufficiently familiar with it and think of it in terms of our script, any ordinary Elizabethan manuscript seems to be a jumble of fantastic, distorted, illegible characters.* Owing to the many wretched facsimiles of Shakspeare’s autographs published in Baconian and other “anti-Stratfordian” literature, and even in the writings of some of the orthodox, and the quarrels of Shakspeare scholars as to the orthography of the poet’s name, Shakspeare’s reputation as a penman had to suffer. Had these writers confined their attention to the signatures and not tried to prove their respective theories by them, there never would have been any question about the quality of Shakspeare’s penmanship. (The theory that the poet suffered from writer’s cramp during the last three years of his life is disposed of in my essay on the *Thomas Moore* problem, *Studies in Philology*, p. 148.)

III

Notwithstanding the regrettable blot in the *W*, there is no disputing the fact that “Guildhall” (*cf.* facs. No. 3) is a beautiful and neatly written signature. Each letter is clear and distinct.

* For illustrations showing the formal, prescribed, Elizabethan calligraphy the reader is referred to my previously mentioned essay, in *Studies in Philology*, April 1925, pp. 133 ff. For the Elizabethan alphabet, as it was taught in Shakspeare’s day, *cf.* facs. no. 15, which reproduces the “Secretarie Alphabet” depicted in de Beau Chesne’s *A Booke Containing Divers Sortes of hands* (London, 1581).

The only detail about which there has been a difference of opinion is whether the surname is "Shaksper" or "Shakspere." As this surname looks now it is unquestionably "Shakspe" with a flourish over the *e* and something indeterminate (which some take for an old English *r*) after the *e* and at the very edge of the label. Though my present purpose does not warrant my going into this question at greater length now, I may express the conviction—which a microscopic examination of the signature would, I am sure, confirm—that the last letter or letters of this surname were cut away prior to the label's attachment to the document of which it is a part.⁷

Though almost all who have discussed these signatures have been impressed by the striking dissimilarity between "British Museum" (*cf.* facs. No. 4) and "Guildhall," it had not occurred to any one of them that the printed and dotted appearance of the former was due solely to the fact that the insufficiently cured and greasy parchment—as often happens—refused to take the ink, compelling the scrivener to "print" his name. This signature reads quite clearly "Wm Shakspe" and has a "flourish" over the last letter. The only question here is whether this "flourish" is an *a*, as some have contended and as some engravers have depicted it, or whether it is merely an indeterminate flourish to indicate abbreviation, or whether it is a variety of the medieval cursive mark of abbreviation for *re*. There is plenty of opportunity here for quarrelling. To one who has no theories to maintain it is evident that the writer of "British Museum" was a skilled penman, knew how to overcome the difficulty offered by the parchment, wrote a mixed English and Italian script, was content to write as much of his name as would carry him to the margin of the label, and indicated the omission of some letters by a flourish.⁸

Two of the three will-signatures show palpable evidences of tremor and partial loss of control of the writing hand. Knowing

⁷ It must be borne in mind that some of the documents bearing Shakspeare's signature, including this one, had been in private hands till almost the middle of the nineteenth century.

⁸ It may be well to state here that writing on properly prepared parchment, which takes the ink without difficulty, does not differ in any way from writing on paper. Two of Shakspeare's unquestioned signatures, "Guildhall" and "British Museum," as may be recalled, are on parchment.

that the testator died within a month of the date of the execution of his will and that the rough draft of the will (instead of an engrossed copy) was made to do duty as the official testament, it is wholly reasonable to assume that the testator was sick, perhaps propped up in bed, when he signed the three pages of the will. In what order the three signatures were written cannot be determined with any degree of certainty and is of no consequence, though the probabilities are that the one on the third page ("T3") was written first, then the one on the first page, and finally the one on the second page. That the signature at the foot of the first sheet (*cf.* facs. No. 5) was "William Shakspeare" is certain from the facsimiles of it made by Steevens (in Malone's presence) in 1776, and by Chalmers twenty years later. The given name is still clearly visible, except as to the first minim of the *W*. Of the surname, written almost at the very bottom of the sheet, only the final *re* and approximately the upper halves of the first seven letters remain. *Cf.* facss. 6 and 7. (How inaccurate a tracing usually is, is strikingly shown by the early facsimiles of this signature; how utterly unjust and worthless a traced facsimile may be is nowhere better shown than in Sir George Greenwood's *Shakspeare's Signatures and "Sir Thomas Moore,"* 1924, p. 44. Bohn's and Knight's facsimiles of "T1" also misrepresent the original.) A comparison of the poor remainders of this signature with the tracings of it made almost one hundred and fifty years ago leaves not the slightest room for doubt that before the devastating influences of time had wrought havoc with it, this was a fine and firmly executed, though deliberate, autograph. There is not the slightest indication of tremor or faltering in it anywhere.

The second will-signature (*cf.* facs. No. 11) has been variously read as to "the momentous question" of whether Shakspeare spelled his surname with an *e* after the *k* and an *a* before the *r*. As to the *e* after the *k* there is no question: it is not there. As to the *a* it is hardly disputable that what some have thought to be an *a* (or a representative of it) is really the base curve of the lower half of the *h* in the word "the" in the line above the signature. The only letter in this surname that is not in accordance with the prescribed form of the letter (and might pass for an *o*, an *i*, or a modern *r*) is the huddled character after the *p*, which could have been intended for nothing but an *e*.

The third signature ("T3")—*cf. facs. No. 12*—is beautifully written, up to the terminal part of the old English *e* after the *p*. Whether the shaky, ill-formed final characters following this *e* are to be read as *are* (as I too think they should be read), as *ar*, or as *re* followed by a straggling final stroke, will always be a matter of opinion, owing to the facts that one variety of old English *a* (when poorly made and joined to a succeeding small letter) bears some resemblance to the modern German (old English) script *r*, that the left-shouldered *r* (when it is not carefully made) closely resembles an Italian *e* or Greek *epsilon*, and that the final zigzag upstroke may very well be a poorly made old English *e*. The words "By me," preceding the signature, leave nothing to be desired as to neatness, clearness, firmness, precision, and legibility; that they were written by the testator is proved beyond the possibility of doubt by the fact that the writing agrees with that of the signatures in alignment, rhythm, size, shading, pen pressure, slant, spacing, proportions, and pen position.* The nervous haste and distortion apparent in the last few letters of this signature testify eloquently to the testator's impatience and desire to complete what was evidently a trying task. Having recovered a measure of poise and confidence, he proceeded to sign the other two pages.

Though the Shakspeare signature (*cf. facs. No. 10*) on the deposition to the Bellott *vs.* Mountjoy lawsuit bears out the evidence offered by the other signatures, especially that attached to the conveyance and the words "By me William Shaksp" on the third page of the will, that the immortal bard was a skilled and facile penman, there is good warrant for the dispute about how this signature is to be read. But it is important to bear in mind that the uncertainty is not due to bad penmanship—Queen Elizabeth at times wrote a much poorer hand and yet prided herself on her exquisite calligraphy—but to the fact that Shakspeare chose to curtail his surname by employing a (gracefully) flourished character after the (slightly blotted) *k* instead of writing his name out in full. Now, this letter is very much like the f-shaped Italian

* For a detailed and authoritative discussion of these technical terms and of the technique of the scientific study of an individual's handwriting peculiarities, the reader is referred to Mr. Albert S. Osborn's *Questioned Documents* (Rochester, 1910) and *The Problem of Proof, especially as exemplified in Disputed Documents* (N. Y., 1922).

s that Shakspeare employed in some of his other signatures, and the surname may therefore be read "Shaks." But this flourished final character may equally well be regarded as the standard Elizabethan *per*-symbol, differing from the conventional symbol only in that its head is a little larger and slightly more angular, and justifying the reading of the surname as "Shakper." It might plausibly be maintained by those acquainted with the "tricks" often perpetrated in signatures, especially by Elizabethan penmen, that in this instance Shakspeare made use of a unique flourished stroke combining both the Italian long *s* and the standard old English *per*-symbol, making the surname "Shaksper" or "Shakspeare."¹⁰ That this is a well-written signature is proved not only by its appearance but by the fact that Baconians and other anti-Stratfordians insist—without the slightest particle of justification—on attributing it to the clerk who wrote the deposition or to one of the witnesses. Those who, being familiar with Elizabethan calligraphy, understand handwriting, and take the time to make a comparative study of this signature with the other five, can have no doubt whatsoever that these six autographs all emanate from the same hand, and may be employed as the standard by which to test the genuineness or authenticity of any writing purporting to have been written by Shakspeare's hand.

IV

Turning our attention to the signature in the Montaigne (*cf.* facss. 1 and 13), we note that it is located on the lower half of a page measuring approximately $7 \times 11\frac{1}{4}$ inches, begins $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches from the left margin, runs progressively upward, and terminates $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches from the right margin; the lowest point of the name (the tip of the first stem of the *W*) is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches from the bottom of the page, and the highest point of the final *e* is $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches from the bottom; the small letters (*illm*) of the baptismal name are written on a level corresponding to about the middle of the final loop of the *W* ($4\frac{1}{4}$ inches from the bottom).¹¹

¹⁰ It was in all probability with the advent of banking and checking accounts that persons' signatures tended to become as stereotyped as they are to-day.

¹¹ The fly-leaf bearing this signature as well as some other writing attributed to Shakspeare has been excellently facsimiled in Mr. Francis P. Gervais' book, *Shakespeare not Bacon*, London, 1901.

Wm. Esch

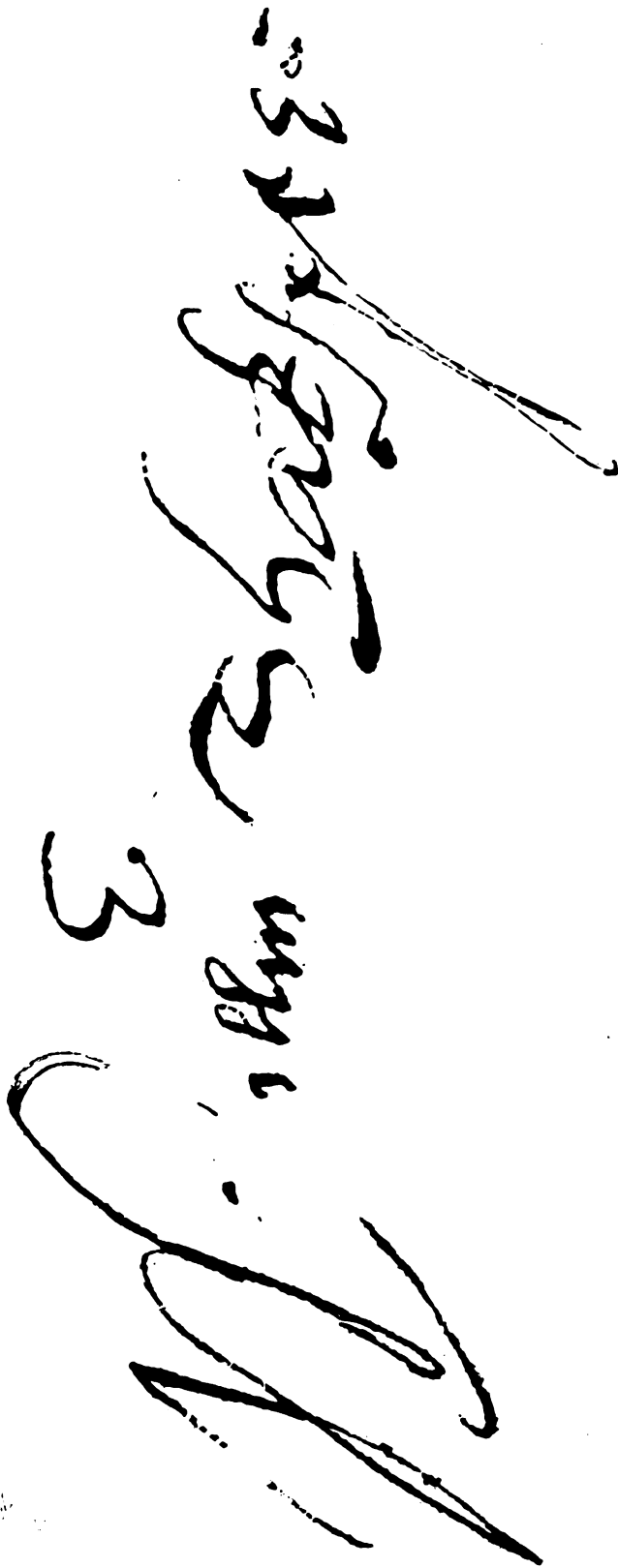
No. 10—"Deposition" (x 3)

after
William Esch

No. 11—"T₂" (x 3)

Wm. Esch

No. 12—"T₃" (x 2)



No. 13—"Montaigne" (x 3)

Given to Cymon some of the prebend of the living day of october 1551
 sent to the Countess of the prebend of the living day of october 1551
 from a yard of the prebend of the living day of october 1551

No. 14—Specimen of old English writing (1551)

The pictorial impression made by "Montaigne" is one of unquestionable genuineness; there is about it that naturalness, boldness, abandon, freedom, directness, straightforwardness, which one associates with genuineness. The writing strokes have the smoothness, directness, uniformity and continuity of genuineness. There is no sign of the hesitation, deliberation, doubt, patching, mending, or drawing which we associate with forgery and which are so strikingly and unequivocally apparent in the abbreviated "signature" in the Bodleian Library's copy of the 1502 edition of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (cf. facs. No. 8). The "Montaigne" not only looks genuine but does not even remotely suggest that it might have been modelled on or copied from another signature; it is sufficiently unlike the known genuine signatures not to be an imitation of them, and yet it is sufficiently like them to give an impression of genuineness. There are none of those suspicious and unnatural joinings, unusual stops, artificial shadings, concern about imperfections resulting from failure of the writing movements to register, and fear of introducing new features, which characterize a forgery. And it must be especially noted that the shading—one of the most significant elements in any writing—has the smoothness and directness that are infallible characteristics of genuineness. In speed, movement, pen pressure, and line quality, there is that uniformity and normalcy throughout which are never found in forged writing. Of course, this does not prove this "autograph" a genuine Shakspeare signature; it proves only that it is not a copy or a tracing of any of the known signatures.¹²

It is not impossible, it might be contended, that some person who was acquainted with the mode of writing employed by skilled and cultured Elizabethans might have playfully and without any evil intention happened to write the name of William Shaksper on the fly-leaf of an old book, very much as some one scribbled the poet's name and the titles of some of his plays on the first page of the

¹² J. T. Smith and C. R. Haines have objected to this signature on the ground that Shakspeare was wont to spell his surname with an *a* in the second syllable; but, as a matter of fact, such an *a* occurs only, if at all, in "T3." As to the spelling of our poet's surname by his printers and his contemporaries cf. a short paper by the present writer, *Was 'Shakspeare' 'Shake-speare'?* in "The Dial" (Chicago), May 11, 1916, vol. 60, pp. 456-8.

Northumberland MS. This is hardly probable, but it is not impossible.

But that a person not named "William Shakspere" wrote that name, abbreviated, in a book with parts of which Shakspere was thoroughly familiar, and wrote that name there only once and in a likely place for an owner of a book to write his name, is an improbability so great that—especially in the absence of the customary evidences of forgery—a strong presumption is created that the signature is a genuine autograph of the poet.

A third and only remaining possibility—a most remote one—is that some other person named "William Shakspere," and spelling his surname in that way, and writing like the poet, happened to own this book and wrote his name in it as evidence of ownership.

To remove any doubts as to "Montaigne" being a genuine autograph of the William Shakspere who wrote the other six signatures we shall proceed to a detailed comparison of it with those signatures and shall prove such an identity of writing habits in them as will preclude the possibility of their not having been written by the same person.¹³

In the first place, then, it will be noted that "Montaigne" presents the same simplicity, clearness, legibility, restraint in the use of ostentatious flourishes, ease, skill, assurance, directness, originality, abandon, disregard for the base line, upward tendency, and unconventionality, that characterise the unquestioned Shakspere autographs. The only evidences of a tendency to ostentatiousness, of a kind shown even by a most unostentatious person when writing his signature in a book as evidence of ownership, are to be seen in the bold, dashing, large *W*, the ornate flourish over the abbreviated baptismal name, and in the long down-stroke in the *p*. In freedom, speed, rhythm, simplicity, legibility, spelling of the surname, and firmness of execution, this signature bears unmistakable resemblances to "Guildhall." One has only to look at them in juxtaposition to see the relationship and to be convinced of the probability of their common origin.

The style or system of letters employed in the signature is that admixture of English and Italian alphabets which was characteristic of Shakspere's contemporaries and of Shakspere himself. The *W*

¹³ For a study of what constitutes evidence of forgery the reader is referred to the books by Mr. Osborn previously referred to.

is a composite English and Italian letter, and is that of "Deposition": in both we have the high final loop and the dot in the loop. The *h* too seems to be a mixture of English and Italian. The *a* and the *e* are wholly Italian, and the other letters wholly English.¹⁴

Not a single letter in this signature suggests that it is an imitation of the corresponding letter in the unquestioned signatures; on the contrary, one is struck with the number of unique features in "Montaigne," *e. g.*, the double curved flourish over the *m*, the perpendicular *h*, the angular *a*, the tag at the end of the *s*, and the long *p*. In this connection we must not forget the important fact, often ignored by writers on Shakspeare's signatures, that in the poet's day children were taught several varieties of almost every letter in the alphabet, and that it is not at all uncommon to find in Elizabethan manuscripts several forms of the same letter in single words.

A noteworthy feature of this signature is the writer's indifference to his soft and fine-pointed pen's failure to record his intentions at a number of points; he made no attempt to fill in or patch the incomplete down-stroke of the final *W*-loop, the base of the *S*, the ascending stroke of the first *e*, the connecting stroke between the *e* and the *r*, and the incomplete final *e*. He was content to let the signature go as it was,—a kind of indifference one almost never finds in a forgery. This failure to repair imperfections and fill in gaps is also manifested in the unquestioned signatures.

Commenting on the fact that "the letters [in "Montaigne"] are in most instances written separately, without connecting links," Sir Edward M. Thompson¹⁵ says (*l. c.*, p. 201): "It might be suggested that more links were actually formed, but that the fine point of the pen failed to carry the ink and trace the connecting strokes; but close scrutiny with a magnifying glass does not detect the slightest indication of such links." In reply to this objection to the genuineness of "Montaigne" it is sufficient to point out that in the matter of connecting links or pen-lifts this signature is

¹⁴ The statement occasionally made that Shakspeare used the old English script exclusively is erroneous.

¹⁵ Sir Edward's facsimile of this signature (*l. c.*, p. 200) is extremely untrustworthy, especially as regards the capital *S* (which seems to have been retouched by the engraver).

in exact accordance with Shakspeare's writing habits as these appear in his unquestioned signatures. As to the failure of the magnifying glass to discover traces of fine connecting links, the answer is obviously that if the writer raised his rapidly moving quill above the surface of the paper it is unreasonable to expect to discover traces of such air-drawn strokes. The fineness of the pen-point has nothing to do with it.

In general it may also be said that "*Montaigne*" agrees with the other signatures not only in the upward slant of the writing as a whole, but in the slant of the individual letters.

The ascending connecting strokes, as in the unquestioned autographs, are either fairly heavy, or so faint as to be almost invisible, or wholly absent. In the rapid writing of persons given to a kind of printing chirography, the absence of light connecting strokes is a characteristic feature. Such penmen are especially prone to omit or curtail connecting loops. Shakspeare was one of these, and so we find that he did not in any undisputed signature connect the *W* with the *i*, the *m* with the *S*, or the *S* with the *h*; on the whole, he seems to have inclined not to connect the *h* with the *a*, the *a* with the *k*, the *k* with the *s*, or the *s* with the *p*, though these joinings are easy enough and not ungraceful.

The minuscules of the baptismal name in "*Montaigne*" were written with one continuous movement of the pen, exactly as in the unquestioned signatures; this is also true of the letters *pere* in his surname, notwithstanding the failure of the connecting strokes to register on the paper. In other words, the name "*Willm*" was written with three uplifts of the pen (one to make the *W*-dot, one to write *illm*, and one to make the flourish over the *m*), exactly as in "*T3*" and in "*Deposition*." The pen-lifts in the surname were six, one for the *h*, one for the *a*, one for the *k*-stem, one for the *k*-bow, one for the *s*, and one for the *pere*, thus differing from "*Guildhall*" by one (because there the *a* is linked to the *k*), if we leave the pen-lift for the flourish over the *e* out of consideration. "*Montaigne*" differs from the other signatures in the matter of pen-lifts as they differ among themselves, but is, on the whole, in striking agreement with them.

"*Montaigne*" also agrees with the unquestioned autographs in the matters of pen position, combined finger and wrist movement, and location of shadings. These are particularly noticeable in the

final loop of the *W*, the downstrokes in the minuscules *illm*, in the two curves of the *S*, the curved body and the base of the *h*, the bow of the *k*, the tag at the end of the *s*, the curved head of the *p*, the basic curves of the *e*, and the head and stem of the *r*. There is an absence of shading on ascending strokes throughout.

The minuscules in the surname are spread out more than in the baptismal name, owing to the relative absence of connecting strokes in the former,—two facts which again repeat a characteristic feature of “Guildhall.”

The *W* in “Montaigne” is much larger and freer and bolder than in the signatures we have so far studied, but it agrees with them in several important respects: it is a *W*, it is neither wholly English nor wholly Italian, is dotted in the final loop, its second stem does not go down to the level of the first one, and the final loop goes up high above the two vertical stems (as in “Deposition,” “Guildhall,” and “T3”). It agrees with the others even in the acute angle which the initial ascending stroke makes with the first vertical stem, and yet it differs from the others in so many respects, such as the angular loops below, that it can by no possibility be considered an imitation of any one of them. It should be needless to say that all penmen, even the most skilful and artistic, sometimes make a loop by not fusing or overlapping a descending and an ascending stroke, and sometimes fail to make a required loop by overlapping such strokes.

Sir Edward (*l. c.*, p. 211) enjoins the student to note that “the loop of the second limb [of the *W*] is not completed, but breaks off abruptly, leaving a blank space between the point of rupture and the commencement of the final curve above, as if this portion of the letter were being built up in sections instead of being written *currente calamo*. However, he goes on to admit (p. 202), “the blank may be merely an accidental failure of the pen to mark.” It is a pity that Sir Edward did not use his magnifying-glass at this point; had he done so, he would have seen, as our enlargement (facs. No. 13) shows, that in this instance the rapidly moving and fine-pointed quill did leave a trace of ink in its wake, exactly as in the initial upstroke of the *W*, and that this third ascending stroke joined the second descending stroke $\frac{5}{32}$ of an inch before departing from it to make the final loop.

The English *i* is like Shakspeare's unquestioned *7*'s in being undotted and in being almost perpendicular.

The English *l*'s that follow are almost perpendicular, slightly bowed in the descending stem, acute-angled at the base, large looped at the top, and thus strongly reminiscent of the *l*'s in "T2" and in "T3," though without the exaggerated hump or angle in the downstroke. For almost exact duplicates of these *l*'s one must go to de Beau Chesne's *A Booke Containing Divers Sortes of hands*,—a book with which Shakspeare had ample opportunity to be acquainted, and which may have influenced his penmanship—inasmuch as it was "Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautrouillier" whose house, we may remind the reader, also printed the poet's *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. (See also pp. 151 and 160 of my essay on *Shakspeare's Unquestioned Signatures and the Addition in "Sir Thomas Moore."*)

The *m* is decidedly Italian, perfectly formed and artistically written, tends to run upward, and is characterised by a graceful double curve in the first and third (heavily shaded) minims, which is very suggestive of Shakspeare's tendency to wave the vertical stems of his *W*'s (in "T3"), his *l*'s and *m*'s (in "T1," "T2" and "T3"). This waviness in heavy downstrokes is a hitherto unnoticed peculiarity in many Elizabethan writers and is a mannerism which seems to have been taught by English writing masters especially during the latter half of the 16th century. (See facss. 14 and 15.)

Sir Edward (*l. c.*, p. 203) points out that this *m*, "though it joins the second *l*, was not written continuously with it, as the *l* finishes with a club-foot, and the *m* begins with a hair-stroke." But Sir Edward is clearly in error in the inference he would have us draw from this observation. Examination of numerous documents shows that the phenomenon to which he calls attention is due to a defect in the writing surface which causes the ink to flow back partly instead of following the pen. Curiously enough, we find the same combination of club-foot and hair-stroke at three points in "Guildhall," between the *i* and the *l*, between the *l* and the *i*, and about the middle of the final curve of the *h*.¹⁶

¹⁶ That the paper on which "Montaigne" was written did not take that particular ink well is convincingly shown by the freakish gap about the middle of the vertical stem of the *k*.

The artistically executed sign of abbreviation above the *m*, resembling a modern script *E*, is wholly unlike any of the abbreviating flourishes in the unquestioned signatures. In the presence of substantial evidences of genuineness, the occurrence of such original and unique forms or characters in a questioned document is one of the strongest evidences of genuineness and of chirographic skill. The occurrence of such a free and bold flourish in this autograph is in perfect harmony with the holiday spirit manifested in the large, dashing *W* and was prompted—we may reasonably conjecture—by the poet's pleasure in possessing so noble a volume.

The *S* in this signature is the rock on which forgers and paleographers have foundered, chiefly because of the poor facsimiles to which they have had access. Almost without exception they have regarded the heavy horizontal curve at the top of the *S* as the initial stroke, or as an independent terminal flourish, and because of this they have declared this letter (and, consequently, the signature) a forgery. But they are greatly in error. This is almost as perfect an English *S* as one may find anywhere; in slant, size, proportions, shading, and structure, it is in agreement with the *S* in "Deposition" and in "Guildhall," differing from them only in having more or less beauty and in greater freedom of execution. The curved base of the *S* is invisible in part of its extent because the writer raised his pen slightly above the paper as the writing fingers swept around from below up and to the left (very much like what we see in "Deposition" and in "T2"). That the heavy overhead curve is not the initial stroke is clearly shown in our facsimiles (Nos. 1 and 13).¹⁷ That Shakspeare's pen movements often failed to register, and that he did not trouble to mend defective strokes, we already know.

The bold, unlooped *h* which follows is, notwithstanding the wavy vertical stem and the heavy, sharp-pointed, infra-linear horizontal stroke, more nearly Italian than English and yet bears a strong family resemblance to the *h*'s in "T1," "T2," "T3" and in "British Museum." It is not a duplicate of any one of these, but

¹⁷ Sir Edward's facsimile of this signature (*l. c.*, p. 200) omits parts of the faint initial curve of the *S* and elongates and distorts the base-curve. This initial stroke is very conspicuous in the facsimile published by Henry G. Bohn in his *Biography and Bibliography of Shakespeare*, London, 1863, p. 280.

parts of it reproduce corresponding parts in the other signatures. As in those signatures, this letter is not joined to the letters preceding it and following it. The gentle wave in the vertical stem is not a sign of feebleness or of a nervous tremor but a characteristic artistic touch in Elizabethan calligraphy and reminiscent of the same feature in Shakspeare's unquestioned signatures in his *l*'s, *m*'s, etc.

Objections to the *h* in "Montaigne" have been raised (Thompson, *l. c.*, p. 205) on the following grounds: "Shakespeare's normal *h* was the sinuous letter" shown in "Deposition" and in "Guildhall"; this *h* "may" have been suggested by the imperfect *h* in "T3" (one of Shakspeare's "death-bed autographs"!). Just what Sir Edward understands by the word "normal" does not appear. In four of his six unquestioned autographs, Shakspeare made use of *h*'s having a vertical stem above the line, two of them ("T1" and "T2") having visible loops and two ("British Museum" and "T3") being without them. That the *h*'s in these signatures were standard or "normal" letters is certain from their occurrence in other manuscripts of the time, *e. g.*, *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*, and in de Beau Chesne's alphabet. Surely Shakspeare did not invent a new *h* for himself at a time when we may assume him to have been on his death-bed (a month before his death). The *h* in "British Museum" (*q. v.*)—which Sir Edward strangely overlooks in this connection—proves that this variety of *h* was not unknown to Shakspeare.

The *a* is a rather large, well-made, open, Italian letter, somewhat angular at the base, but, like the *a*'s in the unquestioned autographs, presenting nothing distinctly Shaksperian. The spurred open old English *a* found in "Deposition" is fully discussed in my essay on the *Thomas Moore* problem, pp. 139-41.

The English *k* which follows is tall, unlooped, delicately waved in the stem and slightly imperfect at one spot (in the center) where the paper failed to take the ink. The second half of the letter, the central bow, shaped somewhat like a modern "2," reminds us of the corresponding element in "Guildhall"; and the failure of the ascending stroke connecting the *a* and the *k* to register recalls "T2."

The Italian long *s* is not so gracefully curved as the other letters in the signature. It agrees with the *s*'s in "Guildhall," "British

Secretario Alphabet

Handwritten text in the Secretary Alphabet, featuring highly stylized, cursive letters and flourishes. The text is arranged in several lines, with the first line being the most prominent. The letters are highly decorative, with many loops and flourishes, characteristic of the Secretary Alphabet style.

William Shakespeare his booke

No. 16—Autograph in Warner's *Albion's England*

W Shakespeare

No. 17—Autograph in Rastell's *Statutes*

William Shakespeare

No. 18—In the Northumberland Manuscript

William Shakespeare
his 2 Booke

No. 19—In a copy of Bacon's *Advancement*; forgery by Jordan

Wm

Shakespeare

No. 20—The Rylands Library's Autograph; a typical Ireland forgery

William Shakespeare

No. 21—The "Gunther" autograph; in a copy of Fo. 2

William Shakespeare
his booke

No. 22—Autograph in Pliny's *Historie*, 1597

Museum," and in "T3" in several important respects: its top is much higher than the *a*, but not as high as the *k*; it was made with the corner of the left nib of the quill (hence its fineness); it terminates in a short, heavy tag made by a firm downward pressure on the quill a short distance below the imaginary baseline, and this terminal element falls on an imaginary line just between the *a* and the *k*, or just below the *k*. Shakspeare's failure to make a beautiful semicircular curve from right to left below the line (*e. g.*, in his *S*'s) is also shown at the base of this *s*. That both this *s* and the one in "Guildhall" begin with an almost identical closed loop is striking.

The writer of "Montaigne" wrote the letters following the *s* without any pen-lifts, thus agreeing with the writing habits of Shakspeare (*cf.* "T1" and "Guildhall"; in "T3" the intention to write *peare* or *pere* with one continuous pen movement is apparent). In the decided elevation of the *ere* above the line this signature is in significant agreement with the unquestioned signatures.

The *p* is a rather unusual English letter and differs from those in the unquestioned signatures in its small, circular head and the very long thin descender, but agrees with them as regards the slant, though not as regards the length, of the descending stroke. In the Malone-Steevens and the Chalmers facsimiles of "T1" the *p* has a circular head very like the one in this signature.

Sir Edward (*l. c.*, p. 206) is particularly severe in his strictures on this *p* which he denounces as a "spurious imitation," and as being "altogether abnormal," on the following grounds: (1) it "fails in the essential feature of the loop"; (2) "there is no trace of any connection between the two strokes to form the required loop of the body" [*i. e.*, the head]; (3) the infra-linear shaft is a "long, thin, and hesitating line—quite different from the firm descender made with a natural stroke—turning at the base in a round bow, instead of the normal sharp point, and then travelling with a rather carefully guided upstroke to link with the following *e*." In reply to these objections it may be pointed out that (1) an accurate facsimile shows that the headloop was properly made and that the pen did leave a trace of ink (not shown in Sir Edward's facsimile!) in that part of the head where it flew so lightly over the paper that it left what on superficial examination

seems to be a gap in the "body of the letter"; (2) that the long descending stroke is not an unusual feature in Elizabethan MSS.,—even longer *p*-descenders occur, *e. g.*, in William Honyng's "Audit Office Enrollments" (*A. O.* 15/1); (3) that this descender was made not hesitatingly but so rapidly that the pen barely touched the paper as it skimmed its surface (as in the end of the tail of the *h*, the shaft of the *s*, and the upstroke in the *p* of "Guildhall"!); (4) that a rounded turn at the lowermost point of the *p* is not at all uncommon and is a perfectly "normal" occurrence in Elizabethan and Jacobean MSS. And, furthermore, Sir Edward would surely not reject as spurious a signature or other writing for containing a unique feature: he raised no objections to the "Deposition" signature for its horizontal *a*-spur or the unique *pere* (or *spere*) symbol. And what writer does not know that all of us sometimes make long descenders and sometimes short ones, that sometimes we make an angular return from below the line and sometimes a round one? And, furthermore, how can this letter be an "imitation" if it differs from its models so much as to be "altogether abnormal"?

The next letter is a large and heavily shaded English *e* in which the ascending stroke and the connecting stroke between the *e* and the *r* failed to register.

The *r* is the same letter we have in "T2" and in "T3" and looks very much like a Greek *e*. The final English *e* with the reversed loop is represented only by the outlines of the two horizontal curves, the rest having failed to register.

It has been objected to this signature that, like most imitations of Shakspeare's signature (*cf. facs.* 13),¹⁸ it is an imitation of "T3" with intentional variations. The objection is not valid. As a matter of fact, this signature resembles "T3" less than it does any of the others. It differs from that signature in so many important details that imitation is utterly out of the question. We shall mention here only the differences in the *W*, the E-like flourish

¹⁸ Facsimile 9 is a half-tone reproduction of an "autograph" occurring on a page of the British Museum's copy of *Bertholomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum* (1597); that it is a clumsy, bare-faced imitation of "T3" is fairly obvious. Other alleged Shakspeare autographs are shown in facsimiles 16-22.

over the *m*, the abbreviation of the baptismal name (the same as in "T2"), the different kind of *l*'s, the shorter distance between the first and the last names, the more beautifully curved and incomplete *S*, the almost unique *h* (terminating in a horizontal stroke and lacking the return loop), the almost perfect *k*, the separate long *s* (terminating in a heavy pressure of the pen instead of in a zigzag stroke), the long, fine, dashing, small-headed *p*, and the simple, legible, almost printed final letters.¹⁹ A literary forger, and probably even the most expert and ingenious criminal forger, would never dare to introduce such extensive variations in something he was imitating or tracing,—such innovations would seriously imperil his success.

The more carefully and impartially one studies the "Montaigne" signature, the greater becomes the conviction that it has all the characteristics of genuineness, has none of the earmarks of forgery, and tallies with every one of the unquestionable handwriting peculiarities of its putative writer. There is therefore no escaping the conclusion that here we have a very fine and genuine autograph of William Shakspeare in a book which must at one time—in all probability, shortly after its publication—have found an honored place in his library.

New York City.

¹⁹ In connection with this subject it must be borne in mind that "British Museum," though it was discovered in 1768, was not published till 1790, and that "Guildhall"—which "Montaigne" most resembles—was not discovered and facsimiled till 1796 (*cf.* Malone, *An Inquiry*, pp. 118 and 120), eighteen years after "Montaigne" was known to be in existence. "Montaigne" it may be added, bears not the slightest resemblance to the output of any of the known Shakspeare forgers.

A NOTE ON SIR THOMAS BROWNE'S KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGES

BY ALMONTE C. HOWELL.

Sir Thomas Browne's treatise in the *Miscellany Tracts* on the subject, "Of Languages, and Particularly of the Saxon Tongue," shows no small insight into the etymological aspects of the origin of languages. For the most part his comments are sane. They show his wide-spread intellectual interest and the range of his learning, though in the light of twentieth century standards they are far from accurate. They give evidence that he did not boast in vain in the *Religio Medici*¹ when he said,

For my own part, besides the jargon and *patois* of several provinces, I understand no less than six languages.

Dr. Johnson, upon reading this tract, was inclined to doubt the accuracy of some of Browne's statements in regard to languages, and disparages Browne's learning more than once in his biography of Sir Thomas. On the authority of James Howell, the author of numerous treatises but best known for his *Letters*, Dr. Johnson pointed out that Browne was wrong in his statement that Spanish and Latin are so nearly alike that a sentence in one could be understood in the other. The whole question is a mere quibble, but it is interesting because Dr. Johnson proved to be wrong and Browne right. Browne wrote:²

The Spaniards in their corruptive traduction and romance, have so happily retained their terminations from the Latin, that, notwithstanding the Gothick and Moorish intrusion of words, they are able to make a discourse completely consisting of grammatical Latin and Spanish, wherein the Italians and French will be very much to seek.

On this Dr. Johnson remarked:³

. . . this will appear very unlikely to a man that considers the Spanish terminations; and Howel, who was eminently skilful in the three provincial languages, declared, that after many essays, he never could effect it.

¹ *Religio Medici*, II, viii.

² *Miscellany Tract* VIII.

³ Bohn Library edition of Sir Thomas Browne's works, Vol. I, p. xxii.

But Howell, from whom Browne doubtless took his hint, did not say that at all. What he really did say, in his *Instructions for Forreine Travell* was: ⁴

. . . . for *Spanish* is nought else but mere *Latine*, take a few *Morisco* words away, which are easily distinguishable by their gutturrall pronunciation, and these excepted, it approacheth nearer and resembleth the *Latine* more than *Italian*, her eldest daughter, for I have beaten my braines to make one Sentence good *Italian* and congruous *Latin*, but could never do it, but in *Spanish* it is very feasible, as for Example, in this *Stanza*,

*Insausta Grecia tu paris Gentes,
Lubricas, sodomiticas, dolosas,
Machinando fraudes cautelosas,
Ruinando animas innocentes, etc.*

which is *Latin* good enough, and yet is it vulgar *Spanish*, intelligible to every Plebeian.

The Doctor's memory seems to have failed him here, for Howell is in agreement with Browne and even quotes the bilingual sentence.

But the great lexicographer was nearer the truth in his judgment on Browne's knowledge and use of Anglo-Saxon. No one doubts Sir Thomas's acquaintance with the ancestor of modern English, which he calls the "Saxon tongue," since the passages which he quotes are made up for the most part of Old English words which may be found in the *Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxicum vetus*,⁵ a work to which he refers in his Tract on "Observations upon Several Plants Mentioned in Scripture," and in the works of other antiquaries named in his tract on the Saxon language.

It is worth while to enumerate the works and writers to which he refers in this tract because these references plainly show that he made an attempt to keep up to date on matters of linguistic scholarship. He mentions Richard Verstegen as an authority on the Saxon language, undoubtedly having in mind Verstegen's *Restitution of Decayed Intellegence* (1605 and reprinted several times in the seventeenth century). According to Dr. Eleanor N. Adams,⁶

⁴ Arber Reprint of the 1642 edition collated with the 1650 edition of Howell's *Instructions for Forreine Travell*, Westminster, 1903, page 39.

⁵ This work was edited by John Spelman, son of the Antiquary and church historian, Sir Henry Spelman.

⁶ Eleanor N. Adams, *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800*, Yale Studies in English, p. 44.

Verstegen's work "marks an important advance in the work of Old English scholarship." Browne mentions definitely Sir Henry Spelman's *Concilia, Decreta, Leges* . . . (London, 1639, and complete edition in 1664, edited by Dugdale). Sir Henry Spelman was eminently interested in Saxon studies and founded a lectureship in Saxon at Cambridge.⁷ Browne was undoubtedly familiar with his law-encyclopedia, *Archeologus* (London, 1626), which contained many Old English words. It is evident that he also made use of the treatise *De Quatuor Linguis* by Meric Casaubon, whose name appears in the tract "Of Languages. . . ." Browne notes that⁸

The learned Casaubon conceiveth that a dialogue might be composed in Saxon only of such words as are derivable from the Greek, which surely might be effected, and so as the learned might not uneasily find it out. (The reference to Verstegen follows and is of a similar nature.)

The Tract on the Saxon Language also contains an undoubted reference to Abraham Wheloc's edition of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and portions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Cambridge, 1643), when it speaks of the use of "the expression of the year of our Lord in the Decretal Epistle of Pope Agatho unto Athelred King of the Mercians, *anno* 680." This epistle is quoted at length in the *Chronicle*. One other scholar and antiquary whom Browne knew well and mentioned several times in his works is William Dugdale, the author of the *Monasticon* (London, 1655). To him a tract and several letters are addressed, and it is possible that the tract under consideration may have been written in response to his inquiry. However, Wilkin thinks that the most of the tracts were addressed to Sir Nicholas Bacon.

Johnson maintained, and justly too, that the passages in "Saxon" which Browne quotes are not really Old English at all. In his biography of Sir Thomas, he notes in commenting on this tract:⁹

The words are, indeed, Saxon, but the phraseology is English; and, I think, would not have been understood by Bede and Aelfric, notwithstanding the confidence of our author. He has, however, sufficiently proved his position, that the English resembles its parental language, more than any modern European dialect.

⁷ Adams, 51-2.

⁸ *Miscellany Tract* viii.

⁹ Ed. cit., p. xxii.

Browne's own "Saxon" will easily show the truth of this contention. He has given six parallel passages in English and in a "Saxon" which seems to be of his own manufacture, for many of the words do not occur in the forms he gives, nor is the style Anglo-Saxon. Below is an example:

ENGLISH I.—The first and foremost step to all good works is the dread and fear of the Lord of heaven and earth, which through the Holy Ghost enlighteneth the blindness of our sinful hearts to tread the ways of wisdom, and leads our feet into the land of blessing.

SAXON I.—The erst and fyrmost staep to eal gode weorka is the draed and feurt of the Lauord of heofan and eorth, while thurh the Heilig Gast onlihtneth the blindnesse of ure sinfull heorte to traed the waeg of wisdom, and thone laed ure fet into the land of blessing.

This brief passage shows both that Browne was undoubtedly acquainted with an Old English vocabulary and that Dr. Johnson was right in his comment. Browne himself says he was trying to show "how near English and Saxon meet"; this he has clearly done.

Browne's interest in philology is clearly visible upon an examination of his works, where numerous quotations, both in translations and in the originals, may be found to substantiate the boast quoted earlier in this paper. In one tract¹⁰ he mentioned the following translations of the Bible, in most cases quoting a verse or a word from the one then under consideration: Dutch, Flemish, Luther's (German), Saxon (Old English), Icelandic, French, Spanish, Italian of Diodati, Tremellius's, Septuagint, Vulgate, Beza's, Junius's, and the Geneva Translation. In his treatise on languages he writes a paragraph in Provençal, and in MS. Sloan. 1827, collated with this same tract by Wilkin in his 1846 edition of Browne's works, appears a letter written in French. Like every educated man of his time, he knew Latin as well as he did English, and wrote in it when the occasion demanded. Greek he knew not quite so well, but he read it with ease.¹¹ He read Rabelais with gusto in the original, and a recent editor notes that he was one of the few

¹⁰ *Miscellany Tract I*, "Observations upon Several Plants Mentioned in Scripture."

¹¹ This fact is to be inferred from his preference for Aristotle in the translation of J. C. Scaliger, and for his use of other Latin translations of Greek writers.

English gentlemen of the seventeenth century who could read Dante in the original.¹² He quotes from the *Divine Comedy* six times in his works, using the Italian twice. His library gives evidence of his desire to master Hebrew, for it contained grammars, methods, and lexicons for that language.

In fact the sales catalogue of Browne's library, happily preserved in the British Museum, affords substantial proof of his wide and varied interest in languages. The Library of the University of North Carolina has a photostatic copy of this catalogue, entitled, "Catalogue of the Libraries of the learned Sir Thomas Browne and Dr. Edward Browne his son . . . which will be sold at auction . . . on Monday the 8th day of January 1710/11 . . . by Thomas Ballard, bookseller." This collection, which numbers well over a thousand titles, shows that Browne had a wide acquaintance with the classics in the originals and in translations, in the best editions then available. Many of them were edited by such scholars as Scaliger, Vossius, and Casaubon, and a number of them contained variorum notes. But what is more important for the student of Browne's learning is the number of languages represented in the collection. His library contained books in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, English, Italian, Spanish, German, Flemish, and Dutch. A number of these works were grammars and lexicons, a fact which still further strengthens the statement that he was interested in comparative linguistics. He had the true Renaissance regard for learning in all its branches; and although medical works hold a prominent place in his collection, philological and etymological works are not lacking. His library, as well as his writings themselves, shows that he, like Bacon, had "taken all knowledge to be his province."

Thus although it is necessary to agree with Johnson in his comment on Browne's knowledge of Old English, it becomes increasingly clear to the student of Browne that the great Lexicographer underestimated Browne's knowledge of languages on the whole. It appears that he was a consummate master of his own, which he used with a richness and fulness seldom found in the writers of any age; he developed to its fullest possibilities the Latinized style

¹² W. Murison in his edition of the *Religio Medici*, Introduction; Pitt Press Series, Cambridge, 1923, pp. xi and xii.

of the early seventeenth century. Moreover he knew, and used frequently, the principal languages of antiquity, he could read the best known languages of the continent in his own time, and he was interested in the whole field of linguistics. Readers of the antiquarian-doctor are too apt to forget that his works are scholarly in the best sense of the word, as well as attractive from the standpoint of style; they are prone to lose sight of his erudition in following the mazes of his sonorous periods.

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ALLOY AND GOLD.

BY A. G. DRACHMANN.

"Who thinks Hugues wrote for the deaf?
Proved a mere mountain in labour?
Better submit—try again—what's the clef?
'Faith, it's no trifle for pipe and for tabor—
Four flats—the minor in F."

The metaphor used by Browning at the beginning of "The Ring and the Book" has been a stumbling block to more than one commentator.

The image is clear enough: A ring cannot be made out of pure gold alone, the jeweller must mingle it with some alloy; the mass then can be hammered and filed, but when the ring is finished the alloy is removed by means of an acid, and the pure gold remains in the shape of a ring.

The application of this metaphor is generally explained like this: The gold is the truth contained in the Old Yellow Book, the alloy is the poet's fancy, the finished ring is the poem.

A. K. Cook, in his *Commentary upon Browning's "The Ring and the Book,"* Oxford, 1920, p. 2, goes on to say:

Perhaps the admirable metaphor was pressed too hard. Browning tells us repeatedly that just as, when the jeweller's art has been exercised upon the ring, he disengages the alloy, so, when the poet has fashioned his poem, he will disengage his fancy from it. But he does not disengage it, there is no "repristination"; unlike the jeweller's alloy, the poet's fancy does not "fly in fume," it cannot (happily) be "unfastened" from the facts.

This is a clear and fair statement of the difficulty in the interpretation of the metaphor; and if the point of view is shifted a little, we reach the conclusion put into words by Dr. Frances Theresa Russell, in her paper: "Gold and Alloy" in *Studies in Philology*, XXI, 3, 1924: ". . . Browning muddles his own metaphor until it becomes a treacherous quagmire."

Now, a muddle is really the last thing one expects to find in Browning. And here we are dealing with the metaphor from which his greatest poem takes its name, and which he has elaborated and insisted upon throughout the 1412 verses of the first book

of that poem. So before agreeing with Dr. Russell that Browning in this metaphor "so thoroughly misinterprets himself and misleads his readers that practically the reverse of his assertions constitutes the actual case," I think it might be worth while to see if the metaphor is really interpreted in the right way.

In the usual interpretation of the metaphor there is no room for the "washing with acid." This fact is either slurred over by the commentator or expressly stated, as by Mr. Cook. But Browning insists on this washing, not only where he describes the ring, but also where he applies the metaphor, and then twice: v. 685-686, v. 1388. So it stands to reason that he must have meant something by it. But in this case the usual interpretation is obviously wrong, as it fails to tell us what the poet meant.

Mrs. Russell assumes that this incongruity is only part of the general muddle: the alloy is still in the gold—fiction is still mingled with fact in the poem, by the poet's own confession:

v. 830: No dose of purer truth than man digests
But truth with falsehood, milk that feeds him now,
Not strong meat he may get to bear some day.

But these lines have really nothing to do with the question of the Ring. A careful study of the context will show that they are expressing quite another line of thought of Browning's.

824 Let this old woe step on the stage again!
Act itself o'er anew for men to judge,
Not by the very sense and sight indeed—
827 (Which take at best imperfect cognizance,
Since, how heart moves brain, and how both move hand,
What mortal ever in entirety saw?)
830 —No dose of purer truth than man digests,
But truth with falsehood, milk that feeds him now,
Not strong meat he may get to bear some day—
833 To-wit, by voices we call evidence,
Uproar in the echo, live fact deadened down,
Talked over, bruited along, whispered away,
836 Yet helping us to all we seem to hear:
For how else know we save by worth of word?

Here are the voices presently shall sound. . . .

Compare "The Pope," v. 344 sqq.:

344 . . . I must plead
This condemnation of a man to-day.
Not so! Expect nor question nor reply

- 347 At what we figure as God's judgment-bar!
 None of this vile way by the barren words
 Which, more than any deed, characterize
 350 Man as made subject to a curse: no speech—
 That still bursts o'er some lie which lurks inside,
 As the split skin across the coppery snake,
 353 And most denotes man! . . .
 [This line of thought is continued to v. 382.]

It becomes evident that Browning in "The Ring and the Book," v. 824 sqq. is writing about the universally acknowledged fact that no speech, however true, can be identical with the truth itself. The lines may be paraphrased like this:

I will let this old tragedy enact itself before you once more. I cannot do it as if you were present at the actual occurrence (and even then you would be able to see only the insignificant part, the mere facts, not the important part, the motives); but as it is so here in this world that we never get truth itself, only hear words that bear some relation to it, (in another world we may be able to bear pure truth), I will tell you the story not straightforwardly, but through the mouths of a number of persons—just as we learn about everything else we know.

This then has nothing to do with the question of the alloy; the "falsehood" of v. 831 is not the "alloy." But these lines throw a light over another question: what does Browning mean by the word truth? He does not mean facts, "things done that took the eye and had the price" (cf. "Rabbi ben Ezra," xxii-xxv), but the motives, the spiritual truth, that which deals with right and wrong, not with done and undone.

Now keeping this distinction between fact and truth always before our eyes let us go through those verses in which the poet speaks of the metaphor, carefully watching the context all the way.

1-32. The description of the ring; it is very clear, and needs no commentary.

33-140. The story of how Browning found the Book; it presents no difficulty as to the interpretation. Then follow the famous

- 141 Now, as the ingot, ere the ring was forged,
 Lay gold (beseech you, hold that figure fast!)
 So, in this book lay absolutely truth,
 Fanciless fact, the documents indeed. . . .

145-363. The contents of the Old Yellow Book are told, in the order of the papers in the book itself, and *objectively*, without one

hint of the poet's subjective judgment about the persons, the only exception being the description of the pope—probably because he alone is well known to history, so that we need no Old Yellow Book to find out what manner of man he was.

v. 364-366:

364 This is the bookful; thus far take the truth.
The untempered gold, the fact untampered with,
The mere ring-metal ere the ring be made!

The poet then goes on to contend that we ought to know the whole of the story from this:

377 You know the tale already: I may ask
Rather than think to tell you, more thereof,—
Ask you not merely who were he and she,
380 Husband and wife, *what manner of mankind*,
.
.
.
387 Giuseppe Caponsacchi;—his strange course
I' the matter, *was it right or wrong or both?*
.
.
.
391 Those Comparini, Pietro and his spouse,—
What say you to the right or wrong of that,
When

413-456. We learn how Browning told the story to people he met in Rome, how they denied ever having heard about the case, and finally asked him, whether he was telling them a real story, or merely something he had invented himself:

451 "Do you tell the story, now, in off-hand style,
"Straight from the book? Or simply here and there,
"(The while you vault it through the loose and large)
454 "Hang to a hint? Or is there book at all,
"And don't you deal in poetry, make-believe,
"And the white lies it sounds like?"
457 Yes and no!
From the book, yes; thence bit by bit I dug
The lingot truth, that memorable day,
460 Assayed and knew my piecemeal gain was gold,—
Yes; but from something else surpassing that,
Something of mine which, mingled with the mass,
463 Made it bear hammer and be firm to file.
Fancy with fact is just one fact the more;
To-wit, that fancy has informed, transpierced,
466 Thridded and so thrown fast the facts else free,

As right through ring and ring runs the djereed
And binds the loose, one bar without a break.

469 I fused my live soul and that inert stuff
Before attempting smithcraft, . . .

480-652. We are told how Browning through his fancy was able to live through the whole story, and once more the whole story is told—but this time with all the stress laid on the moral question, the question of guilt. The Comparini are described as

529 Two poor ignoble hearts who did their best
Part God's way, part the other way than God's;

Pompilia is

534 Their child's soul, one soul white enough for three.

Guido is "the star-like pest," Caponsacchi "the young good beautiful priest"—in short, we are told quite plainly the poet's own idea as to the right and wrong of the matter. Then, resuming the argument of v. 457-470:

679 This was it from, my fancy with those facts,
I used to tell the tale, turned gay to grave,
But lacked a listener seldom; such alloy,
682 Such substance of me interfused the gold
Which, wrought into a shapely ring therewith,
Hammered and filed, fingered and favoured, last
685 Lay ready for the renovating wash
O' the water. "How much of this tale was true?"
I disappeared; . . .

The tale Browning told people in Rome (v. 422-24, 680, 81), and which is repeated in substance, but not in the words, in the verses 500-652, is then "the gold with the alloy," and it differs from the first telling "the lingot truth," v. 143-363, only in two particulars: that it is told in the order of the *events*, and that the moral coherence, the motives, the guilt, has been made plain by means of the poet's fancy. And in case this was not plain enough, Browning expressly tells us, v. 433-438, that, when trying the "truth" of the story on people in Rome, the *moral* question was what interested him.

685-6. The washing with acid is mentioned. The wash of the "water" is explained: "I disappeared"—and then the verses 698-773 contain an explanation of the nature of the "alloy," that is,

Browning explains to us his theory of the poet's relation to his materials. He breaks off:

773

The Book!

Enough of me!

in direct continuation of v. 687:

I disappeared; the Book grew all in all—

and then, v. 780-823, the tale is told for the third time—and this time once more, as in the first telling (v. 143-363) in bare facts, the moral question is deliberately pushed aside:

787 And brought her to Arezzo, where they lived

Unhappy lives, *whatever curse the cause,—*

But this third telling differs from the first telling and resembles the second one (v. 500-652) in this particular, that it is told in the order of the events—the ring is formed, and now needs only the decoration.

Then follow the verses 824 sqq. (cf. above, p. 419), explaining *how* Browning is going to tell the tale, to-wit through the mouths of several persons.

It would appear then that the metaphor is to be explained in this way:

The gold of the ingot represents the truth concealed in the Old Yellow Book,—the truth about the motives, about the question of moral worth and worthlessness.

The alloy represents the poet's fancy that enabled him to live through the whole drama, to connect the facts into a coherence, to supply what was wanting to make a whole, and thus to grasp the inner truth of the persons.

The "repristination," the washing with acid, represents the fact that Browning in the poem (Books II-XI) refrains from speaking in his own person, but tells us the *facts* in ten different ways, leaving it to ourselves to find out the *truth*.

The finished ring represents the poem.

Once this idea is grasped, it will be found that it is corroborated in several places in the poem.

847 sqq. "Half Rome," we are told, feels after the vanished truth—and misses it, not because it is not in possession of the facts, but because it is prepossessed in Guido's favour.

833 Next, from Rome's other half, the opposite feel
 For truth with a like swerve, like unsuccess,—
 Or if success, by no more skill but luck . . .

v. 1105 sqq. ironically:

Then, since a Trial ensued, a touch o' the same
 To sober us, flustered with frothy talk . . .
 1110 . . . law, the recognized machine
 Framed to unchoak, pump up and pour apace
 Truth in a flowery foam shall wash the world?
 1113 The patent truth-extracting process,—ha?

(Browning's special grievance against the lawyers consists even in this, that they are not at all interested in the *moral* truth, only in making a good case for their clients. This is the reason why he is unable to take them seriously.)

Finally *The Book and the Ring*, v. 831-863 may be adduced as proof.

This attempt to explain a single metaphor has led me further than I had expected—I have had to dissect the first book of "*The Ring and the Book*" till I came near writing a monograph on its composition. Yet this is not to be wondered at. What else does it mean than that form and matter in this poem are so inextricably intertwined that the one cannot be understood unless the other is taken into account? And to take apart a poem by Browning has a joy of its own, if it is only to watch the pieces, like the pieces of the great sea serpent in a Norwegian tale I read when I was a boy, come alive, grow together again, and form a whole once more, only stronger and more beautiful than ever.

University Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.

THE UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF CRÈVECOEUR

BY H. L. BOURDIN and S. T. WILLIAMS.

On November 10, 1805 Charles Lamb wrote: "Oh! tell Hazlitt not to forget to send the *American Farmer*. I dare say it is not so good as he fancies; but a book's a book."¹ In October, 1829, Hazlitt was still fond of the Farmer, for he spoke of him as one who "gives not only the objects, but the feelings of a new country."² Hazlitt's experience in the discovery of J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur has been the experience of many a literary explorer; the *Letters from an American Farmer* are frequently re-discovered. The authors of this paper would hardly venture to recall the story of the Farmer and of his letters, if they were not able also to submit other chapters from his book,—chapters new yet old; chapters which have rested undisturbed in a trunk of the de Crèvecoeur family for a century and a half.

We remember that the Farmer introduced himself to London in 1782. Letters from an American Farmer were but the first words in his elaborate title.³ In the same year appeared an imprint in Dublin, and by 1784 there were four editions of his book.⁴ In 1785 he brought out in Paris his *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain*. In this he translated and expanded the same essays with a few original additions. In 1787 he published a second and enlarged edition of the *Lettres*. Sixteen years later, in 1801, even his *Voyage dans la Haute Pennsylvanie* echoed faintly the old stories

¹ *Letters of Charles Lamb*, edited by Alfred Ainger, New York, A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1888. Vol. I, p. 221.

² The *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1829. (Unsigned article attributed to Hazlitt by Rich.)

³ *Letters from An American Farmer describing certain provincial situations, manners, and customs, not generally known; and conveying some idea of the late and present interior circumstances of the British colonies in North America.*—Written for the information of a friend in England by J. Hector St. John a farmer in Pennsylvania. London, printed for Thomas Davies in Russell Street Covent Garden, and Lockyer Davis in Holborn. 1782. 8°, 318 pages.

⁴ London. Thomas Davies and Lockyer Davis. 1782. 8°, 318 pp.; Dublin. John Enshaw, 1782. 12°, 256 pp.; Belfast. 1783. 12°.; London. Thomas Davies and Lockyer Davis, 1783, with an index.

of the early volume (For the Farmer had been popular; his writings had been translated into German and Dutch, and in Paris, in 1785, another hand had contributed a so-called "sequel"). Meanwhile in America Mathew Carey had sponsored, in 1793, the first American edition.

The letters may now be read in such texts as that of Lewisohn and Trent (New York, 1904), that of Barton-Blake in the *Everyman Library* (1910), and in the recent reprint published by Albert and Charles Boni (1925). Criticism of Crèvecoeur, relatively slight, includes a life by his grandson, Robert de Crèvecoeur (Paris, 1883); a study by Fourier de Bacourt presumably in 1908; essays by his editors and by S. L. Whitcomb, F. B. Sanborn, and P. H. Boynton. Crèvecoeur is also the subject of a thesis by Miss Julia Post Mitchell (1916). Such facts and allusions, even those of Lamb and Hazlitt, attest that the Farmer has never been entirely forgotten.

From this chronology of texts and criticisms might be made, if space permitted, interesting deductions. Some students of American literature have been less concerned with the facts of the Farmer's life than with its romance. They put him on the shelves beside Benjamin Franklin and refer to "another great eighteenth century biography." They christen him "an eighteenth century Thoreau." They dispose of him as "Rousseauistic." His life and writings, both so picturesque, betray them into generalizations.

As to his life, we must remember that he was born in France; that he was educated in England; and that he left the latter country, in 1754, at the age of nineteen, in love with adventure. In Canada, contrary to the assertions of Miss Mitchell, he spent some years in military service.⁵ By December 1759 he was in New York. For twenty years he wandered, though he paused in 1764 to become a citizen; and in 1769 to marry Mahetable Tippet of Yonkers. In the same year he settled on his farm at "Pine Hill," Orange County, New York. Ten years later he arrived in New York City on his way to France. He was poor, yet rich, for among his possessions were the manuscript *Letters from an American Farmer*. We must not dwell on his later life: the shipwreck on the way home in 1780; his friendships in the cultivated society of Paris with Madame d'Houdetot; and his consulship at

⁵ See last paragraph of this article.

New York; his last years in Paris, London, and Munich. On the basis of this life and his writings the world has decided about Crèvecoeur.

Such decisions must be reconsidered. In the summer of 1922 one of the present writers (H. L. Bourdin) discovered in Paris a large number of unpublished manuscripts by Crèvecoeur. In the possession of the Crèvecoeur family were found three volumes of manuscripts, comprising three hundred and thirty-three folios, and six hundred and seventeen pages of text. Apart from the *Introductory Letter* the first volume is the manuscript of the letters published in the first English edition. The second and third volumes are unprinted, though Crèvecoeur has reproduced some letters in translation. These, however, altered and polished, cannot supplant the originals in their native charm. All the newly discovered letters must be published to ensure a final judgment concerning Crèvecoeur.

The manuscripts reveal that they were designed like the others for publication. Among other details are the author's sketches and directions for plates which were evidently intended to be illustrations. Unobtrusive notes in the early English editions now assume their full meaning. "Should our Farmer's Letters," says Crèvecoeur, in his *Advertisement* to the first edition, "be found to afford matter of useful entertainment to an intelligent and candid public, a second volume, equally interesting with those now published, may soon be expected." The second and third volumes were already written. And in the *Advertisement* to the second edition a publishers' note hints at the truth:

Since the publication of this volume, we hear that Mr. St. John has accepted a public employment at New York. It is therefore, perhaps, doubtful whether he will soon be at leisure to *revise his papers*,* and give the world a second collection of the American Farmer's Letters.

Once these volumes come to light, we wonder at their long concealment.

Yet we wonder more about another question. Why were the second and third volumes not published? Was it because the prudent publishers, Thomas Davies and Lockyer Davis, were not sure that these other, ardent loyalist papers would be grateful to a

* The italics are the editors'.

public partly hostile to the Crown's American policy? Or was it that Crèvecoeur hesitated to print Tory literature of a far warmer temper than that of *What is an American?* Or had he suffered a change of heart about loyalty to the King? All this is conjecture, and the letters may have been suppressed because of that venerable situation between author and publisher: the inability to strike a bargain.

We might divide artificially the contents of the new letters into four or five classes representing: Crèvecoeur's descriptions of the American farm; the romance and realism of the frontier; natural history; essays of travel; society and customs during the Revolution. It is better to glance at them in the order in which their author arranged them. The second volume of his essays begins with four matter-of-fact letters on farm life. Next is a flamboyant description of Lisbon, where he stopped, supposedly, on his way to America; then a discussion of the Spanish and English colonies; and passages on Jamaica and the Bermudas. The familiar observations on bees and birds are recalled by an essay on ants. Of some historical interest are the papers on military hospitals and liberty of worship. Then comes Crèvecoeur's beautiful description of a snow storm with its tranquil picture of a winter life on an American farm. A sub-title for *The Frontier Woman* is *A Moving Scene*. This the author follows with a description of the country between the Delaware and the Susquehanna.⁷ The volume ends with a vignette of the frontier, the *History of Mrs. B.*, "An Epitome," so runs the caption, "of all the misfortunes which can possibly overtake a New Settler, as related by herself." The second volume contains *The American Belisarius*, a tale of the sufferings of a loyalist; *Landscapes*; *The Grotto*, the story of a secret Tory refuge; the *Commissioners*, a Revolutionary episode; *The Man of Sorrows*. With the notation of an inferior essay entitled *Ingratitude Rewarded* our inadequate summary ends.⁸

⁷ A portion of this essay appeared in the *Yale Review* for April, 1925.

⁸ There follows a list of the titles of the essays in the unpublished manuscripts:

First volume:

Thoughts of an American Farmer on various Rural subjects—3d Letter (14 pages).

5th Letter (14 pages).

Inadequate, for it cannot indicate how much these manuscripts may teach us of the Farmer. As one instance, we may now study for the first time Crèvecoeur's handwriting, his orthography (rather cacography) and his punctuation.⁹ Vanish now the platitudes on his eighteenth century style! This diffuse and repetitious manner, which the manuscripts reveal, has been repeatedly misjudged. There has been hitherto no original to show the corrections made in the first edition. For the manuscript of the first

6th Letter, Various Customs and Methods. (9 pages.)

7th Letter, Description of Various implements. (9 pages.)

Rock of Lisbon. (23 pages.)

Sketch of a contrast between the Spanish and the English Colonies. (12 pages.)

Reflections on the Manners of the Americans, 1774. (27 pages.)

Sketches of Jamaica and Bermudas. (12 pages.)

Ant Hill Town-Virginia, 1769. (12 pages.)

Hospitals. (8 pages.)

Liberty of Worship. (15 pages.)

Description of a snow storm in Canada. (18 pages.)

A Snow Storm as it affects the American Farmer. (6 pages.)

Frontier Woman. (10 pages.)

Susquehanna. (47 pages.)

History of Mrs. B. (9 pages.)

Second Volume:

The American Belisarius. (22 pages.)

Landscapes. (79 pages.)

The Grotto. (14 pages.)

The Commissioners. (23 pages.)

Ingratitude Rewarded. (14 pages.)

The Man of Sorrows. (12 pages.)

In a loose quire:

An Happy Family disunited by the Spirit of Civil War. (16 pages.)

* Here is a sample of the American Farmer's spelling and use of capitals:

"It is in the Art of our Simple Cooking that our Wives all aim at distinguishing themselves this is famous for one thing that for the other—she Who has not fresh comb Honney Some Sweat Meats of her own composing and smoke beef at Tea wou'd be Looked upon as very Inexpert Indeed; thus those Light repasts become on Every account the most Expensive of any and as We dine Early and work untill Tea Time they often are Very Serious Meals at which abundance of biskuit and Short Cakes are allways eat some People wou'd think it a disgrace to have bred brought on these Round Tables—our Beef by Smoaking become so compact that we commonly shave it with a Plain. 6th Letter. Various Customs and Methods.

volume was, in 1782, ruthlessly revised by another than Crèvecoeur. In the unpublished volumes there are some corrections by the same hand, and some by Crèvecoeur, while other parts remain uncorrected. The text with its corrections raises interesting questions concerning the practice of this Frenchman, educated in England, and living in colonial America. Some of these are: his rendering of dialect phrases and colloquialisms; his eighteenth century orthography; or his retention of French words, like *colon* or *agricole*. These problems are complicated by the fact that Crèvecoeur is patently a slovenly speller and a weak grammarian. His long sentences are often clumsily constructed, wretchedly punctuated, and verbose.

Three questions in connection with Crèvecoeur take on new significance from a study of these manuscripts: the original appearance and character of Crèvecoeur's manuscripts and writing; the dates of certain essays; and the question of his Canadian service.

The complete set of papers, written by Crèvecoeur while he was a farmer in Orange County, New York, are bound in three volumes measuring sixteen by nine inches. The binding was evidently made after the arrival of Crèvecoeur in France, as we find collected in the first volume the letters sold to Thomas Davies and Lockyer Davis in London,¹⁰ with the well-known entry written on the fly-leaf:

Being 15 letters which were sold to Mrs. Thomas et ¹¹ Lockie Davies, booksellers in London, May 20th, 1781, for 30 guineas with promise of a present if the publick likes the book.

If we deduct from the first volume the essay which was left unpublished, we find that one hundred and seventeen pages of the writings of the American Farmer went into print, while four hundred and seventeen remained buried in the archives of the family. The manuscripts are in an excellent state of preservation and are all in the hand of Crèvecoeur except four essays which were recopied by a strange hand. Yet as we possess one of these in a loose

¹⁰ With the exception of an essay numbering twenty-three pages and entitled *An Happy family disunited by the Spirit of Civil War*. This essay is a second copy and has been corrected like all the other essays of the printed volume by a strange hand. The original in the hand of the author exists in a loose quire in vol. III.

¹¹ Sic.

quire in the original hand of the author, there can be no doubt about the authenticity of the others. The writing is fairly legible, but the lack of punctuation, the erratic use of capitals, besides the fondness of Crèvecoeur for inversions, make the reading of the papers a delicate task.

Only four essays are dated, and the difference in the shades of ink would suggest that these dates were added later, probably at the time when Crèvecoeur wrote his French adaptations. In any case the complete inaccuracy of the author in the matter of dates is too well known to enable us to make capital of such indications. But allusions to historical events incorporated in the text may lead us to date certain portions of the manuscripts and divide the entire production into the parts written before and those written after the beginning of the Revolution.

Another interesting fact which was brought to light by the discovery of those papers is that sometimes an account of a journey was written long after this journey had taken place. Such is the case in respect to the journey along the Susquehanna River. According to internal evidence Crèvecoeur made two trips in that valley about 1772 and 1774, but the relation cannot have been written in its definite form before 1778, as it includes a narrative of the Wyoming massacre. The precision of certain details suggests that the traveller scribbled hurried notes while on his journey and with their help wrote the final drafts after he returned to his farm, sometimes after rather long periods had elapsed.

Several transparent allusions to Canada throughout the papers would be sufficient to dissipate any doubt about the stay of Crèvecoeur in that country previous to his coming to New York. Besides these indications a letter of the Marquis de Lotbinière, which will be published in the introduction to the new essays, admits no doubt about the identification of the Canadian Crèvecoeur with our *American Farmer*. This once settled, other documents have established the date of the arrival of Crèvecoeur in New York as December 1759.¹² Thus it is definitely proved that the author of the

¹² A letter from M. Bernier to Mr. de Bougainville dated October 21st, 1759, states that Crèvecoeur will sail from Quebec for New York with General Monckton. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* the date set for the arrival in New York of Lieutenant General Monckton is December 16th, 1759.

Letters from an American Farmer lived in this country for a period of twenty years from 1759 to 1779. As he probably did not write before he was married in 1769¹⁸ we may safely say that his production extends over a period of ten years, beginning in 1769 and ending in 1779. Such is a summary of the new facts about the *American Farmer* revealed by the discovery of these Crèvecoeur manuscripts.

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¹⁸ This date of 1769 is also the earliest found in the papers.

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THE SPIRIT WORLD OF MILTON AND MORE

BY MARJORIE H. NICOLSON

"I ventured," wrote Boswell of a conversation with Johnson in 1772, "to lead him to the subject of our situation in a future state, having much curiosity to know his notions on that point: Boswell: 'But, Sir, is there any harm in our forming to ourselves conjectures as to the particulars of our happiness, though the scripture has said but very little on the subject?' . . . Johnson: 'Sir, there is no harm. What philosophy suggests to us on that topick is probable: what scripture tells us is certain. Dr. Henry More has carried it as far as philosophy can. You may buy both his theological and philosophical works in two volumes folio, for about eight shillings.'"¹

During the years which immediately followed the Restoration, those theological and philosophical works—particularly the *Grand Mystery of Godliness*—according to the statement of the publisher Chiswell, ruled all London booksellers. With the publication in 1642 of the first of his Philosophical Poems, followed in 1647 by another edition, More had made a place for himself as one of the important figures in seventeenth century letters; the effect of that curious work had been, in fact, to found a second school of "metaphysical" writers, chiefly Plotinian enthusiasts. It was his *Antidote Against Atheism*, however, which established More as a philosopher in the minds of English readers; the first important refutation of Hobbes, it antedated by many years Cudworth's *Treatise Concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality*,

¹ *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, edited G. Birkbeck Hill, New York, Harper and Brothers, II, 186.

usually considered the most important philosophical work of the Cambridge Platonists—though that, indeed, adds little to More's *Enchiridion Ethicum*. There was a story—the truth of which cannot be attested, that Hobbes was accustomed to say that, should he ever give up his own philosophy, he would accept that of Dr. More of Cambridge.² Certainly, from about 1650 until his death in 1687 More was considered one of the most influential English thinkers: a man of unusually attractive personality, a latitudinarian, a scholar, a cabbalist, a Platonist, an ardent "spiritist," a member of the Royal Society, the chief interpreter of Cartesianism to England, most of all one of the greatest teachers of his day. The circle of his disciples was a large one. Each of his books was eagerly hailed and read by those who feared the influence of Hobbian materialism. Born and bred a Calvinist, More had revolted during his school years from that discipline. He entered Cambridge the year before Milton left it; tradition says that they were acquainted; a memorandum in one of More's books in the Grantham vestry library—one of the few "chained" libraries left in England—mentions that acquaintance. There was some natural association of the two in the minds of their fellow-students, for, as Milton was the "lady of Christ's," More was the "angel of Christ's." Practically all of More's long and placid life was spent at Cambridge as student, as tutor, as fellow. Latitudinarian that he was, he was one of the few Cambridge men left untouched both by the troubles attendant on the Civil War and those attendant on the Restoration. While Milton was writing Latin letters and discussing questions of church and state government, More at Cambridge was placidly setting down his ideas concerning ghosts, witches, and the immortality of the soul.

In 1659 appeared More's formal treatise *The Immortality of the Soul*, one of the most technical of his philosophical works. It was undoubtedly this book which Dr. Johnson had in mind when he spoke to Boswell of More's ideas on the "future state," for, though the subject was one of More's favorites, and he discusses it in nearly all his works, in the third book of this treatise he gathered together all he had said or thought on the subject; here he gave

² Cf. John Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England*, II, 366.

free rein both to his learning and to his fancy; the result is one of the most remarkable pictures in English of a sensuous after-world.³ No one can read the chapters without being reminded on every page of the Heaven and Hell of *Paradise Lost*, and of Milton's conception of the beings that inhabit them; but it is not until we come to compare the two works in detail that we realize the remarkable correspondence, even in minute details. So close is the parallel that it seems impossible that Milton did not know the work, published just at the time when he was most interested in the ideas which it contained. That Milton not only knew More's philosophical work in general, but that he was in his ethical—and many of his cabballistical—ideas, a follower of More, I hope to show at another time. At present I shall limit myself to a discussion of the pronounced similarities between More's and Milton's conceptions of spirits and the world of spirits.

The third book of the *Immortality of the Soul* begins with a series of "moral axioms," a favorite device of More's who held, in common with most of the English Platonists, that moral truths are as clear, certain, and unchanging as mathematical. The two most important axioms state that "the Soul is not released from all vital union with matter";⁴ and that "the Soul . . . is capable of sense, properly so called, and consequently of pleasure and pain."⁵ Here at once we are brought face to face with More's fundamental belief: "The Soul is a substance, extended and indiscerpible" (p. 164). Like Milton, he holds definitely the corporeity of spirits; these are no shadows, images, shades; spirit is finite and "necessarily bounded in some figure" (p. 165).

It should be made clear at the beginning that More, in using the word "soul" in this treatise, is dealing primarily—unlike Milton—with the human soul after the death of the body. As a Platonist, More held that "there is a triple vital congruity in the soul, namely ætherial, aërial, and terrestrial" (p. 160). He is concerned here chiefly with the "aërial" stage—that intermediate position of the human soul—and rather with the spirits of the

³ "The Immortality of the Soul" in *A Collection of Several Philosophic Writings of Dr. Henry More*. Fourth Edition. London, 1712. Book III, pp. 158 ff.

⁴ Axiom xxvii, p. 159.

⁵ Axiom xxx, p. 161.

dead than with the "rest of the ærial demons," whose presence he nevertheless recognizes (p. 198). But souls are, in essentials, the same throughout the three kingdoms; the difference is merely that the ætherial souls are more purified than the others and dwell in a rarer region. What he has to say of the appearance, occupations, and nature of the soul holds equally for ærial and ætherial; and among the ætherial, as well for those angels created in the beginning by God as angels, as for those pure souls which by their merit have won ætherial regions. Milton's spirits, on the other hand, are merely the original angels; yet the general idea of the three stages of spiritual life is suggested in such passages as: ⁶

Those argent fields more likely habitants,
Translated Saints, or middle Spirits hold,
Betwixt th' angelical and human kind.

or: ⁷

not to Earth confined,
But sometimes in the Air, as we; sometimes
Ascend to Heaven by merit thine, and see
What life the gods live there.

Most important is the long passage in Book V, in which Raphael instructs Adam: ⁸

All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not depraved from good, created all
Such to perfection; one first matter all,
Endued with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and, in things that live, of life;
But more refined, more spirituous and pure,
As nearer to him placed or nearer tending
Each in their several active spheres assigned,
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
Proportioned to each kind. . . .
Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,
Improved by tract of time, and winged ascend
Ethereal as we, or may at choice
Here or in heavenly paradises dwell.

More shows repeatedly that the ærial world is a reflection, a

⁶ *Paradise Lost*, III, 460 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v, 78 ff. For the words *æry* and *ærial* with something of the neo-Platonic significance, cf. iv, 568, I, 430, III, 445.

⁸ *P. L.*, v, 470-500. The entire passage is important.

copy, of the ætherial, and that the spirits there are like the spirits in the ætherial world; the difference is not in kind but in degree. Therefore we are not distorting his meaning when we compare his world of aerial beings with Milton's ætherial world. We may best see the similarities between the two by comparing these spirits under three heads: A. Physical Qualities; B. Abstract Qualities; C. Place of Abode.

A. It has already been said that both writers hold the idea of the corporeity of spirits. Milton's angels are no abstractions, no wailing shades, no Banquo or Hamlet ghosts, no visionary angels. Neither More nor Milton felt that body hindered spirit—an important element in the ethical system of the two men. Both were men to whom "temperance" in the true sense was a cardinal principle, yet neither was in any degree an ascetic. More declares himself always a "lover of the body," provided the body be kept worthy of love. He would, he says,

free the imagination of men from that ordinary and idiotick misapprehension which they entertain of spirits that appear, as if they were evanid and devoid of substance, as the very shadows of our bodies cast against a wall, or our images reflected from a river or looking-glass; and therefore from this error have given them names accordingly, calling the ghosts of men that present themselves to them *εἰδωλα* and *Umbrae*, *Images* and *Shades*. . . . Which certainly must be a very lamentable consideration to such as love this thick and plump body they bear about with them . . . (Spirits) have no less body than we our selves have, only this body is far more active than ours, being more *spiritualized*, that is to say, having greater degrees of motions communicated into it. (p. 167).

The actual appearance of Milton's spirits is too well known to require comment. They are characterized by great beauty; they are bright with a glory not seen on earth; they are greater than man in stature; they are mightier than man in strength. They are idealized, to be sure, but they are none the less patterned after man. Upon this point More has something to say. He discusses, in his fifth chapter, the "natural" shape of a spirit, and concludes that, since God made man in His image, that must be the perfect image, and therefore spirits also will be found in what we call "human" form. In our world, he says, "the most unexceptionable beauty, questionless, is that of man in the best patterns, (chuse what sex you will) and far above the rest of creatures; which is not our judgment only, but His that made us" (p. 182).

But there are degrees of beauty, even among the inhabitants of heaven, for "the splendor and beauty of personal shape in the better sort of genii . . . assuredly is greater or lesser according to the degrees of virtue and moral affections in them." Thus Milton's great angels outshine in glory the lesser. Though the *natural* shape of angels be a shape like that of human beings, yet both Milton and More held that they can and do change that shape "by the imperium of the will." When they are bound on messages from God, for instance, they appear now one way, now another. Moreover, the baser spirits frequently descend to animal shapes in order to carry out their purposes. More, like Milton, divides sharply his "good" from his "base" spirits. The evil, though their natural appearance is also the human form, are seen "disguis'd with ugly circumstances" (p. 193) and they pass from one sort of animal to another at will, choosing, More thinks, those animals most like themselves in their purposes or natures. "The variety of their impurities may dispose them to turn themselves into one brutish shape rather than another; as envying, or admiring, or in some sort approving and liking the condition and properties of such and such beasts" (p. 193). One sees this same idea in the various figures of speech through which Milton gradually suggests the degeneration of Satan. Satan is at first compared with Leviathan, with a mighty tower, with the sun in eclipse, with a weather-beaten vessel. But when he descends upon Eden he is a vulture; he climbs over the wall of the garden like a wolf; he sits like a cormorant on the Tree of Life; he takes the shape first of one animal, then of another, as he watches Adam and Eve; he is found by the angels "squat like a toad" at the ear of Eve; he springs up like powder when the spark is applied; then "like a proud steed reined went haughty on"; ultimately, of course, he becomes the serpent. Some of these are figures of speech; but enough of them indicate actual change of form to show that Milton's idea is similar to More's. More comments, too, on a fact that Milton uses without comment: "No forced thing can last long," he says, and therefore an evil spirit cannot long retain a borrowed shape. Moreover, More declares, no matter how a *dæmon* may be disguised, "upon command he will be forced to appear in his natural and usual form, not daring to deny upon examination to what particular subdivision he belongs" (p. 204).

That sentence might almost have been the motivation in Milton's mind for the magnificent scene in which Satan, surprised by Ithuriel and Zephon, in the shape of a toad, springs up in his own shape, and scornfully replies to the questions of the angels.⁹

Both More and Milton discuss the question of the sex of angels. Milton says (I. 422):

those male,
These feminine. For Spirits, when they please,
Can either sex assume or both,

an idea which he suggests in several other passages also. "In all likelihood," says More (p. 166), "the soul in her self is as much of one sex as another." And since, according to More's axiom, the soul has the power of changing both the shape and the temper of her "airy vehicle," spirits may change from one sex to another at will, though both More and Milton held that the pure spirit is a combination of the two sexes.

When we seek to determine the motion of these celestial beings, we find More vague, Milton definite. Milton's angels are clearly winged beings and their usual method of moving about seems to be either flying or walking. But they may make use of other means of locomotion. Satan in his journey through Chaos (II. 949 ff.):

With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way,
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.

Sometimes Milton's angels walk on the ground, sometimes a whole army may tread the air above the ground.¹⁰ The natural motion of Milton's angels is clearly an upward one. Milton speaks of them as "self-raised" (I, 634). Moloch urges that "in our proper motion we ascend up to our native seat" (II, 75). Satan "with fresh alacrity and force renewed springs upward" (II, 1012). More is less specific. He visualizes his angels as moving in any way they will through any sphere; they are not, he says, restrained as some writers had believed, from descending to earth, by reason of the "thick air" and the coldness (p. 170). They rise or descend at will. "Their local motion," he says,

⁹ For instances of change of form in *Paradise Lost* cf. I, 423, 777, 789; III, 634; IV, 396, 799, 835; V, 276; X, 574; XI, 238.

¹⁰ Cf. in general II, 960, 1012, 1041; VI, 71; X, 90.

is neither by fins or wings as in fishes or birds . . . but it is merely by the direction of the agitation of their vehicles toward the place they aim at; and in such a swiftness or leisureliness as best pleases themselves, and is compatible to their natures,

(p. 181), an idea which follows from More's definition of the soul as "self-moving substance."

The second general aspect of the physical nature of spirits which we must examine is their capacity of sense perception. Even a casual reader of Milton is impressed with the sensuousness of his heaven, the joy which his spirits take in the pleasures of the body—particularly striking, of course, to those who think of Milton as a Puritan. In this, as indeed in many of the other similarities between the two men, the secret lies in the fact that both More and Milton were sons of the Renaissance; in the work of both there is a fusion of paganism and Christianity. It is hardly necessary to recall in detail the Olympian characteristics of Milton's heaven; feasting and singing play a great part in the spirit world of both Milton and More. Milton, in a very familiar passage of the fifth book of *Paradise Lost*, describes the feast in Eden to which Adam, with simple dignity, bids his angel guest, though he questions at the same time whether Raphael will eat their human fare, "unsavory food, perhaps, to spiritual natures" (v. 402). Raphael replies to him that "intelligential substances" require food, and, like "rational substances" they contain

Within them every lower faculty
Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,
Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,
And corporeal to incorporeal turn.

More's axiom, that the soul is capable of sense pleasure and pain, has already been quoted. In the fourth chapter of his treatise, he goes into detail to prove that souls are possessed of all the bodily senses which man has, though these senses are developed to a more exquisite perception. Thus, for example, they can see us, though we cannot see them, and they can hear our voices and our music though their celestial harmonies are inaudible to our gross ears. "And, to speak freely my mind," concludes More, "it will be a very hard thing to disprove that they have not something analogical to smell and taste" (p. 177). "So that the nectar and ambrosia of the poets," he says later,

may not be a mere fable. For the spirit of nature, which is the immediate instrument of God, may enrich the fruits of these æreal paradises with such liquors, as being received into the bodies of these purer demons and diffusing it self through their vehicles, may cause such grateful motions analogical to our taste and exercise such a more than ordinary quickness in their minds, and benign chearfulness, that it may by far transcend the most delicate refection that the greatest Epicures could ever invent upon Earth; and that without all satiety and burdensomeness, it filling them with nothing but Divine Love, Joy, and Devotion (p. 202).

That Milton imagined his spirits not only possessed of a sense of smell, but delighting in it, is evident. "Ambrosial fragrance filled all heaven"; (III, 135); "his altar breathes ambrosial odours" (II, 244); the "buxom air" is "embalmed with odours" (II, 842);

All things that breathe
From th' Earth's great altar send up silent praise
To the Creator, and his nostrils fill
With grateful smell.

(IX, 194)

Milton's angels are possessed of clear sight: Uriel is "the sharpest-sighted spirit of all in heaven," and in the third book Milton mentions the great distance that Satan can see. But Milton would deny, as More denied, one of the common contentions of many writers on spirits, that they "see in all parts." In Chapter IV More discusses this point, contending that the visive faculty is in separation as it is in the terrestrial body. However, he leaves opportunity for believing that spirits may see "around, about, behind, before, above, beneath"; they certainly see more clearly than do mortals, and from a greater distance—save that More would discriminate in this respect between the inhabitants of the aerial and of the ætherial worlds.

Both Milton's and More's spirits are capable of sleeping. The slumber in which we first behold Milton's fallen angels may seem rather unconsciousness, though they spring up at the sound of Satan's voice. But Satan himself inquires in that same scene whether they propose "to slumber here as in the vales of Heaven" (I, 321); when Raphael describes the heavenly regions to Adam, he pictures the angels "where they slept, fanned with cool winds" (v, 654). In general, both Milton and More hold that spirits enjoy in a high degree all the bodily pleasures of which man is capable. With the passage in *Paradise Lost* in which Raphael

answers Adam's query as to the love which exists between heavenly spirits, (VIII, 620 ff.) may be compared these words of More's (p. 200)

These sing, and play, and dance together, reaping the lawful pleasures of the very animal life, in a far higher degree than we are capable of in this world. For every thing here does, as it were, taste of the cask, and has some coarseness and foulness with it. The sweet motions of the spirits in the passion of love can very hardly be commanded off from the near bordering upon the shameful sense of lust; the fabrick of the terrestrial body almost necessitating them to that deviation. . . . In that other state, where the fancy consults with that first exemplar of beauty, *Intellectual Love* and *Virtue*, and the body is wholly obedient to the imagination of the mind, and will to every punctilio yield to the impresses of that inward pattern; nothing there can be found amiss, every touch and stroke of motion and beauty being convey'd from so judicious a power through so delicate and depurate a medium. Wherefore they cannot but enravish one anothers souls, while they are mutual spectators of the perfect pulchritude of one anothers person and comely carriage, of their graceful dancing, their melodious singing and playing.

✓ One important point both More and Milton make in this connection: to human beings physical life is a *necessity*; with the } angelic host, it has become a spiritualized *pleasure*. More says of the various kinds of angels: "It is not improbable but that both may have their times of refection, *for pleasure at least if not necessity*." Raphael declares:

For we have also our evening and our morn—
We ours *for change delectable, not need*.

As the spirits are capable of feeling pleasure, so are they capable of feeling pain. "Then Satan first knew pain," Milton writes of the battle in heaven; and the fallen angels are still shuddering over the memory of pain when they speak in the Council of Pandemonium; God has become to them "The Torturer"; some among them question whether it is worth existing if pain is to be their lot. More declares that transgressions among the ærial genii are punished, and part of that punishment consists in physical pain. "We may be assured," he writes, "(that they) are punished with torture intolerable" (p. 204). The kinds of punishment More suggests are much the same as those which Milton's fallen angels suffer. More draws a lurid picture of subterranean caverns, volcanic mountains, fissures in the earth from which issue flames and

noisome gases (p. 205). The punishments in general, he says, are those pictured by Cornelius Agrippa.¹¹ Worse even than the pain, however, is the restraint, for, as the corporal sense of spirits is more quick than ours, they are therefore "more subject to the highest degree of torment." One is reminded of Milton's words about evil spirits in his *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*: "Their knowledge is great, but such as tends rather to aggravate than diminish their misery."¹²

Yet, though spirits may be punished and may suffer pain, they are, in essentials, indestructible. Milton, it is true, seems to have held that the soul died temporarily with the body, to be resurrected again, an idea which More protests vigorously in all his works, holding that the soul neither dies nor sleeps, but passes by imperceptible degrees from one state to another (Axiom xxix). Some faculties, he says, may be laid asleep in death so "others may awake that are more suitable for that state" (Axiom xxxv). But he concludes: "Though the soul should kill her self a thousand and a thousand times, she could but pain and punish her self, not destroy her self" (p. 208). Thus Beëlzebub replies to Satap (I, 137):

In horrible destruction laid thus low
As far as Gods and Heavenly Essences
Can perish; for the mind and spirit remains
Invincible, and vigour soon returns,
Though all our glory extinct.

And Satan (VI, 433):

Now we find this our empyreal form
Incapable of mortal injury,
Imperishable.

According to both More and Milton, the spiritual vehicle may be injured temporarily by external forces, but the essential substance immediately closes and becomes whole again (VI, 327):

Then Satan first knew pain,
And writh'd him to and fro, convolved; so sore
The griding sword with discontinuous wound
Passed through him; but th' ethereal substance closed,
Not long divisible.

¹¹ *De Occulta Philosophia*, lib. 3, cap. 41. The reference is More's.

¹² *Prose Works of John Milton*, London, Henry G. Bohn, 1853, iv, 219.

More discusses the blowing about of spirits by wind, in a passage which is a faint reminiscence, possibly, of the Paola and Francesca episode in his favorite poet (p. 173); he mentions also the beating down of souls by hail, in words that remind one forcibly of Satan's:

the sulphurous hail
Shot after us in storm, o'erblown hath laid
The fiery surge that from the precipice
Of Heaven received us falling.

But the effect of these external agencies, More, like Milton, concludes cannot be permanent. "For they pass," says More, "as they do through other parts of air, which close again immediately and leave neither wound nor scar behind them" (p. 173).

✓ B. The mental and spiritual characteristics of these beings are implied, for the most part, in the physical. Both More and Milton picture spirits as delighting not only in spiritual but in *intellectual* being. It is Belial who asks: ¹²

Who would lose,
Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
Those thoughts that wander through eternity,
To perish rather, swallowed up and lost
In the wide womb of uncreated Night,
Devoid of sense and motion?

Besides the insistence on the intellectual nature of the individual spirit, Milton, in a familiar passage, discusses the intellectual conversation which is one of the pleasures of heaven and is not lost in hell. Of that we shall hear more. For the present, it is sufficient to suggest this parallel in More:

They may entertain themselves with intellectual contemplations, whether natural, mathematical, or metaphysical. For assuredly knowledge is not so easy and cheap in this state of separation, but that they may advance and improve themselves by exercise and meditation." (P. 178).

Again we recognize in More and Milton the Renaissance love of *philosophy*.

✓ As these dwellers in the spirit world possess, in increased degree, the intellectual capacities of man, so they possess his emotional capacities. These are no mediæval angels leaning over the parapet

¹² II, 146. It is significant that *sense* and *motion* are the two fundamental characteristics of More's conception of spirit.

of heaven calmly and eternally surveying the sufferings of the damned. The good angels, to be sure, show a lofty scorn for the fallen, but there is something very human in the fact that so many angels were unable to withstand temptation. More, too, seems to imply that spirits which tend toward evil rather than good are far from being rarities in the ærial world. Shakespeare himself does not show a more mingled web of good and evil in the universe than do More and Milton.

It is, of course, the fallen angels in Milton who indicate most clearly this mingling of moods. Satan soliloquizes as he looks upon Paradise, and, says Milton (iv, 114):

Each passion dimmed his face,
Thrice changed with pale ire, envy, and despair;
Which marred his borrowed visage, and betrayed
Him counterfeit.

More suggests that the angelic expression is an evidence of the nature within. The most virtuous will be the most beautiful, and the degree of beauty is greater or less according to the degree of virtue (p. 195). One is reminded of the gradual physical degeneration of Satan as the result of his spiritual degeneration, and of his mingled scorn and regret when his former fellows fail to recognize him. The "conventicles" of the worser spirits, says More, "are but a depraved adumbration of the friendly meetings of the superior genii. . . . Humane and angelical beauty is transformed there into bestial deformity" (p. 200). Yet there are occasions, in Milton at least, when the expression of emotion on the part of the fallen angels indicates the better rather than the worse nature, as when

Thrice he assayed, and thrice, in spite of scorn,
Tears, such as angels weep, burst forth. (i, 620)

Even Milton's most completely evil character does not become evil at once, nor is he without signs of remorse:¹⁴

¹⁴ Cf. also iv, 38 ff.; ix, 118 ff. More says (p. 208): "For suppose she (the soul) could keep her self so long there, as to endure that hideous pain of destroying the vital congruity of her vehicle by that sulphureous fire; she would be no sooner released, but she would catch life again in the Air, and all the former troubles and vexations would return, besides the overplus of these pangs of death. *For Memory would return, and an*

Now conscience wakes despair
That slumbered; wakes the bitter memory
Of what he was, what is, and what must be. (iv, 23)

Or, again:

Abashed the Devil stood,
And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
Virtue in her shape, how lovely—saw, and pined
His loss. (iv, 846)

It is not only the fallen angels who show emotion, however. The angelic guards descend from Heaven to Eden "mute and sad for men"; "dim sadness did not spare" the celestial visages. More, too, shows that, though the spirits are celestial beings, they do not lose interest in man, and are affected for him and with him (p. 177):

So the souls of men departed, though they have put off with the body the capacity of the ordinary functions of human life, yet they may assist and abet them as pursuing some design in them.

More and Milton hold the same conception as to the most diabolical of all capacities. Satan's salient characteristic is his "fixed mind," "a mind not to be changed by place or time." He adopts as his final purpose the furthering of evil for the sake of evil:

To do aught good never will be our task,
But ever to do ill our sole delight,
As being the contrary to his high will
Whom we resist. (i, 159)

"To do mischief for mischief's sake," says More, "is so excessive an enormity that some doubt whether it be competent to any intellectual being" (p. 171).

Intellectually and emotionally, then, the spirits of both More and Milton exhibit human natures in loftier degree. As the souls of men on earth are sometimes good, sometimes evil, and sometimes a combination of qualities, so is it with the aërial souls in More's world of spirits. He does not hold with those who say that the soul of man passes directly from this life to confront its judge and maker—hence the process from terrestrial to aërial. He disagrees in this doctrine with Plotinus, who held that the soul can

ill Conscience would return, and all those busie Furies, those disordered Passions which follow it."

have no vital union with anything but God. *Natura non facit saltum*, More is fond of saying, and it would be indeed a "very wild leap in Nature" that the soul of man, "from being so deeply and muddily immersed into matter as to keep company with beasts should on a sudden be so changed as to ascend into an ἀνλοτης competible haply to none but God" (p. 160). Thus there are found in More's aërial regions both the souls of the pure and good which dwell evidently in different degrees of purification, and the evil souls which constantly yield to temptation (p. 178):

As their natural inclinations and customs are in this life, they exercise the like in some manner in the other. . . . And then it will follow, that the souls of the wicked make it their business to assist and abet the exercise of such vices as themselves were most addicted to in this life, and to animate and tempt men to them. From whence it would follow, that they being thus by their separate state Dæmons, as has been said already, if they be also tempters to evil, they will very little differ from mere Devils.

Milton likewise makes it perfectly clear that spirits have *moral choice* and hence moral responsibility. The allegory of Sin and Death implies that Sin came from the mind of Satan, not God. God says of man:

I made him just and right,
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.
Such I created all th' Ethereal Powers
And Spirits, both them who stood and them who failed;
Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell. (III, 98)

One of the most interesting ethical problems which Milton discusses—his chief recurrent idea—is suggested here: the possibility of "change of essence" in spiritual nature. Just as More implies that those spirits which are rather evil than good may by constant choices descend to the state of devils, so Milton speaks again and again of the changes which take place in the essential nature of Satan between the time that, an archangel, he stands nearest to God, and a serpent, he lies prostrate upon the earth.

C. Like the spirits themselves, the world in which they dwell is a sensuous one. There are "soft, delicious airs"; "roseate dew" dispose the angelic beings to rest; the altar of God "breathes ambrosial odours"; "pavilions numberless" are reared for the pleasure of the spirits:

On flowers reposed, and with fresh flowerets crowned,
 They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet
 Quaff immortality and joy. (v, 635)

There are groves and streams in *Paradise Lost*, as there are in the heaven of *Lycidas*. There the immortal amarant grows, and the River of Bliss rolls over Elysian flowers her amber stream. The "bright pavement" smiles, "impurled with celestial roses." Though More enters into no such detailed description as does Milton, his conception of the habitation of the aërial genii is much the same. "In the tranquillity of those upper regions," he writes, "the *Promus-Conducus* of the Universe, the Spirit of Nature, may silently send forth whole gardens and orchards, of most delectable fruits and flowers" (p. 202).

Milton's heaven resounds to the music of the heavenly host. The songs which he mentions are of two sorts: there is a harmony which arises continually in praise of God. Raphael says that the angels sleep

Fanned with cool winds; save those who in their course
 Melodious hymns about the sovran throne
 Alternate all night long. (v, 654)

Adam, too, tells Eve that while they sleep "millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth unseen," singing their great Creator. But there are, in addition, great scenes of rejoicing in Milton, in which the splendid joy of the angels expresses itself in rapturous song:

No sooner had th' Almighty ceased, but all
 The multitude of Angels, with a shout
 Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
 As from blest voices, uttering joy, Heaven rung
 With jubilee, and loud hosannas filled
 Th' eternal regions. (III, 344)

More, too, speaks of a rapturous and ecstatic praise (p. 199):

Sacred hymns and songs, sung with voices perfectly imitating the sweet passionate relishes of the sense of their devout minds, must even melt their souls into divine love, and make them swim with joy in God. But these kinds of exercises being so highly rapturous and ecstatic, transporting them beyond the ordinary limits of their nature, cannot in reason be thought to be exceeding frequent; but as a solemn repast, after which they shall enjoy themselves better for a good space of time after.

The idea of the occupations of the heavenly spirits fascinated

both Milton and More, who devotes more than one chapter to it. Both of them hold that the spirits are the messengers of God, a conception having, in their interpretation, many analogies with the Plotinian doctrine of emanations. These are spirits of different ranks, ranging between God and man, partaking in varying degrees of the divine nature. More's ærial genii, having themselves been human, are, not unnaturally, more closely associated with the life of man than are Milton's angels; yet the angels in Milton's heaven show a real interest in earth and in its creatures; Adam in his conversations with Eve suggests, as More does, that though our grosser senses cannot perceive it, spirits are always about us, some posting on God's errands, some guarding his children.¹⁵ More is explicit on this matter (p. 177):

They see the same sun and moon that we do, behold the persons and converse of all men; and if no special law inhibit them, may pass from town to town and from city to city. . . . There is nothing that we enjoy but they may have their fees out of it: fair fields, large and inviolable woods, pleasant gardens, high and healthful mountains, where the purest gusts of air are to be met with, crystal streams, mossy springs, solemnity of entertainments, the trick pomps and shews, publick and private discourses, the exercises of religion, whether in temples, families, or hidden cells.

The most interesting section of More's discussion of the occupation of souls after death is that which deals with their intellectual pursuits. Their happiest hours, he says, are those which they spend in communion with each other, "not only in rational discourses, which is so agreeable to the *philosophical* ingeny, but innocent pastimes, in which the *musical* and *amorous* propension may be also recreated. For these three dispositions are the flower of all the rest" (p. 199). Thus, when they gather together, they delight in "sociableness and personal complacency." Part of their pleasure comes from great banquets. More must have thoroughly appreciated the account which Raphael gives of the heavenly tables, where the "rubied nectar flows" and where the angels glory in "communion sweet." Yet sensuous pleasures alone were not sufficient, for, though both More and Milton were in advance of their generation in recognizing the passions of man as essentially good, neither held that physical life alone sufficed for either man or

¹⁵ Cf. Milton, *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, pp. 215, 216.

angel. More's spirits "administer much content to one another in mutual conferences concerning the nature of things, whether moral, natural, or metaphysical" (p. 198). Not only is their conversation on the subjects which so greatly interested Milton's fallen angels, but More suggests another specific subject that may occupy their minds—as it occupied the mind of Adam: "It may also be a great controversy among them, whether Pythagoras's or Ptolemy's Hypothesis be true concerning the motion of the earth; and whether the stars be so big as some define them" (p. 198). But of all pleasures, More concludes this discussion,

there are none that are comparable to those that proceed from their joint exercise of religion, and devotion. For their bodies surpassing ours so much in tenuity and purity, they must needs be a fitter soil for the divinest thoughts to spring up in, and the most delicate and enravishing affections toward their Maker. Which being heighten'd by sacred hymns and songs, sung with voices perfectly imitating the sweet passionate relishes of the sense of their devout minds, must even melt their souls into Divine Love, and make them swim with joy in God.

Some slight suggestions More gives of the occupation of those "worse spirits." We have already seen that those who merit it dwell in punishment, which is either temporary or eternal. A more interesting suggestion, so far as Milton is concerned, is that those spirits which are left at liberty to work their dark designs, occupy themselves also with "sociability," though of a very different sort from that of the higher genii. They may, it is true, reason and discuss (and probably "find no end in wandering mazes lost"), but their association is, on the whole, a depraved imitation of that of the higher spirits. More suggests, as does Milton, that the ceremonies among these spirits are irreverent imitations of those among the angels. "The music and dancing of these lower and more deeply-lapsed dæmons," says More, "are a distorted imitation of what the higher and more pure dæmons do in their regions" ¹⁶ (p. 201)

¹⁶ In this same chapter More suggests an idea somewhat analogous to Milton's conception that the fallen angels are capable of wresting from Nature, even in Hell, all that is necessary for material comfort. He inquires "whether it be the privilege of these aerial creatures, by a sharp desire and keen imagination, to pierce the Spirit of Nature, so as to awaken her activity, and engage her to the completing in a moment, as it were, the full design of their own wishes."

Chapter X of More's treatise is concerned with "the polity of the *aëreal* daemons." Since this is the world between, More does not concern himself, as does Milton, with the government of heaven. "The invisible government," he says, "is not circumscrib'd within the compass of the airy regions, but takes hold also on the inhabitants of the earth" (p. 204). The *aërial* beings stand above the terrestrial, sometimes guiding them, sometimes acting with them. More says again (p. 177):

They may be also (and haply not uninterested) spectators of the glorious and mischievous hazards of war, whether sea-fights or land-fights; besides those soft and silent, though sometimes not less dangerous, combats in the camps of Cupid; and a thousand more particularities that it would be too long to reckon up. Where they haply are not mere spectators, but abettors, as Plutarch writes: Like old men that are past wrestling, pitching the bar, or playing at cudgels themselves, yet will assist and abet the young men of the parish at those exercises.

The *ætherial* powers bear to the *aërial* much the same relation that the *aërial* bear to the terrestrial, though all spirits, More shows, see each other and meet in varying degrees of communion. Each world is, in a sense, a copy of the other, a neo-Platonic idea which Milton suggests when he says (v, 571):

What surmounts the reach
Of human sense I shall delineate so,
By likening spiritual to corporal forms,
As may express them best—though what if Earth
Be but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein
Each to other like, more than on Earth is thought?

The actual government, in More's spirit world, is in the hands of the *ætherial* rather than the *aërial* genii, and is, in the main, parallel to that of Milton's heaven. There are various orders of spirits; all partake of God, all have access to him. The celestial host in both cases seems to be like an army, with gradated ranks; when an assembly is called all degrees and orders come flocking. Since More was a royalist, the monarchy of heaven causes him no trouble, and he is never disturbed by the doubts which sometimes beset Milton. Even as a boy at Eton, More had revolted from "that harsh doctrine predestination"; yet his universe is as completely ordered and planned in the mind of God as is Milton's. Both of them insist upon the absolute justice of punishment; More

says that if any spirit or mortal transgress "those Laws without whose observance the Creation could not subsist" (p. 204) we may be sure that he is punished and that with "torture intolerable." The infinite plan of God no single individual will, mortal or spiritual, may disturb; though mortal as well as spiritual will is left free to make its choice.

✓ In their important aspects, then, the spirit worlds of More and Milton are identical; they hold the same conception of the physical, intellectual, and spiritual characteristics of angels, of the general appearance and government of heaven, and of the occupations of the angels. ✓ These ideas, of course, were not in the main original with either More or Milton. It is not strange that the two men should have held conceptions so similar. Their academic training at Cambridge had brought them into contact with the many "orthodox" writers on demonology; both of them were naturally thoroughly familiar with every line of the Bible; they knew the schoolmen and the Church Fathers; in university disputations they had discussed and had heard discussed various aspects of the subject; many of the tutors and fellows of Christ's were in their day engrossed with the matter—none more than Joseph Mede, who was probably Milton's "old Damoetas," almost certainly More's "Mnemon" in *Psychozoia*.¹⁷ Both More and Milton had read widely in cabbalistic and neo-Platonic lore; both of them, though with different reactions, had read Jakob Boehme; both were familiar with Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*; and the heaven which each imagined was a magnificent combination of Greek mythology, Biblical and mediaeval authority, neo-Platonic and cabbalistic tradition. It would, however, be very strange if Milton had not read, at the time when his interest in the subject was greatest, a book which came to be for many years the standard "demonology"—a book written by a well-known fellow of Christ's, a man whom many considered the leading scholar and philosopher of his day.

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¹⁷ I have discussed this point in a paper forthcoming in *Modern Language Notes*.

SHAKSPERE'S "LEAD APES IN HELL" AND THE BALLAD OF "THE MAID AND THE PALMER"¹

BY ERNEST KUHL

I

Though the ways of a proverb are many and strange, few expressions have probably had a more interesting and varied career than "lead apes in hell." For centuries this phrase has lived on the lips of English men and women: first apparently among the unlettered folk, and afterwards with the cultivated as well. The saying eventually found its way to this country where it was employed at least as early as the eighteenth century;² and it has, to all appearances, remained alive to the present day.³ Even more astonishing is the fact that the expression, in spite of its warm reception among English-speaking peoples, has no Romance or Teutonic relatives.⁴ Indeed, as far as is known, no examples of it

¹ Read before the Johns Hopkins Philological Club, May 17, 1923.

² *Diary of a Boston School Girl* (i. e., Anna Green Winslow: cf. *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 72, 1893, 218). Rebecca Salisbury (1731-1811), a high spirited young woman, was taunted by a rejected lover with,

The proverb old—You know it well
That women dying maids, lead apes in hell;

whereupon her witty reply,

Lead apes in hell—'tis no such thing—
The story's told to fool us.
But better there to hold a string,
Than here let monkeys lead us.

To Professor F. N. Robinson, whose erudition can be appreciated only by those who have sat under him, I am indebted for this reference, as well as for his kindly interest in this paper. Bartlett Whiting, Esq., of Harvard College, was kind enough to copy the above passage for me.

³ It turned up recently in an American short story—in the *Metropolitan Magazine* for March, 1919 (p. 32). "Professor Kittredge thinks that the phrase is still in common use" (cf. H. E. Rollins, *A Pepsian Garland*, 1922, 132). Cf. also Charlotte P. Gilman, *Women and Economics*, 7th Ed., 1915, 88; Sabatini, *The Carolinian*, 1925, 131.

⁴ See further *infra*.

have been found elsewhere.⁶ It is as indigenous to the English race as Chaucer and Shakspeare.

Hence since the phrase has fascinated generations of men, no excuse, it is hoped, is necessary for discussing its origin and history. Whatever was of interest to the "ballad muse"; whatever found immediate acceptance as a proverb in Shakspeare's day; whatever furnished a theme for an Elizabethan lyricist; whatever is alluded to—often ingeniously expanded—by a long line of English writers, including one of the Romanticists; whatever inspired Shakspeare to compose one of the most brilliant speeches in his comedies; whatever, finally, has commanded the interest and attention of the most distinguished students of Shakspeare and the English ballad from Steevens to the present day needs no apology even in an intolerant age.

Twice in Shakspeare occurs the allusion to leading apes in hell. Beatrice says that she praises God daily for sending her no husband, and concludes with: "therefore I will even take sixpence in earnest of the bear-ard, and lead his apes in hell" (*Much Ado*, II, i, 28 ff.). Katharine, accusing her father of favoring her younger sister, scornfully utters:

I must dance barefoot on her wedding day,
And for your love to her lead apes in hell (*The Shrew*, II, i, 31 f.).

The usual interpretations to one or the other of these speeches are (a) "that women who refused to bear children, should, after death, be condemned to the care of apes in leading-strings, might have been considered as an act of posthumous retribution";⁷ (b) "punishment of old maids."⁸ The former does not interpret

⁶ Members of the Club (cf. n. 1) were unacquainted with it in other languages. H. G. Bohn (*A Polyglot of Foreign Proverbs*) does not mention it.

⁶ 'In' and 'into' as well as 'to' occur.

⁷ Steevens, ed. Chalmers, 1805, iv, 39.

⁸ Schmidt (all three eds.), Onions, *A S. Glossary*, and various modern editors. Cf. Farmer and Henley, *Dict. of Slang and its Analogues*, 1909; Brewer, *Reader's Handbook*; Brewer, *Dict. of Phrase and Fable*; W. Carew Hazlitt, *English Proverbs*.

Some of the Elizabethan writers who refer to the phrase are: Brathwait, *Barnabae itinerarium*, ed. Haslewood, new ed. by W. C. Hazlitt L 4 (Prof. G. L. Hamilton was kind enough to furnish me with this reference).

Kate's remark, and it is doubtful if Beatrice's statement, since it is humorous, can be thus defined.

What is the origin of the saying? The earliest instance cited by the *New Eng. Dict.* is from Lyly's *Euphues* (1579), where the meaning is as above in (b). Halliwell-Phillipps, in his 16-volume edition of Shakspeare,⁹ gives many examples from Elizabethan and later writers not found in the *New Eng. Dict.* Among them are two earlier than Lyly: Churchyard's *Chippes* (1578), and Stanishurst's *Description of Ireland* (1577). Croll and Clemons in their edition of *Euphues*¹⁰ note its occurrence in Gascoigne's *The Adventures of Master F. J.* (1572). It also occurs, though seemingly not pointed out hitherto, in Pettie's *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure* (1576).¹¹ No one apparently has found earlier examples in Elizabethan literature.¹² It is obvious that the ex-

"Two Angry Women of Abington" (*Percy Soc. Pubs.*, v, 34; Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, 1903, 562). Florio, *Ital. Dictionary*, 1611, 297 (under 'Mammola'). Florio, *Second Frutes*, 1591 (cited by Halliwell-Phillipps: cf. n. 9). "The Wit of a Woman," 1604, i. i. 121 (*The Malone Society Reprints*, 1913). Middleton, *The Family of Love*, III, ii, 110 (given me by Miss Marie L. Linthicum of the Johns Hopkins University). Houghton, *Englishmen for my Money*, l. 1273. Greene, *Never too Late to Mend* (given by H.-Phillipps, *op. cit.*). Dekker, *Satiromastix* (*Dramatic Works*, 1873, I, 186, 208); *London Chanticleers* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, XII, 327). Massinger, *City Madam*, II, ii. Peele, *The Arraignment of Paris*, IV, i, 10 (ed. Bullen, I, 52). Professor T. W. Baldwin, my colleague, has supplied me with the last two examples.

Other instances may be found in Walsh, *Hand-book of Literary Curiosities*; Halliwell-Phillipps (*op. cit.*); *Roxburgh Ballads*, ed. Chappell, 1871, I, 379; Gaidoz, *Mélusine*, IX, 1898-9, 62 f. *Bishop Percy Folio MS.*, II, 46 f. (Prof. Rollins, in answer to my query, dates this before 1600). Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland*, 1922, 132. The proverb is very common in the 18th century from Addison on. Allan Ramsay, (*Poems* (1848), II, 244, 253) likewise employs it in "The Bob of Dunblane" and in "Bonny Tweed-side."

* VI, 381. A pictorial illustration of an ape-leader from a 12th c. MS. is also given.

¹⁰ *Euphues*, 1916, 60. Cf. Lean's *Collectanea*; Gascoigne, ed. Cunliffe, 1907, I, 430. Lyly used the expression three times (Croll, pp. 60, 72, 263), and always in reference to women.

¹¹ Ed. by Gollancz, 1908, II, 81.

¹² See Mrs. Stopes *infra*. Gruterus, *Florilegium Ethicopoliticum* (1611) hasn't it (cf. A. Taylor, "Proverbia Britannia," in *Washington Univ. Studies*, XI (1924), 409 ff.

pression, introduced almost simultaneously by various writers in the 1570's, sprang into immediate popularity; and (as will be seen) it spread with the rapidity of a plague. This of course is not surprising, for its picturesqueness would appeal instantly to Shakspeare and his contemporaries.

Though in Shakspeare the phrase is applied exclusively to women, that is not the only use to which it was put in that day. Stanishurst, for example, gives: "He seemed to stand in no better steede than to lead apes in hell." In Chapman's *Mayday* (1611), V, ii, likewise, one finds: "I am beholding to her; she was loth to have me lead apes in hell." An entertaining example of the way the idea was played with is to be found in Dekker's *The Raven's Almanac* (1609).¹³ The Lord appeared in a vision to a chicken-hearted husband and said that he "that hath an ill wife and will not beat her, shall lead apes in hell." Equally amusing is Dekker's fanciful origin of the expression in *Patient Grissel* (c. 1603).¹⁴ Julia, in reply to the entreaties of a suitor, remarks that those who marry are destined to lead a life "in a kind of hell." Thomas Campion was moved to pen an uninspired verse:¹⁵

All you that love or loved before,
The fairy-queen Proserpina
Bids you increase that loving humour more:
They that have not fed
On delight amorous,
She vows that they shall lead
Apes in Avernus.

Since no reference was made to the length of time that the punishment in hell was to last, it was but natural that someone should ask what eventually would happen. Cartwright¹⁶ gave one solution when he wrote that women on ceasing to be old maids left hell to lead apes in heaven.

At least one Elizabethan love lyric was built around the idea. In a collection of madrigals published in 1612¹⁷ are the following verses:

¹³ *Huth Library*, iv, 255 f. Dekker ridicules almanac makers.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, v, ll. 808 ff. (p. 145). Dekker was probably not the sole author of the play.

¹⁵ In *A Book of Aires* (1601); cf. Works ed. Bullen, 1889, 22.

¹⁶ In *Siege or Loves Convert*, 1651; cf. H.-Phillipps, *op. cit.*, 381.

¹⁷ Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse* (1588-1632), 1920, 400. From Wm.

Away, away! Call back what you have said!
 When you did vow to live and die a maid?
 O if you knew what shame to them befell
 That dance about with bobtail apes in hell,
 You'd break your oath, and for a world of gain
 From Hymen's pleasing sports no more abstain.

Yourself your virgin girdle would divide,
 And put aside the maiden veil that hides
 The chiefest gem of Nature, and would lie
 Prostrate to every peasant that goes by,
 Than undergo such shame. No tongue can tell
 What injury is done to maids in hell.

These lines, in addition to revealing a fondness for conceits, show how the proverb ran the gauntlet. No longer is the unyielding maid merely to lead apes *in* hell, but also to dance about with them when there. And the ape is now—for the first and, to all appearances, for the last time—graced with a bobtail. Surely we that are true poets run into strange capers!

Though the proverb, as we have seen, was juggled with, by the Elizabethans in general the expression was associated with the destiny of unmarried women. Substantiation of this is seen in Rowlands' *Tis Merrie when Gossips meete* (1602, C4):

There's an old grave Proverbe tell's vs that
 Such as die Maydes, doe lead Apes in hell.

Likewise, three years later, from the *London Prodigal*:¹⁸

'Tis an old proverb, and you know it well,
 That women dying maids lead apes in hell.

It is to be observed, moreover, that in both these instances the phrase is termed a proverb,—even an old one.¹⁹ If the expression was not current before 1570 or thereabouts—and such seems to be

Corkine's *Second Book of Aires* (1612). Cf. also Fellowes, *English Madrigal Composers*, 1921, 87, 324.

¹⁸ i, ii. The Rowlands allusion was given me by Mr. Rollins. Another example of novelty, which Mr. Baldwin calls my attention to, is in *Eastward Ho!* Here Beatrice, a dumb character, actually leads a monkey on the stage, probably, as Baldwin suggests to me, a dramatization of the expression. It has been suggested that this was intended to ridicule Beatrice of *Much Ado*, but as Schelling says ("Jonson" in *Belles-Lettres Series*, Heath and Co., 1905, 148) this is "fanciful."

¹⁹ Cf. also Florio (n. 8).

the case—we have an interesting condition of affairs: in a quarter of a century the phrase came to be looked upon as a proverb.²⁰ Nothing could attest more completely to the popularity of this picturesque expression.

What is the origin of the phrase? To William Hayley apparently belongs the credit of first attempting an elucidation, in his *Essay on Old Maids* (1787).²¹ After "many vain attempts" and after consulting the "profoundest antiquarians" in England and on the continent, writes the overstrained and sentimental Hayley, "an ingenious friend" of his is "convinced that it was invented by the Monks, to lure opulent females into the cloister," there to "teach them that if they did not become the spouses either of man or god, they must expect to be united in a future world, to the most impertinent and disgusting companion."

One should, of course, like to know who this "ingenious friend" was. Though his suggestion sounds like romantic criticism, it seems to be the source of Steevens's widely quoted interpretation printed six years later in the fourth edition of the Johnson-Steevens *Shakespeare* (1793).²² More surprising, however, is the fact that Hayley's book appears to be the authority for the statement made by a recent writer on the subject of folklore,—Little-dale, in his article on "Folklore and Superstitions" in *Shakespeare's England*.²³ Says the latter, listing the phrase with popular superstitions respecting animals "which Shakespeare and his contemporaries accepted without demur": "To the mediæval mind, every woman's destiny was marriage. She could become the bride of man or the bride of God; and if she wilfully rejected both these alternatives, she was warned that after death her lot would be to lead apes in (or into) hell." Accordingly, after a century and a third the wheel has again come full circle: for the sug-

²⁰ Obviously not an impossibility.

²¹ Three vols., London, III, 156 ff. This curious work is still readable. He apparently was unaware of Shakspeare's use of it. Was Hayley's "ingenious" friend Blake? On the relation of these two men see F. Damon's *Blake*. There is no reference to "apes in hell" in L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 1923.

²² Mr. Bartlett Whiting looked up this point for me in the Harvard library. Malone showed his usual caution when he wrote: "I know not how the phrase came to be applied to old maids."

²³ Two vols., Oxford, 1916, I, 517.

gestion of Hayley's unknown acquaintance—made when things inexplicable were referred to the Middle Ages—meets with the approval of a well-known student of folklore to-day.

Hayley himself, it should be stated, did not accept this interpretation. He thought it injurious to his "fair friends," and ranked it with a passage in Hermes Trismegistus, which states that those who die childless are upon death tormented by demons.²⁴ Whereupon Hayley, carried away by his subject, contributed his own fanciful conjecture: since apes have received an "affectionate adoration" in various countries,²⁵ the destiny of woman was "not a punishment, but the reward of her continence."²⁶

Scholars of the nineteenth century were particularly active in tracing the proverb. Douce, in his *Illustrations of Shakespeare* (1807) wrote: "It is perhaps an ill-natured, though a very common, presumption, that the single state of old maids originates either in prudery or in real aversion to the male sex, and that consequently they deserve some kind of punishment in the next world. It is therefore not a matter of wonder that some of our wagging forefathers, impressed with this idea, should have maintained that these obdurate damsels would be condemned to lead apes in the inferior regions."²⁷ He finds a possible parallel in Rabelais's hell, in which Alexander the Great "is condemned, for his ambition, to mend old stockings, and Cleopatra, for her pride, to cry onions." Dyce, in reply to a query by Dr. Furnivall, said with refreshing emphasis that "this phrase, which is still in common use, never has been (and *never will be*) satisfactorily explained."²⁸ Halliwell-Phillipps, with commendable restraint, thought the remark was "possibly originally a superstition."²⁹ Grosart observed

²⁴ Hayley omits his reference to Hermes T. A knowledge of Hermes was then the fashion; for Blake's indebtedness to this occultist—"one of the greatest sources of all occultism"—see Damon, *op. cit.* (index). E. C. Baldwin (*P. M. L. A.*, xxxii, (1918), 235 ff.) shows that Hermes was known to the English in the 17th and 18th centuries. One recalls likewise Longfellow's poem on him.

²⁵ Prudentius (Hayley).

²⁶ Hayley concludes his sentimental discussion with some contemporary verses by one who "seems to have wished to make amends for the insult of the injurious proverb."

²⁷ I, 329 f.

²⁸ *B. P. Folio MS.*, II, 46. Dyce's italics.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, 380.

that "the phrase has never been satisfactorily explained (*meo iudicio*)."³⁰ More recently Craig has suggested a possible reference, originally, to a "flirt's enslaved or morally injured adorers."³¹ Here he seems to follow Nares:³² "As *ape* occasionally meant a fool, it probably meant that those coquettes who made fools of men, and led them about without real intention of marriage, would have them still to lead against their will hereafter." The *New Eng. Dict.* finds no solution to the problem. Aldis Wright, apparently with Steevens in mind, says with more or less seriousness: "Perhaps it was thought fitting that having escaped the plague of children in this life, they (i. e. old maids) ought to be tormented with something disagreeably like them in the next."³³ Skeat, in discussing Chaucer's "the priest he made his ape"³⁴ thought ape meant dupe, and added that "to lead apes in hell" meant "to lead about a train of dupes." As Professor G. C. Moore Smith notes, however,³⁵ Skeat gives no examples, "and it is not clear if he has the phrase 'to lead apes in hell' in his mind." Professor Moore Smith prefers another interpretation: "It seems to me that if we extend Skeat's explanation to the latter phrase, we have an interpretation which is at any rate plausible, and this Mr. Wright's interpretation would hardly claim to be. The old maid is viewed as the coquette who, in Chaucer's phrase "holds" her lovers in hand, leads them on as her apes or dupes. What more suitable fate for her than to be doomed hereafter to lead apes in hell? I think it is possible to explain this phrase thus, and at the same time to suppose that in Shakespeare's time the phrase was used with little consciousness of its original meaning." Thus Moore Smith, in advancing the coquette theory, links himself with Craig and Nares.

Though the proverb is confined to the English-speaking races, interest in its origin spread to the continent of Europe. Gaidoz,

³⁰ H. [Austin], *The Scourge of Venus* (1614), ed. Grosart, 1876, 47.

³¹ Cf. Bond *The Shrew* (Arden ed.), 49.

³² Nares (new ed., 1904, with new additions by Halliwell and Wright), p. 500.

³³ *Modern Language Quarterly* (VII, 16) is cited. I have not had access to this journal.

³⁴ *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* (G 1313), ed., Skeat, is cited.

³⁵ Cf. n. 33.

a Breton scholar, of the last century, also thought that the expression referred to the punishment for women who refused to bear children. He cites a Breton legend which states that the children a woman should have had on earth follow her into the other life in the form "d'animaux immondes."³⁶ Gaidoz adds that he finds no parallels to the proverb outside of English. Finally, a contributor to *Germania*,³⁷ in a paper on miscellaneous folklore, also states that the "Volksglauben" is peculiarly English.

No writer on Shakspeare has to all appearances connected the proverbial bit with the ballad of "The Maid and the Palmer."³⁸ The story of the ballad runs as follows:³⁹ "a woman is washing at the well; a palmer asks her for drink and is told she has neither cup nor can. 'If your lover came back, you'd find cups and cans.' She says she has no lover. 'Peace! You have borne nine children!' She asks if he is 'the good old man'⁴⁰ that all the world believes upon,' and demands penance." Whereupon the palmer replies:

Penance I can giue thee none,
But 7 yeere to be a stepping- stone.
Other seaven a clapper in a bell,
Other 7 to lead an ape⁴¹ in hell.

The palmer concludes with,

When thou hast thy penance done,
Then thoust come a mayden home.

³⁶ "La Stérilité Voluntaire," in *Méluſine*, ix, 62. Though he cites "The Maid and the Palmer" as an example of a woman who kills her children, he misses the chief point (cf. *infra*). The notion that "whosoever is thrice betrothed, and never wedded, goes to burn in Hell" seems to be related (cf. Hunt, *Peeps in Brittany*, 127: this reference has been given me by Prof. F. N. Robinson, but unfortunately I have been unable to see the book). For beliefs and customs connected with spinsters among German people, particularly in Switzerland, see Tobler, *Kleine Schriften*, Frauenfeld, 1897, 132 ff. Waser, according to Gaidoz, connects the idea (discussed above) with the Danaïdes and their labors.

³⁷ *Germania*, xxxiii (1888), 245. Cf. Rollins ("A Pepysian Garland," *op. cit.*, 132) who cites Kittredge.

³⁸ Child, No. 21 (i. 228 f.). Gaidoz and Rollins refer to Shakspeare. Child connected it with "The Cruel Mother" (p. 230).

³⁹ Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, 1907, 226.

⁴⁰ I. e. Jesus.

⁴¹ But one ape is indicated. For penalty in European variants see Child.

Here plainly the leading of apes is a punishment for unchastity; and, in the Scriptural sense, adultery.⁴²

Obviously, there must be some connection between the phrase as used by the balladist and by Elizabethan writers. Now the ballad is probably an old one.⁴³ Its serious tone certainly suggests pre-Renaissance days. Accordingly, it now becomes necessary to discuss the ape of *The Maid*, since the reference to adultery undoubtedly antedates Elizabethan days.

In two Latin dictionaries, printed in 1487 and 1497,⁴⁴ we learn that adulterers and homicides⁴⁵ were formerly compelled as a punishment to lead an ape by the neck "with their mouths affixed in a very unseemly manner to the animal's tail."⁴⁶ Though the opprobrious punishment was to take place in *this* world, it would seem that here is the ultimate source of the ballad allusion. In that case the ape of *The Maid*—since the forms of penalty in the ballad and in Elizabethan literature are not unlike—is some sort of missing link between the punishment on earth for adulterers and the humorous reference in Shakspeare to the fine for unmarried women after death.

But can a closer connection be established? Apparently. About 1560 there appeared a *Book of Fortune*,—probably a manual for fortune tellers.⁴⁷ This volume was obviously intended for the uneducated—a simple public. The subjects treated are love and marriage, helps on "how to be successful" (which recall in a

⁴² Child calls this "a burlesque variation of the portership (in hell)" (cf. *op. cit.*, 230). Adultery in the biblical sense of unchastity in general is found in Wycliffe (cf. *N. E. D.*); Dante's well-known phrase—"superbo strupo" (*Inferno*, vii, 12)—may also be noted. Child observed (i, 228) that the story of "The Maid" is beset with confusion. On adultery see further *Ency. Religion and Ethics*, ed. Hastings, i, 132 f.

⁴³ Cf. Pound, *Poetic Origins and the Ballad*, 1921, 168n. Neither Child, Gummere nor Kittredge discusses the date. The variants (in Child) indicate age.

⁴⁴ *Vocabularius Breviloquus* (1487) and *Catholicon* by Balbus (1497). Both have been verified for me by Mr. Whiting in the Harvard library.

⁴⁵ For punishment of matricides see Grimm (J.), *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, 4th ed., 1899, ii, 279. To Prof. G. L. Hamilton I owe this reference.

⁴⁶ Cf. Douce, *op. cit.*, 330. Cf. n. 9.

⁴⁷ Cf. Stopes, *Shakspeare's Industry*, 1916, 181 ff. (expansion of an article in *The Athenæum*, May 19, 1900, 625). Cf. further *London Times* Lit. Supplement, Feb. 28, 1924, 128; *ibid.*, March 13, 160; *ibid.*, April 10,

strange fashion *Poor Richard's Almanack*), and the like. The work "was divided into groups of verses under various titles of philosophers and other learned men supposed to have *opinions* and entitled 'Juries.'" ⁴⁸ Though the book may have been suggested by some Italian work on fortune, ⁴⁹ it seemingly had no literary ancestry. The author's material is homespun, such as existed among the people for whom it was intended. The fragments, happily preserved, make this deduction fairly safe. The pertinent stanza is as follows:

A mickle truth it is I tell
Hereafter thou'st lead Apes in Hell:
For she that will not when she may,
When she will, she shall have nay.⁵⁰

Now since this *Book of Fortune* was meant for a simple people, it was but natural that the author should incorporate folk expressions. A glance at the pages of Mrs. Stopes will reveal the homely features.⁵¹ Among available plain terms of course would be "apes in hell." All that was needed therefore—in an age on the alert to pour old wine into new bottles—was a gifted versifier who could lift this pithy bit from its mediæval into a Renaissance setting. In short, though there is no definite evidence that the above actually did happen, the *Book of Fortune* does fulfill neces-

224. On the unfortunate disappearance of an apparently unique copy of the book see Stopes, *S's Industry*, 196 f.

Mrs. Stopes's date (c. 1560) seems convincing. Naturally my discussion hangs upon the acceptance of her conclusions. Though the 1672 reprint may have been "revised and expanded" (p. 187)—for which, however, she offers no proof—it is very unlikely that this represented much more than the modernizing of certain terms. Several words occur, for example, for which the *NED* offers no instances before the 17th c. At any rate, the passage on spinsters (and bachelors: cf. further *infra*) is an integral part of the framework; and she has, as said, made out a good case in her attempt to identify that work with the one licensed in 1560,—probably the mysterious "Booke of Fortune" of Capt. Cox.

⁴⁸ Stopes, 187.

⁴⁹ Stopes, 197. Cf. her discussion on Sir Thomas More's poem on fortune (181 ff.). It is very unlikely that "apes" occurs in the 16th c. Italian book on Fortune referred to by her. Professor Gruenbaum has searched Italian folklorists for me, and comes to the same conclusion. It is not in Torriano, *Vocabulario Inglese & Italiano* (1688).

⁵⁰ The bachelor's fate is also given (Stopes, 195).

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*

sary requirements: it is a close link between the unlettered and the sophisticated.

Support of this view is furnished by what one finds in Heywood's *Proverbs*. Though this compilation first appeared in 1546⁵²—and was reprinted repeatedly thereafter—it does not contain "apes in hell." The obvious conclusion is that the phrase was not then current, at least as a proverb. Moreover, the omission seems particularly significant in the light of the fact that the *Proverbs* is a dialogue on marriage. Here surely was a theme that would attract such a picturesque phrase. Furthermore, Heywood's *Epigrams on Proverbs* (c. 1555-62)⁵³ likewise omits the proverb. That the expression was widely current before 1560 or so seems therefore, in the light of Heywood, highly improbable.

The likeliest explanation then is that "apes in hell" had its origin in the ballad of *The Maid and the Palmer*. Here it was found and appropriated by the author of that strange medley of the simple and the artificial—the *Book of Fortune*. And when the early 1570's brought a sophisticated group of writers who ransacked every printed work—Heywood's *Proverbs* often become a mere groundwork for their interminable pages—the fortune telling manual was likewise culled. Hence it followed that "apes in hell" was also seized upon—first apparently by Gascoigne whose indebtedness to proverbs is apparent⁵⁴—and was played with by writer after writer as the previous pages have shown.⁵⁵

⁵² Bolwell, "Life and Works of John Heywood" (*Columbia Univ. Press*, 1921, 130 f.). It was reprinted in 1547, 1549, 1556, 1561 and five more times before 1600 (cf. Bolwell, 130 f.). On the importance of Heywood's work Sharman (cf. Bolwell, 132n.) says: "There is little doubt that, after the appearance of Heywood's book in 1546, a new idea or influence was set working in English literature. . . . The author was by means of this work reminding the public of a property which the owners were inadvertently losing. That same meaning which the romancers before him had attempted to explain with an allegory, Heywood could promptly convey in a proverb. . . . It became the most popular of all popular books."

⁵³ Bolwell, 133. Berdan (*Early Tudor Poetry*, 1920, 256) would date some of the *Epigrams* earlier.

⁵⁴ Cf., for examples, *op. cit.*, 400 f., 449. On the latter page is a line that recalls the last lines of the first passage of "The Thirteenth Jury" (Stopes, 190).

⁵⁵ Apes seem to have a way of eluding the scholar. The "famous ape" of *Hamlet* is still missing.

II

Shakspeare's treatment of the phrase throws light upon Shakspeare the man as well as on his method of workmanship. His use of the proverb furnishes another illuminating example of his restraint. "In every thing, I woot," says Chaucer, "ther lyth mesure." So it was with the arch dramatist. He avoided, as seen, the grotesque handling of the expression. Nor is this a unique instance: for an interesting parallel may be found in his treatment of animal lore. His pictures, says Sir Walter Raleigh, "of cannibals, skin-clad savages, and the like are less grotesque than those in the prose writers and travellers of his day."⁵⁶ Thus is offered another example of how Shakspeare takes "his stand with average humanity, and is hardly ever eccentric" (*ibid.*, 11).

Accordingly, his conservatism, or refusal to depart from the center, becomes one with his impeccable taste. In his allusion to apes in hell he sought no novelty. In refusing to play with the idea, as was then customary, his genius gave a literary quality to the phrase not bestowed upon it by any other writer. In *The Shrew* the saying, to be sure, alludes merely to the destiny of unmarried women; but it is used skilfully and with effect.⁵⁷ The situation calls for no more or no less. In *Much Ado*, on the contrary, where riotous humor among the high-spirited prevails, the proverb gives color and life to an unsurpassed scene. Beatrice, it will be remembered, wishes no husband: "I could not endure a husband with a beard on his face." To Leonato's observation that she may light on one with no beard, she replies wittily (and racily) that other considerations deter her, and adds: "Therefore I will even take sixpence in earnest of the bear-ard, and lead his apes in hell." At once follows Leonato's quibble: "well, then, go you into hell?" It is the reply which Beatrice, with the ape still uppermost in her thoughts,⁵⁸ makes that is beyond the critic's praise:

⁵⁶ "Shakespeare's England," *op. cit.*, I, 183. Cf. also "His works are not the eccentricities of a solitary genius" (*ibid.*, 44).

⁵⁷ This passage is in the so-called unShaksperian part. For evidence that Shakspeare wrote the entire play see my paper in the Sept. no. of the *P. M. L. A.* (1925).

⁵⁸ A veiled reference to the bear associated in the minds of the populace with apes (cf. Bond, "The Shrew," *op. cit.*, 49).

No, but to the gate, and there will the devil meet me, like an old cuckold, with horns on his head, and say 'Get you to heaven, Beatrice, get you to heaven; here's no place for you maids.' So deliver I up my apes, and away to St. Peter for the heavens; he shows me where the bachelors sit, and there live we as merry as the day is long.

Thus did the magician—in lines called "impious nonsense" by Warburton and therefore rejected on the ground of being un-Shaksperian—weave his fancy into the proverb,—and there's magic in the web of it."⁹

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⁹ Warburton's remark is of course one of the many curiosities in Shaksperian criticism. But even the wise Dr. Johnson, though he believed the two speeches genuine, said: "Warburton says, 'All this impious nonsense thrown to the bottom is the players, and foisted in without rhyme or reason.' They do not deserve indeed so honourable a place [as the text] yet I am afraid they are too much in the manner of our author, who is sometimes trifling to purchase merriment at too dear a rate."

JOHN DUNTON: PIETIST AND IMPOSTOR

By C. A. MOORE

Any reliable estimate of the character and talents of John Dunton (1659-1733) can be based only upon his early work. That he eventually went mad—as did his more illustrious contemporaries Defoe, Pope, and Swift—we should at least surmise from his later works, especially the political tracts, if we had no more explicit testimony. From the year 1705 onward, indications of paranoia are increasingly pronounced. His main work as author, compiler, hack-master, publisher, and factotum was performed between 1682 and 1706. Mention of Dunton's name in histories of English literature is due almost solely to the fact that during this period he played a very active and original part in journalism. At the same time he was expending a vast deal of energy upon treatises which have long since passed into an oblivion almost undisturbed even by bibliographers. Aside from his reputation as a journalist, Dunton was known to his contemporaries mainly as the author of numerous religious and devotional books. The momentary resurrection of these pious curiosities from long neglect is unquestionably a doubtful service to the cause of pure letters. There is nothing here without which English literature has suffered any serious deprivation. They are of some importance, however, for the additional light they shed upon the egregious dishonesty of the author and, incidentally, also upon the taste of a large English public to which he catered, with evident success, during the closing years of the seventeenth century.

It is a safe generalization that the further we penetrate through the elaborate deceptions Dunton built up round his character and work the more plainly it will appear that he deserves no attention whatever as a creative writer. If a critical posterity has been unfair in its judgment, the injustice has been done chiefly in connection with his contribution to English journalism, the one phase of his activity which has attracted most attention. The historical significance of the *Athenian Gazette* (1691-96), or the *Athenian Mercury* as he renamed his "Notes and Queries," has been admitted slowly and grudgingly. Even yet the statement is probably

inadequate.¹ If Defoe, Steele, and Addison borrowed from their humble predecessor less openly than the editors of the *British Apollo* (1708-11) did, beyond question they were greatly indebted to him. They owed to him the very foundation of their success in the essay.² And the obligation did not end with Dunton's question-and-answer project. After a long campaign of advertising, he issued, in 1697, a volume of light, informal essays called *The Female War*, purporting to be a collection of controversial letters that had passed between the misogynist Sir Thomas and some irate champions of their sex.³ No reader can turn from this playful dispute over paint, patches, powder, female learning, the female craze for French prose romances, and other foibles of the sex to the essays of Defoe, Steele, and Addison without realizing that *The Female War* deserves consideration. Those diverting epistles represent an important stage of transition between the brief "answers" in the *Mercury* and the completed essay-form of the *Spectator*. It is not certain, however, that even in this instance Dunton has been deprived of any rightful claim to recognition as a literary figure. Aside from the fact that few passages in the *Mercury* rise above the slipshod style practised by other journalists of the time, we can never know whether an exceptional passage was contributed by the projector himself or by one of his Athenian collaborators. The same uncertainty attends *The Female War*; for, although Dunton was apparently responsible for the clever scheme, the advertisement of it, and the final publication of the book, it does not follow that he composed a single one of the epistles.

In a sense he was never a *littérateur*. He seems to have had

¹ The *Athenian Gazette: or Casuistical Mercury* ran from March 17, 1690-1 to Feb. 8, 1695-6. It was revived May 14, 1697, but lasted through only ten numbers, ending June 14. For Dunton's account of this project, see *The Life and Errors*, etc. (1705), ed. J. B. Nichols, 1818, I, 198-9 and *Athenianism* (1710), Project VI. The best of the questions and answers were collected and republished, with some additions, as *The Athenian Oracle* (1704). See also John Griffith Ames, *The English Literary Periodical of Morals and Manners*, 1904, Ch. I and pp. 130-1 and W. P. Trent, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. IX (1913), p. 5. The latest treatment of the subject, G. S. Marr's *Periodical Essayists of the Eighteenth Century*, 1923, p. 14, is disappointingly brief.

² Dunton accused Defoe of plagiarizing his question-project (*Life and Errors*, II, 423).

³ See *Life and Errors*, I, 200.

few illusions concerning his talent as a writer, and these were rapidly dispelled. His connection with literature arose accidentally from the circumstance that he was a dealer in books. From his place behind the counter at the Sign of the Raven he formed his estimate of literature in purely commercial terms. In order to succeed in business (and at one time he was highly successful), he had to stock his shelves with what his patrons—chiefly of the lower classes—would buy. It was mainly for the purpose of supplying himself with such articles of merchandise that he assumed the additional functions of author and publisher. Almost his sole significance is that of a shrewd *entrepreneur*. Whatever success or reputation he achieved is attributable mainly to two qualifications for business—a profound skill in seeing and foreseeing the trend of popular interest and a decidedly modern conception of the value and the methods of effective advertising. He discovered what his patrons liked, he provided it, and he notified them through every agency at his disposal. Dunton's title-pages are in themselves models in the art of advertisement. At the end of most books printed for him will be found a lengthy announcement of other indispensable works to be had at his shop, some of them recommended with a gusto worthy of present-day book-jackets. For the same purpose he availed himself of odd spaces in his *Athenian Mercury* and other papers, and he either established or at least controlled the *Compleat Library* (1692), a journal devoted exclusively to the review of new books.⁴ Coming just at the time when the spirit of commercialism was beginning to manifest itself fully in the affairs of the nation, he applied it thoroughly to the business of making and selling literature.

⁴ "A Third Project of mine, for the promotion of Learning, was a Monthly Journal of Books printed in London and beyond Sea, which was chiefly extracted out of 'The Universal *Bibliothèque*, and *Journal des Sçavans*'; and it first appeared under the title of 'A Supplement to the Athenian Mercury,' but was afterwards called 'The Complete Library.' This *design* was carried on about ten months, when Monsieur *Lecroze* interfered with me, in a Monthly Journal, intituled 'The Works of the Learned'; upon which I dropped my own design, and joined with *Lecroze's* Bookseller in publishing 'The Works of the Learned'; but, *Lecroze* dying, it was discontinued, though the same design, under the same title, is yet on foot, and managed by several hands, one of which is the ingenious Mr. *Ridpath*. . . ." *Life and Errors*, I, 198-9.

With these modern commercial talents he combined a conveniently loose sense of *meum et tuum*. This was really a part of his genius. The slow methods of laborious honesty were precluded by his restless inventiveness. "The Mind of Man," he says, looking into his own mind, "is naturally active, and prone to Thoughts, 'tis daily forming some NEW PROJECT."⁵ No sooner had he conceived one scheme for dazzling the public and attracting shillings to his till than a dozen others had suggested themselves. From beginning to end, his pathway is strewn with brilliant plans, many of which never got beyond the initial stage of the printed advertisement. His *Athenianism*, of 1710, contains a portrait of the author accompanied by "an heroic poem," proclaiming,

Here's Dunton's Phiz, that new Athenian Swain,
Who hatch'd Six Hundred Projects in his Brain:
The Brood is large, but give him Time to sit
He will Six Hundred Projects more beget.

In the mad rush to keep pace with his inventions, he sacrificed everything, honesty included, to the necessity of speedy production. Of hack-writers he declares in a moment of injured righteousness "it is very remarkable, they will either persuade you to go upon another man's *copy*, to steal his thought, or to *abridge* his *Book*, which should have got him bread for his life-time."⁶ Yet Dunton employed such men constantly. Indeed it was due largely to him that they were first organized into a scribbling syndicate. Besides, he evidently set them an example in the works bearing his own signature.

The most tangible evidence we have had so far of his plagiarism is in connection with the Letters from New England, an account based upon a visit to Boston in 1686 but first published in *The Life and Errors* (1705).⁷ Many of the best passages describing places, customs, and persons are now known to have been incorporated from works descriptive of New England and from collec-

⁵ *Athenianism* (1710), Dedication, p. v.

⁶ *Life and Errors*, I, 162.

⁷ I, 86-144. The manuscript, with much other material, is in the Bodleian, MS Rawl., Miscell. 71 and 72, the contents of which are catalogued by Nichols, *Life and Errors*, II, 753 f. W. H. Whitmore's ed. of the eight letters was published for the Prince Society 1867.

tions of seventeenth-century prose characters.⁸ It has been remarked also that the most elegant poems inserted in *A Voyage round the World* (1691), a farrago which is said to have influenced Laurence Sterne, were copied from Cowley and Francis Osborn.⁹ He himself very nearly confesses to dishonesty in the Dedication to *Athenianism* (1710). He admits that for the poems in this volume he has borrowed "many curious thoughts" from Cowley, Dryden, Congreve, Sedley, and Charles Gould; he implies that he has made free also with the religious poetry of Joseph Stennet and Isaac Watts.¹⁰ But he makes this half-confession "without quoting the authors," that is, without attaching their names to their poems. The reason given by him for withholding this precise information is that he wishes to put his critics in the awkward position of never knowing whether they are criticizing him or someone else! The probable explanation is that he might thus secure credit for whatever the individual reader could not trace to its source. He then goes on to enunciate a theory somewhat after the manner of Milton's doctrine of plagiarism. "If at any time," he declares, "I have borrow'd a sparkling Thought, yet still—*The Projection, Plot, and Method*—of every Project (both in Prose and Verse) is

⁸ Whitmore pointed out a few transgressions of the kind in his edition. A complete exposure was made by Chester Noyes Greenough in "John Dunton's Letters from New England," *The Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Vol. xiv, pp. 213-257, 1912. Professor Greenough summarizes the results by saying "There are at least eighty-four cases in which Dunton incorporated borrowed material in the Letters. Of these Whitmore noted thirty-three: eighteen from Roger Williams, six from Cotton Mather, three from Josselyn, two from Increase Mather, two from J. W., one from John Eliot, and one from Joshua Moody. To these we have added fifty-one passages,—twenty from Josselyn and thirty-one from various writers of characters; namely, fourteen from Overbury, seven from Fuller, four from Earle, three from Flecknoe, and three from the author of *The Ladies Calling*" (p. 253).

⁹ *Life and Errors*, I, p. xiii, note (extract from Benjamin Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*). Dunton himself includes this among the seven books he had cause to repent of out of a total of six hundred he had published (*Life and Errors*, I, 159). For Sterne's probable indebtedness to Dunton's mad book, see W. L. Cross, *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne*, 1909, p. 135.

¹⁰ Professor Greenough called attention to the inclusion, besides, of four poems which had appeared in Samuel Wesley's *Maggots*, first printed for Dunton in 1685 (*op. cit.*, p. 254).

entirely my own, and so for the most part are the Words; yet there's few extraordinary Thoughts in any of our modern Poets but are brought into *Duntons Athenianism*, but they are so much alter'd, enlarg'd, or adapted to new Purposes, that the *Original Author* can't pretend any Right to 'em." He now disclaims all pretensions to the art of poetry, admitting that his Muse is, at best, only a jade.¹¹ In fact, it seems to him in this moment of disillusionment that there are only five poets of any real consequence in English literature—Cowley, Dryden, Garth, Stennet, and Watts! He concludes, with charming inconsistency, by attacking pirate printers who have stolen his own wares and those of Defoe! The indications are that by 1710 Dunton's methods had become the subject of comment and that he was trying to put on the best face possible without making a frank confession. Already he had pretended to acknowledge all his sins, in *The Life and Errors*; but this is one of his most disingenuous works.

Dunton's character is nowhere more plainly revealed than in his books of piety. As editor of the *Mercury* he had allotted much space to the discussion of religious topics. This was evidently his paramount interest as promoter and author. He was responsible for a greater output of solemn devotional literature than the most enterprising of his competitors among the publishers, and not a few of the treatises went under his own name. In strict accordance with the religious ideals then prevalent, he was concerned as a writer almost exclusively with the subject of death and the need of mortal man's constantly reflecting upon the dread fact of mor-

¹¹ If Dunton had ever had any illusions concerning his prose style, they had vanished much earlier. "I consider the pieces I have wrote—that whatever subject I have applied to, I have generally *over-done* it, and so wrought it, that I have run it out of breath: by this means having made the thing so excessive plain, that the publick has admired it less than they might have done, had I just fleshed the hints, and left them undissected, in order for others to apply the game home themselves, and to take the pleasure of doing a little more than was already offered to their view. This, I am at last fully convinced, is the vice of an Author; for he must not *devour* his subject, if he would leave any reliah in it for his Readers. This fault, of never leaving a Thought until one has worked it to death, I would by all means avoid, as I would expect that any performance of mine should be well received." This and much more pertinent self-criticism he inserted in *Life and Errors*, I, 314 f.

talities. The theme was undoubtedly congenial to Dunton, for he explains that he had been haunted by the fear of dying since early childhood; some gruesome pictures of death he had seen, probably in a typical religious treatise, had left an impression he had never been able to efface.¹² In this respect, however, he was typical of his generation. Personal predilection and public demand united to make treatises upon death the most prolific field of his literary enterprise.

In order to understand the historical significance of these lugubrious *meditationes mortis* and also to avoid an exaggeration of Dunton's pathologic tendencies, it is necessary to recall, briefly at least, the conditions existing at the time he began supplying books to the English public. We may safely assert that during the first half of the seventeenth century religious ideals had relegated all other literary interests to the background. Beginning with a large inheritance of superstitious sentiment handed down by the Elizabethans, English writers had loaded popular literature with a burden of gloomy terrorism that can now be understood fully only by examining a vast number of minor works in prose and verse which, fortunately, the historian of permanent literature is under no obligation even to mention. The entire system of religious morality was energized by the reflection that Death lies in wait for all men. The sole business of life was to be ready whenever the enemy struck. Meanwhile the ghastly moral was being emphasized by wholesale ravages of the plague. The morbid effect of the general preoccupation can be traced in the solemnity of all departments of literature, from the work of the balladist to that of the politest poet. At the Restoration this gloomy habit received a sudden shock. Religiosity had brought religion into disrepute. Butler became the fashion instead of Benlowes. Charles II and his friends were more interested in the art of living well than in the art and craft of dying well. Even Dryden, who had been brought up under the old *régime* and never wholly outgrew his puritanic training, indulged his laureate pen freely, as he afterwards confessed, in the "lubricities" of the age. The masses, of course, clung to the old faith and the old superstitious bugbears, and were no doubt scandalized by the free ways of Whitehall and

¹² *Life and Errors*, I, 26.

the press. Also devotional books of the most solemn cast continued to be produced in abundance. But the difference is that, with the exception of Milton's great poems, which really belong in spirit to the age preceding the Restoration, and various occasional pieces by Thomas Flatman, fashionable literature shows few traces of more than a perfunctory interest in religion. The old preachments were driven into the outer circle of special treatises. Puritanism was submerged. Not even the horrors of the Great Plague in 1665 were sufficient to restore the platitudes upon death to their former place as a universal *materia poetica*. The recess was, however, comparatively brief. The Revolution of 1688 marks a change of tone in literature as well as in the policy of government. With the political triumph of Whiggism the gates were reopened for an inrush of bourgeois sentiment. The traditional pieties were gradually reinstated in spite of widespread skepticism, and the middle classes came into an influence such as they had never exerted before. As a purveyor of religious sentiment and a restorer of the melancholy decencies, Dunton was one of the most important figures in the transition. He had begun six years before the Revolution, but his principal contribution came afterward. In this department of his work he is an important link of connection between the poets of death in the pre-Restoration period and their grave-yard successors in the eighteenth century, for, puerile as some of his disquisitions are, he made an effort to foster a literary, as well as a religious, conscience.

Few mental peculiarities of our ancestors are more difficult for us to grasp in their full reality than this morbid fondness of theirs for reflecting upon death, not only in the abstract, but in its most intimate and distressing details. We are often tempted to interpret so-called grave-yard poetry of the eighteenth century, for example, as a literary affectation, a mere device for procuring an artistic effect, whereas what to us is a psychological curiosity was at that time the normal and all but universal habit of mind among the pious. Instead of turning away from the loathsome facts of decay and putrefaction, they dutifully envisaged the fate of body as well as soul in order to keep themselves in a state of spiritual preparation. Instinctive fear was deliberately fostered by religious instruction. Attendance at funerals was a melancholy duty as well as a pleasure. The occasion of a death was never missed for making

Death terribly impressive. From the sixteenth century onward a few sensible writers had protested against the ceremonial of funerals as well as other elaborate rites, especially the custom of burying the dead in churches, but their sporadic protests had made no impression.¹³ The Frenchman Henri Misson devotes a long passage of his *Memoires et Observations* (1698) to the strange funeral customs of the English and their unhealthy eagerness to study dissolution at close range.¹⁴ Perhaps no record of the time throws a more amusing light upon the general morbidity than the broadside *The Noble Funeral of that Renowned Champion the Duke of Grafton* (1690). Two stanzas will serve as a commentary on the taste of Dunton's public.

They divided his bowels, and laid at his feet,
 Whilst they imbalmed his body with spices so sweet,
 Six weeks together they kept him from the clay,
 While the Nobles appointed his funeral day,
 Twelve Lords went before him, six bore him to th' ground,
 While the Drums and the trumpets did solemnly sound.

In Westminster Abby it's now call'd by name,
 The Rare Duke of Grafton was bury'd in Fame
 They sighed and sobbed, and spent their whole day,
 While our Gracious Queen Mary came weeping away.
 When the rare Duke of Grafton lay deep in the clay,
 Then his soldiers went wandering every way.

Much may be learned from the funeral pomp bestowed upon Queen Mary herself in 1694 as related in the diary of Celia Fiennes¹⁵

¹³ See Thomas Lewis's *Seasonable Considerations on the Indecent and Dangerous Custom of Burying in Churches and Church Fields* (1721) and *Churches no Charnel Houses*.

¹⁴ *Memoires et Observations faites par un Voyageur en Angleterre . . .* A la Haye, 1698, pp. 129-144. The substance of this passage and other contemporary comment on burial customs are given by John Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*, 1911, Ch. iv, which contains also some interesting illustrations.

¹⁵ *Diary*, ed. 1888, pp. 249-51. A full description is preserved also in a folio broadside *The Form of the Proceeding to the Funeral of . . . Queen Mary II. of Blessed Memory*, etc., 1695. The following ceremony, reported in the *Grub-Street Journal* for May 17, 1733, is so exceptional in its simplicity as to deserve quotation: "Whittlesea, May 7. Last night was buried here, Mr. John Underwood, of Nassington: He was brought to the grave at five, and as soon as the burial service was over an arch was

and from the flood of elegy evoked by her death. The ridicule of funeral customs in Steele's comedy *The Funeral, or Grief à la Mode* (1702) apparently had no effect on current fashion. That neither custom nor taste had altered by 1743 is clear from Blair's *Grave*; one passage of this celebrated poem is nauseatingly realistic. Unless we recall this popular trait, we may underrate the broadly typical aspects of Dunton's death-books and be inclined to regard "the eccentric bookseller" as more eccentric than he actually was.

Dunton began his career as publisher very piously with *The Sufferings of Christ* (1682),¹⁶ by Thomas Doolittle, one of the most painful preachers of the day. His third enterprise was a funeral sermon preached by another favorite of his, John Shower. At this juncture he conceived his first really ambitious design. If single funeral sermons could be sold profitably, why not venture a collection? Besides, he had in his possession, or at least he claimed to have, numerous sermons in manuscript left by his father, John Dunton, M. A., late minister of Aston Clinton in Bucks, who had died in 1676. A strong sense of filial duty, combined probably with less generous motives, resulted in the publication of *The House of Weeping: Or, Mans last Progress to his Long Home; Fully Represented in several Funeral Discourses, With many Pertinent Ejaculations under each Head, to remind us of our*

turn'd over the coffin, in which was placed, over his breast, a small piece of white marble, with this inscription, *Non omnis moriar, J. Underwood, 1733*. When the grave was filled up, and the turf laid down, the six gentlemen who follow'd him to the grave, sang the last stanza of the 20th ode of the 2d book of Horace: every thing was done according to his desire; no bell was toll'd, no one was invited, but the six gentlemen, and no relation follow'd his corpse; the coffin was painted green, according to his direction, and he was laid in it with all his clothes on; under his head was placed Sanadon's Horace, at his feet Bentley's Milton; in his right hand a small Greek Testament . . . in his left hand a little edition of Horace . . . and Bentley's Horace under his arse. After the ceremony was over they went back to his house, where his sister had provided a very handsome cold supper; the cloth being taken away, the gentlemen sang the 31st ode of the 1st book of Horace, and drank a chearful glass, and went home about eight."

¹⁶ Licensed Nov. 1681. (Term Catalogues rptd. by Arber, I, 456, 458). Dunton's own account of his earliest publications is given in *The Life and Errors*, I, 62-63.

Mortality and Fading State, etc. (1682).¹⁷ The lengthy title, set appropriately in a deep border of mourning, concludes with this shrewd suggestion, "Recommended as the most Proper Book yet extant to be given on *Funeral Occasions*," an idea apparently originated by Dunton's "maggoty brain." Whether the eight sermons owe nothing, little, or everything to the pious son's ingenuity, they are no better or worse than other specimens of a kind of writing which now became more popular than it had ever been before. Dunton neglected none of the approved devices. The art of illustration had developed in England largely in connection with *memento mori* productions. The convention is honored here by the insertion of a frontispiece consisting of three separate compartments—the mourning family grouped about a coffin in the house, the procession entering the church, and the final scene at the grave. Besides the Dedication to Lady Bridget Roberts, there are four poems, signed W. S., H. C., S. S., and J. S., eulogizing the preacher and explaining the frontispiece according to the precedent established by Wither, "divine Quarles," and other emblem-writers. One of these will give a sufficient impression of the mood pervading the entire volume and also of the literary quality:

Seest thou, frail man, the *Emblem* of thy State?
 Th' exact Idea of thy hasting Fate?
 The *Figure's* drawn to th' life, yea ev'ry part
 Is grac'd and deckd with more than *Zeuxian* Art:
 The *first* Scene shoves when Man's layd out for dead,
 When th' sprightly Soul from th' Body's gone & fled;
 His mournful Friends no longer can endure
 The lifeless Corps, therefore they do immure
 And shut it close up in a *Sable Hearse*
 As totally unfit for all Commerce;
 O're which they showre such store of *tears* that they

¹⁷ Although dated 1682 on the title-page, *The House of Weeping* was not licensed until May, 1683 (T. C. II, 12). At the same time permission was granted for *Mr. Shower's Sermon preach'd upon the Death of Mrs. Anne Barnardiston*, etc., referred to above, and five other religious works, including two funeral sermons. Apparently some at least of these were printed before they were officially authorized. *The House of Weeping* was probably suggested by *Threnoikos*. *The House of Mourning* (Arber's Tr., iv, 415, Oct. 18, 1638), a collection of funeral sermons by Daniel Featley, Richard Sibbes, etc. Forty-seven sermons (1639) were increased to fifty-three (1660).

Mourning, exhaust their moisture and decay.
 With sorrow-wounded hearts they sob and cry
 Themselves to death, they take their turns to dye.
 Because one's death from th' other draws such grief,
 As kills the Soul in spight of all relief:
Next is he brought on *shoulders* of his Friends
 Along the Streets, where dismally attends
 A *Croud of Mourners* to the *Church*, where they
 Are twice fore-told, and warn'd they are but Clay;
First by the words of the *Preacher*, and the next
 The Corps (tho' tacitly) repeats the *Test*:
 But lo the End's more dismal than the rest,
 Which brings the final *Consummatum est*:
Earth now is layd on *Earth*, and *dust* to *dust*,
Earth ope's its mouth, the *Coffin* stop it must.
 This is the Lot of all, none can it flee:
Earth's not quite full, there's room yet left for *thee*.

The House of Weeping was so well received that the son was encouraged to publish, two years later, eight other paternal compositions as *Dunton's Remains: or, The Dying Pastours Last Legacy to his Friends and Parishioners* (1684).¹⁸ "The Author's Holy Life and Triumphant Death," contributed by Dunton, is of interest mainly for what it says concerning the biographer himself. It is a fact of some importance that nearly all we know of him and his antecedents, or think we know, is drawn from his own reports, certainly not a thoroughly reliable source. That Gildon wrote a biography of him means nothing. Gildon's methods are well known; he merely put down what he was told. Among the eight pieces included in this volume is "A Looking-Glass for our *English Ladies: Or, Daily Directions for their Dress and Apparel*." In view especially of many passages of a similar kind in the *Athenian Mercury* and elsewhere, this essay suggests Dunton *filis* rather than Dunton *père*. The other discourses are of a convincingly clerical type—a sermon called "*Dives Roaring in Hell Flames, whilst Lazarus rejoyces in Abraham's Bosom*" (grotesquely illustrated); the story of the Penitent Prodigal (also accompanied by proper illustrations); "A Friendly Dialogue between a Moderate Conformist and one of his parishioners, concern-

¹⁸ Licensed Nov. 1683 (T. C. II, 38). This is another of the seven books he repented of—apparently because of some dishonesty in connection with it. (*Life and Errors*, I, 159).

ing several Points of great Moment," one of the points being the need of accepting the dogma of predestination; the story of the bloody persecutions committed upon Protestants of the sixteenth century by the Duke of Guise; and an excruciatingly detailed account of the trial and crucifixion of Christ. Also two funeral sermons are included. The suggestion for calling one of these the author's funeral discourse upon himself probably emanated from John Donne's famous farewell sermon, "Death's Duel." The other specimen is said to be the sermon that had been preached by N. H. in memory of "that faithful and Laborious Servant of Christ, Mr. John Dunton." If there is anything in this entire collection worth noting for a gleam of literary value, it is a section entitled "Closet Employment: or Virtues and Vices . . . characterized." Although the title and the selection of topics were apparently suggested by Bishop Hall's collection of prose characters, the imitation is remote enough to be legitimate. Up to this point in his career, in fact, there is no certain evidence that Dunton had fallen into evil ways.

In the same year (1684) he brought out, undated and unlicensed, *The Pilgrims Guide from the Cradle to his Death-bed*, one of his two monumental contributions to the cause of religion. The title indicates the ambitiousness of the design. One manual of piety had succeeded another since the time of the Reformation, each attempting to do for Protestants what had long since been accomplished by Roman Catholic treatises on practical conduct. Dunton's was merely an attempt to bring all the depressing ideals and rules of Christianity within the compass of a single convenient volume, one that would perform the service, for example, of Bishop Taylor's *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*. Dunton knew what we can now learn thoroughly only from the history of such works, that the popularity of one creates a demand for another, and that the English capacity for consuming melancholy advice was unlimited. It was a question only of producing a new one big enough and strong enough to satisfy the morbid appetite as none of the others had done. And this is what Dunton undertook. The title, as usual, was well chosen. For a time after the Reformation the medieval fondness for "Pilgrimages" had been checked by the prejudice of the Reformers against a word that recalled too painfully one of the proscribed habits of the old religion. It came

into literary popularity again, however, with Leonard Wright's prose manual *The Pilgrimage to Paradise* (1591) and Nicholas Breton's poem of the same title in the year following (1592). From that time onward there was a constant succession of Pilgrimages, leading up to Bunyan's greatest work. In this one instance Dunton's general title indicated only a part of the entire content of his book. The volume is made up of the following separate divisions: (1) "The Pilgrim's Guide" (2) "The Sick Man's Passing-Bell" (3) a set of miscellaneous pieces described in the title as "no less than Fifty Several Treatises besides (rarely if ever handled before)" (4) an appendix of less than one page called "The Sighs and Groans of a Dying Man." This last item is another of the productions inherited from Dunton senior. Noting how useful *The House of Weeping* and *The Dying Pastour's Last Legacy* had proved, the son was encouraged to reoblige the world by this third composition, which was ready for publication at the time of the author's death. With an eye to the future, he adds that there are still other papers of his father's to be published as soon as he can find time to decipher the short-hand and prepare them for the press.

The mere fact that *The Pilgrim's Guide* comprises three hundred and six pages of closely-printed matter would lead one to suspect that it was not entirely honest. I am unable to state the full extent of plagiarism, but it is certain that the author borrowed without scruple. The very undignified wrangle between the Judge and a condemned sinner at the Final Assizes is an echo of a famous passage in Thomas Shepard's *Sincere Convert*.¹⁹ A few pages later we come across "Jerusalem my happy home," a hymn written as a broadside by a Roman Catholic poet early in the century.²⁰ The same illustrations that had been used as a frontispiece to *The House of Weeping* are again pressed into service here to illustrate the perennial topic of death, and are accompanied by fragments of two of the original commendatory poems, but now without the writers' initials. In fact, these poems seem to have been taken over as a part of Dunton's original work and permanent stock in

¹⁹ Dunton, pp. 76-8; Shepard, ed. 1641, pp. 87-8.

²⁰ Dunton, pp. 87-8; "Hierusalem my happie home. A song made by F. B. P." (Hyder E. Rollins, *Old English Ballads*, 1920, No. 24). Cf. No. 25.

trade.²¹ The "Death-bed Legacies," a long harangue delivered by a dying man to his wife, son, daughters, and servants, is copied *verbatim*, with a few excisions, from Thomas Becon's *Sicke Mans Salve*, including in full the advice given to the wife for selecting a second husband.²² Becon's book, first published in 1561, was the most popular of the Elizabethan death-bed manuals and continued in vogue until the middle of the seventeenth century. Dunton evidently calculated that it was no longer a household treasure. One of the most readable sections in *The Pilgrim's Guide* is a long poem called "An Awakening Dialogue between the Soul and Body of a Damned Man; each laying the fault upon the other." This is plagiarized from the seventeenth-century broadside, in two parts, *Saint Bernard's Vision; Or, A briefe Discourse (Dialogue-wise) between the Soule and the Body of a damned man newly deceased, laying open the faults of each other; with a speech of the Divels in Hell*.²³ To trace all the innumerable essays, prayers, meditations, dialogues, and poems of *The Pilgrim's Guide* to their real owners would be the labor of a tedious and unprofitable lifetime. Part III alone, the fifty several pleasant treatises, would present a formidable task. There is ample reason for supposing that the principal work expended by Dunton and his confederates was purely manual. It is not surprising that no reference is made to this performance in *The Life and Errors*.

The reader of *The Pilgrim's Guide* should, however, divest himself of all conventional notions of proprietorship and accept Dunton's own convenient theory. In this uncritical frame of mind he will find it an extraordinary *succès de curiosité*. While there is nothing especially distinctive in the emphasis upon death, since all human duties had long since been focused into this single point of meditation, and all the "Pilgrimages" keep attention riveted upon the dire end of the journey, by stealing right and left Dunton succeeded as probably no one else had done in ringing all the possible changes upon the old subject. *Luctus ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago*. The art of the illustrator comes to the

²¹ See *Athenianism*, p. 61.

²² Dunton, pp. 202-8; Becon, ed. 1584, pp. 147-154.

²³ Dunton, pp. 213-224; *Roxburghe Ballads*, II, 490-97. Courthope points out that a translation of *Querela sive Dialogus Animæ et Corporis Dam-nati*, usually ascribed to St. Bernard, was made by William Crashaw (*History of English Poetry*, III, 219).

aid of prose and verse. Ministers visit the dying, passing-bells are constantly tolling, dead men are "stript and laid out on the bed," wrapped in winding-sheets, and laid in coffins. Directions are given for funeral processions and funeral etiquette. The writer regrets that while living in a country village, where a burial was a rarity, he had seldom had death presented to his attention. But "*London is a Library of Mortality: Volumes of all sorts and sizes, Rich and Poor, Infants, Children, Youth, Men, Old men daily dye.*"²⁴ In the course of the volume a country parson and a stranger meet on their way to London. Their decision to enliven the journey by exchanging views upon death results in a dialogue stretching over many pages. In moments of high enthusiasm the pedestrians break into poetry. One sample will not be amiss:

A shirt is all remains in fine
To victorious *Saladine*;
At Death a piece of Linnen is
All that great Monarch could call his:
Poor Prince! who to his Son the *East* bequeaths,
When Death had turn'd his Bays to Cypress wreaths.
Poor prince! one Shirt must all his Trophys be,
Deaths a far greater Conqueror than he."²⁵

The moral is pointed for us: "Let us therefore now, kind Reader, every day *make Funeral processions, or at least visit in meditation every hour our Tomb, as the place where our bodies must make so long abode. Celebrate we our selves our own Funerals, and invite to our exequies Ambition, Pride, Choler, Luxury, Gluttony, and all the other Passions.*"²⁶ "The entire world," says the parson, in a fit of pulpit eloquence worthy of his successor Edward Young, "is but as it were a *Coemetary or Church-yard*. . . . A walk into Church-yards, and Charnels, though it be sad and melancholy, by reason of the doleful objects there obvious, hath yet nevertheless something in it agreeable to content good souls, in the contemplation of those very objects, which they there find. How often have I taken pleasure to consider a great number of *Deadmens Sculls* arranged one in pile upon another with this conceit of the vanity, and arrogance, wherewith otherwhile they have been filled."²⁷

²⁴ P. 160.²⁵ P. 178.²⁶ P. 195.²⁷ P. 196.

In such passages as this (and they are numerous) we have Dunton's nearest approach to the manner of the later graveyard poets and Hervey's prose *Meditations among the Tombs* (1746). This particular touch seems also to have been partly an addition made by Dunton himself; at least this entire dialogue bears the earmarks of his shoddy style. Strangely enough, the poets of death had not yet discovered the psychological advantage to be gained by localizing their abstractions. A few exceptions can be found, notably Beaumont's beautiful *Lines upon the Tombs in Westminster Abbey*; but they are remarkably few, and in no case had the possibility of definite *locale* been fully utilized. This was the one discovery left for Parnell and his school. And it is here that Dunton really had something to offer these funeral successors of his. But he was not content to stop at the grave. We are treated to all the terrible signs that are to precede the Final Judgment, an account of the Trial as full as that given by Michael Wigglesworth, and also the sufferings of souls in the flames of Hell.

Heavenly Pastimes (1685), a combination of prose and verse, may be dismissed briefly. It is another of the numerous seventeenth-century attempts to popularize the stories of the Old Testament. Though assigned in the title to the elder John Dunton, it is more probably an enterprise of the son's, probably too a dishonest one.²⁸

The last of his encyclopedic treatises on death was *A Mourning-Ring. In Memory of your Departed Friend* (1692), an awesome mass including considerable material from his previous publications. This also is "Recommended as proper to be given at funerals." The idea of introducing the use of books as funeral

²⁸ The following description from the Term Catalogues differs somewhat from the title actually used: "A very delightful New-year's gift, entitled, *Heaven's Pastimes, or Pleasant Observations on all the most remarkable passages throughout the Holy Bible, newly allegorized, in several pleasant Dialogues, etc.* To which is added, 1. The miraculous manner of the Production of our Grandmother *Eve*, with the supposed manner of *Adam's* first Nuptial Addresses. 2. *Eve's* first Addresses to *Adam*, and industry in making Garments for her Husband. 3. *Adam* and *Eve's* Winter-Sutes, their Lodging and first Building, an account in what pretty manner they first invented fire, etc." (II, 113, Feb., 1685). The name of the author is not given. This is another of the books Dunton afterwards regretted having published. (*Life and Errors*, I, 159.)

gifts had now been fructifying in his mind for ten years. By this time he had organized the Athenian Society. The subject had come up for discussion in this learned body, and his colleagues had heartily endorsed his opinion that a treatise on death was infinitely more appropriate at a funeral than were gifts of gloves, biscuits, wine, and the like.²⁹ For special encouragement, a blank space had been left on the title-page for inserting the name of the deceased. By this time, too, the *Compleat Library* had been established. The issue for August, 1692, contains a five-page review of the book, praising it in unmeasured terms.³⁰ The reviewer (John Dunton himself in all probability) thought it scarcely necessary to comment on the usefulness of such a treatise.

The wisest of Men said 'tis better to be in the *House of Mourning*, than the *House of Rejoycing*; and recommends the Meditations on Death and Judgment as the most effectual means, to stop even the Impetuous Current of Youth in their pursuit after the pleasures of sin. And therefore it may be presumed that a Book on this Subject needs not to be recommended to any good Christian, who makes it his work so to Live, as hourly expecting when his great Change will come.

Of the author it is said that he "spent a great part of his time in Holy and Devout Contemplations upon the things of another Life, as this excellent Piece plainly shews."

Preceding the elaborate title-page, which is framed in a black border, stands a frontispiece in four transverse compartments, depicting, respectively, a corpse laid out in a winding-sheet, a family

²⁹ Quest. 1. *I have heard that several good Men have order'd Books to be given away after their decease,—Query, Whether Books are not more proper to be given at Funerals, than Biscuits, Gloves, Rings, &c.*

Answ. We vehemently suspect this *Query* is sent in by some *Bookseller* or other, who has either a great many Books fit for such a business, or is about to Print one that is design'd to that End. And the mischief is, we can't oblige the *Bookseller*, but we must at the same time draw upon us the Displeasure of the *Confectioners, Glovers, and Goldsmiths*, by intrenching on their Profits.—But to silence them, we assure 'em before-hand, the Project is ne're like to take, as long as Persons value their *Hands* and *Palats*, more than their *Brains*; which the generality of mankind are likely to do as long as *Bisquits* are eaten, or *Rings* are worn.—Now we have done with *them*, let's to the *Bookseller*; whose Question we Answer in the Affirmative.", *etc. etc.* *Athenian Mercury*, Vol. iv, No. xv, Tuesday, Nov. 17, 1691.

³⁰ Vol. i, No. liii, pp. 265-70.

group mourning over a coffin, the funeral procession, and the burial. As in several other instances, the long title enumerates various items not found in the book. In fact, of the twelve divisions announced on the title-page only six are actually printed. If the original promise had been kept, the result would have been truly appalling; we should have had, besides the present contents, "The Sick-mans Passing-Bell" and "The Pilgrim's Guide From the Cradle to the Grave" reprinted, "A Conference between the Mourners," "A Walk among the Tombs," and "The Author's Tears, or Meditations on his own Sickness, Death, and Funeral." Actually the ingredients are: (1) "The House of Weeping," rearranged and greatly enlarged but retaining the original title-page and illustrations; (2) "Death-Bed-Thoughts"; (3) "The Fatal Moment"; (4) "The Treatment of our Departed Friends after Their Death in Order to their Burial"; (5) "The Final Solemnity"; and (6) "An Account of the Death and last Sayings of the most Eminent Persons, from the Crucifixion of our Blessed Saviour, down to this point of time."³¹ Charles II appears in this

³¹ The make-up of this book is an interesting bibliographical curiosity in itself. Part I, "The House of Weeping," is preceded by its original frontispiece, commendatory poems, and title-page, including the date 1682. This frontispiece is very similar to that which precedes the entire volume, and the commendatory poems are used to introduce both the work as a whole and "The House of Weeping"; consequently they are repeated verbatim within the space of a few pages. The British Museum Catalogue indicates that "The House of Weeping" included in *A Mourning-Ring* (1692) is a mere reproduction from the edition of 1682; but this is not the case. The original eight sermons are here increased to eighteen, various "ejaculations" are added, and there is a complete rearrangement. On p. 266 occurs "The End of the House of Weeping." But the discovery was made that three of the 1682 sermons had been omitted. A new pagination begins here (p. 1), and these missing pieces are inserted under the numbers given to them in the original edition (I, VI, VII); the result is a duplication of these numbers. The new pagination is now continued to p. 296. The final portion of the volume is paginated as 161 to 256. This description is based on B. M. copy 700. a. 6, which is called the second edition; but apparently it is so called with reference only to "The House of Weeping." The two other so-called second editions of *A Mourning Ring* (852. c. 15 and G-131724) show that cheaper copies were issued without the illustrations, the separate title-page for "The House of Weeping," and the three sermons inserted after p. 266. *A Mourning Ring* was licensed for publication June, 1693 (T. C. II, 463). It was again entered, with twelve other books for Dunton, Nov., 1693 (II, 472).

galaxy of the *morituri-salutamus*, but his most famous death-bed remark is not quoted. Of the new material found in *The Mourning-Ring*, easily the best is the set of short prose-pieces headed "Death-Bed-Thoughts." No reader at all familiar with the style of Dunton and his fraternity would hesitate a moment to pronounce this section an outright forgery, whether he recognized the sources or not. As a matter of fact, the "Proemium," or introductory essay, is taken bodily (with the exception of a brief sentence that escaped the eye of the copyist) from Bishop Hall's eloquent *Meditation upon Death*.³² The contents that follow this exordium were appropriated from another work equally distinguished for its preciousness of style, *The Forerunner of Eternity, or Messenger of Death: sent to Healthy, Sick, and Dying Men*, a translation made from the Latin of Hieremias Drexelius by William Croyden in 1642.

By this time Dunton must have decided that he had exhausted this particular vein or, to state the case in more practical terms, he had probably rifled all the best treatises that could be levied upon with impunity. The field was also being invaded by dangerous competitors. He now ventured upon a more sensational type of piety. The *Compleat Library* for December, 1692 announces the forthcoming publication of "a new and singular Piece of serious Novelty, that well merits the Reflection of this loose Age."³³ The issue for the next month devotes five pages to a review of the book.³⁴ It is called *The Second Spira, being a fearful Example of an Atheist, who Died in Despair at Westminster, December 8th, 1692 . . . By J. S. a Minister of the Church of England, a frequent Visiter of him in his whole Sickness*. (1693).³⁵ This proved to be Dunton's best seller. He says

³² *Meditations and Vowes, Divine and Morall*, etc., ed. 1621, p. 537.

³³ II, 71.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 75-81.

³⁵ As a publisher Dunton had speculated heavily in dying speeches. In June, 1683, he was given permission to Publish "A necessary Companion for a serious Christian . . . To which is added, The Deathbed Counsel of a late Reverend Divine to his Son, an Apprentice in London." (T. C. II, 24). "A Collection of the dying Speeches, Letters, and Prayers, of those Eminent Protestants who suffered in the West of England and elsewhere, under the cruel Sentence of the Lord *Jeffreys*" was entered May, 1689 (II, 258); the same work enlarged was entered June, 1689 (II, 280) and

in his *Life and Errors* that the sale amounted to 30,000 copies in six weeks.³⁶ The selection of the title was a stroke of genius. Nothing had ever so satisfied the morbid desire of English Calvinists to know just how a doomed "reprobate,"—a soul predestined *ab aeterno* to become a vessel of divine wrath—felt at the approach of death as did a book describing in detail the dying agonies of the Italian lawyer Francis Spira, a sixteenth-century convert to the Protestant religion who finally yielded to the threats of the Roman Catholic Church, made a recantation, and thereby incurred certain destruction, as of course he was all along predestined to do. *A Relation of the Fearfull Estate of Francis Spira*, translated from the Italian by Nathaniel Bacon, was first published in 1638. Edition followed edition until 1784. This is the book, it will be recalled, that almost drove John Bunyan to madness while he was laboring under the fear that he, too, had been marked for reprobation. Bunyan's vivid account of Spira's mental torture, in *Grace Abounding*, had done much to advertise the tragedy. The story of Rochester's death-bed penitence as reported in Robert Parsons's funeral sermon and Burnet's account (1680) was still good reading;³⁷ but Rochester's struggle, excellent though it was of its kind, concluded too mildly to satisfy the greedy sensationalist. Nothing could have been more opportune in 1692 than the discovery of a second Spira, one near home. By this time, too, the belief in Calvinistic reprobation had so far cooled and the growth of skepticism become so alarming that a terrified atheist on his death-bed was the most edifying and pleasing spectacle that could have been presented to an orthodox public. Dunton was fishing in excellent water. Of the content of the

a fourth edition Nov. 1693 (II, 486). See *Life and Errors*, I, 201-2. In Nov., 1690 (T. C. II, 330), he entered "The wonders of Free Grace, or A compleat History of all the remarkable Penitents that have been executed at Tyburn and elsewhere, for these last thirty years. To which is added, A Sermon preached in the hearing of a condemn'd Person immediately before his execution. By Increase Mather," and again Nov. 1693 (II, 472). At the same time he entered two books describing the trials of New England witches (II, 476). There is no record of a license for *The Second Spira*, although Dunton refers to one (*Life and Errors*, I, 268).

³⁶ I, 157.

³⁷ Compare Thomas Flatman's poem *On the Death of the Earl of Rochester*.

book it is sufficient to say that purchasers could not have been disappointed; the horrors of the English Spira were equal to those of his Italian exemplar.³⁸

The fact is, the sensation became too great. Readers began to be embarrassingly inquisitive concerning the authenticity of the story and the identity of the author. Finally Dunton came out with an explanation, in a key added to the actual or so-called thirtieth edition of the tract. He had to confess that the whole story was a fraud—not, however, of his invention. To clear his own skirts, he put the entire responsibility upon his former colleague in the Athenian Society, Richard Sault, who apparently had obligingly died.³⁹ According to Dunton, Sault had given him the copy, declaring that he had received it from the attending clergyman, J. Sanders. Thus Dunton had been made the dupe of an unscrupulous associate and his veracity unjustly impugned. He was now convinced that Sault himself, a professor of mathematics at Cambridge and an atheist, had written the report as the result of the horrible fears he had suffered. To be sure, the atheist had not at the time of his writing gone through the final agonies of the death-bed, but a man terrified as he was might easily anticipate this experience by a slight exercise of the imagination. In corroboration of his theory Dunton added to his own account a letter from the mathematician's wife, proving at least that Sault was a libertine, reports of a similar tenor "by other Persons of undoubted credit," and various other material, evidently in the hope that the sale of the book might be made to survive the exposure of its falsehood. One addition was entitled "Double Hell, or an Essay on Despair; Occasioned by Mr. Richard Sault (the second Spira) crying out in Mr. Dunton's hearing, I am Damn'd! I am Damn'd!" This and another piece of the same kind, "A

³⁸ The success of this book was probably responsible for "*Spira's* despair revived; being a Narration of the Horror and Despair of some late Sinners under the apprehension of Death and Judgment. By Thomas James, Minister of the Gospel" (T. C. II, 521, Nov., 1694).

³⁹ Sault was buried 17 May, 1702 (D. N. B.). Since Dunton refers to him in his Key as "late Mathematick Professor in Cambridge," this edition of *The Second Spira* was probably not published as early as 1700, the date conjecturally assigned by the British Museum. See, however, *Life and Errors*, I, 157, where Dunton says Sault had died "about six months" before and that he had given the culprit a chance to vindicate himself.

Conference between the famous Mr. John Dod and Mr. Throgmorton (then lying upon his Death-bed under Desertion)" he valued so highly that he published them again several years later in *Athenianism*. But evidently confession had killed the goose that laid the golden egg; with all these additions the story of the second Spira failed to retain the interest of book-buyers. Whether Sault was really the author of the story and was guilty of deceiving Dunton is unknown. Certainly Dunton made a point thereafter of attacking the memory of his former colleague whenever opportunity arose. The charges are repeated at length in *The Life and Errors*, where he declares he is willing to swear to the truth of them "upon all the Bibles in the Queen's dominions."⁴⁰

Little need be said of *An Essay, Proving We shall Know our Friends in Heaven. Writ by a Disconsolate Widower, on the Death of his Wife, and Dedicated to her Dear Memory* (1698). In treating this "subject never handled before in a distinct Treatise," Dunton shows his readiness to improve every occasion for business ends. It is evident, too, that while bewailing his loss and looking forward to a reunion, Philaret was already making advances towards the "Pindarick Lady" Mrs. Singer, who was an object of tender interest likewise to Matt Prior but afterwards elected to become "die göttliche Rowe." Some of the wildest parts of this essay, on Platonic love, reappear in *Athenianism*. After his second and very unhappy marriage the author no doubt recalled with some bitterness of spirit the section entitled "What I intend to do if it please God to bring me into a Married State." His memorial tract is of some importance in a study of Dunton because here, instead of quietly copying other writers, he quotes with acknowledgment from several favorite works—William Bates's *Four Last Things*, Simon Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim*, John Shower's *Discourse of Mourning for the Dead*, Robert Bolton's *Four Last Things*, and Joseph Stevens's *Sermons on Dives and Lazarus*.

The last of Dunton's formal treatises on religion was *The New Practice of Piety. Writ in Imitation of Dr. Browne's Religio Medici. Or, The Christian Virtuoso* (1704). In his *Life and Errors* he refers to this as the production of the Society and states

⁴⁰ I, 156.

that it had been in preparation for ten years.⁴¹ The title-page, however, refers the authorship to "a Member of the New Athenian Society," that is, John Dunton. We here have him presented in an entirely new light. No longer an old-fashioned religionist, he undertakes as a "Christian virtuoso" to effect a compromise between scriptural literalism and the new philosophy or, as he explains in the lengthy title, to discover "the Right Way to Heaven, Between all Extreame." Quite appropriately to this liberal view, he inscribes the Dedication "to Mr. John Lock, Author of the Essay upon Humane Understanding," a man of large soul "Brimfull of Knowledge and Piety" who has now been on the right road for sixty years. Again Dunton threw out excellent bait in his title. It brought together the names of two very dissimilar books of wide popularity. Bishop Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety* had been in circulation for nearly a century.⁴² Everybody was familiar with it. There was a challenge to curiosity in the very proposal of a *new Practice of Piety*. The *Religio Medici* was also an excellent drawing-card, but it would appeal to a somewhat different group. And if Dunton could mediate between the bishop and the physician he would accomplish a great feat. Browne's book had been under strong suspicion among the orthodox ever since Alexander Ross had drawn up his formidable indictment *Medicus Medicatus: or, the Physician's Religion Cured* (1645).⁴³

⁴¹ This "fifth project" is described in *Life and Errors*, I, 200. Evidently when writing his autobiography Dunton expected it to be printed before *The New Practice of Piety* (1704); but the order was reversed. Another inaccuracy in what he wrote as an announcement of the virtuoso philosophy is the statement that it would be dedicated to Queen Anne.

⁴² It was licensed in 1611-12; but apparently the date of the first edition is not known. By 1613 there was a third edition, and it continued to be printed frequently until 1842. A full account is given by J. E. Bailey in "Bishop Lewis Bayly and his 'Practice of Piety,'" *Manchester Quarterly*, July, 1883.

⁴³ *The Religion of a Physician* (1663), a despicable poem by Edward Gayton, owes nothing to Sir Thomas Browne except the title, although he is referred to in the Introduction. The purpose of the author was to curry favor with the Anglican authorities by celebrating the festivals of the church. The prose treatise *Religio Clerici* (1681) is also the production of an ardent Anglican: it is directed principally against deists, Socinians, and atheists, and is solidly orthodox. Encouragement was given to all works of the kind by Dryden's *Religio Laici* (1682).

Suspicion was confirmed by one or two favorable comments upon *Religio Medici* by the notorious deist Charles Blount, and as the danger of the deistic movement increased Browne's religion passed under still more severe scrutiny. Dunton, then, was undertaking an ambitious rôle. The hazard was likely to attract purchasers of very divergent views.

One passage will illustrate the influence of Browne's style upon the imitator and also points of minor difference of opinion as well as general agreement. The following is based upon a passage of the *Religio Medici* so well known that it need not be repeated for the sake of comparison:

I do not affect *Rhodomontadoes* in Religion, nor to boast the *strength* of my Faith [as Browne had done]: I do not covet Temptations, nor court Dangers: Yet I can exercise my *Belief* in the difficultest Point [Browne's exact phrase], when call'd to it; and walk stedfast and upright in Faith, without the *Crutch* of a visible *Miracle*. I can firmly believe in *Christ*, without going in *Pilgrimage* to his *Sepulchre*, neither need I the *Confirmation* that was vouchsaf'd to St. *Thomas*, that *Proverb* of *Unbelief*. However I do not [as Browne had done] bless myself, nor esteem my Faith the better, because I lived not in the *Days of Miracles*, nor ever saw *Christ* or any of his *disciples*.⁴⁴

In their endeavor to reconcile Faith and Reason all the virtuoso philosophers were in constant danger of making out too good a case for Reason, especially in their treatment of nature as a form of the divine revelation. Bacon had advised that Religion and Science be kept severely apart. Although Browne's boast was that he had achieved this duality in perfection, allowing his faith in no way to be contaminated by pure reason, evidently this was not the impression created on his opponents who condemned him as a deist, and indeed there was some ground for their accusation. The author of *The New Practice of Piety* was very careful in this connection. "I highly value the Sacred Scripture as the *Oracle of Divinity, and Rule of Faith*," he declares as an orthodox Christian, "Yet I esteem them not a System of Philosophy, or a Pandect of natural Science. They are able to make us Wise unto Salvation, and perfect in the Knowledge of GOD, through Faith in Christ Jesus, but they instruct us not in *Humane Curiosities*, nor

⁴⁴ P. 27. Cf. *Religio Medici*, Part I, Sect. 9, *Works*, ed. C. Sayle, 1912, I, 16-17.

acquaint us with the theory of all his Works." ⁴⁵ This categorical distinction would probably have satisfied Bacon himself. But when the author begins to rhapsodize over astronomy he betrays a leaning toward the heretical Religion of Nature. In some other respects he is much more radical than Browne. Taking a leaf from the works of the Cambridge Platonists, as he had done frequently in the *Mercury*, he here boldly professes his belief in the Platonist doctrine of pre-existence. "I look upon it," he declares with warmth, "as an effect of *Gothick Barbarity* and Ignorance, which afterwards overspread all Christendom, That neither this, nor hardly any other *Point of Platonism*, were countenanced in the Christian Schools, but only the Dictates of *Aristotle* and his *Ghost Averroes*." ⁴⁶ In his attitude towards the "monstrosities" of creation he is hardly so catholic as Browne and the Cambridge Platonists. They decried any inclination to condemn a natural object as ugly. He admits that he has no quarrel with the old-fashioned logic of those who call a toad venomous. He adds, however, that he himself could not hate this proverbial object of hatred since it bears the character and impress of the Divine Artificer, and, never having sinned, is better than man! ⁴⁷

Dunton's defection from the strict orthodoxy of his other works appears most strikingly in his new treatment of death. In his philosophical rôle he is no longer afraid of the King of Terrors. He now holds that it is only fancy, aggravated by the pomp and circumstance of funerals (customs he had done much to encourage), that makes man afraid to die. "I have no Pannick fears of *Death* upon me," he writes, "neither am I sollicitous, how or when I shall make my *Exit* from the Stage of this *Life*; much less do I trouble my self about the manner of my *Burial*, or to which of the *Elements* I shall commit my *Carcass*." Once in this strain, the former advocate of weekly walks among the tombs as a moral prophylactic grows more and more recklessly modern until he actually declares himself in favor of the Indian custom of cremating dead bodies, this being the quickest method of resolving them back into their elements. To be on the safe side, however, he submits that he is willing, in conformity with the tradition of his church, "to undergo the tedious Conversation of *Worms* and

⁴⁵ P. 36.⁴⁶ P. 43.⁴⁷ P. 64.

Serpents, those greedy Tenants of the *Grave*, who will never be satisfied till they have eat up the *Ground-Landlord*.”⁴⁸ His philosophy of the resurrection had undergone a corresponding modification. He was still positive he should “rise with the same *Individual Body*” he now possessed; but it would probably not contain “one of the same *Individual Atomes*” of its present ingredients, for it would not be “Decorous to put the *Angels* on the Drudgery of *Scavengers*; as if it should at that Day be their Employment to sweep the *Graves* and *Charnel-houses*, to sift the *Elements*, and rake in all the Receptacles of the Dead, for mans divided *Dust*.”⁴⁹

Why did Dunton announce in *The Life and Errors* that this virtuoso treatise had been finished after a labor of ten years but describe it on the title-page as a *second edition*? The explanation involves another case of typical duplicity. He was very careful not to mention that the book had actually been published thirteen years earlier under a different title. He himself had boldly appropriated a long passage from it, without acknowledgment, in the essay written in memory of his wife. It had first appeared, in 1691, as *Religio Bibliopolae*, written by Benjamin Bridgwater.⁵⁰ The address “To the Reader” contains the information, however, that the author had lacked the necessary leisure to complete his task and that the work had been finished by another hand, “yet with all the care possibly to reach the Air, and Stile of the Author, which is of that neatness and facility as must needs recommend it (were there nothing else considerable) to the taste of such an Age as this.” Who was the elegant author? Arber apparently considered him a myth. As editor of the Term Catalogues he treats “Benjamin Bridgwater” as merely one of the numerous pseudonyms employed by Dunton. In this way he assigns to Dunton both *Religio Bibliopolae* and *The Secret History of the Calves Head Club* (1703), which bears the initials B. B.⁵¹ This assumption is adopted also in the catalogue of the British Museum.

On what ground this conclusion was reached is not clear. According to the records of Trinity College, Cambridge, Benjamin

⁴⁸ P. 19.

⁴⁹ P. 20.

⁵⁰ Licensed by Dunton June, 1691 (T. C. II, 370).

⁵¹ T. C. III, 338.

Bridgwater was granted his Bachelor's degree in 1682.⁵² Dunton himself gives the following account of him in the Who's Who of contemporary hacks drawn up in *The Life and Errors*:

Mr. Ben Bridgwater. He was of Trinity College in Cambridge, and M. A. His genius was very rich, and ran much upon Poetry, in which he excelled. He was, in part, Author of 'Religio Bibliopolae.' But alas! in the issue, Wine and Love were the ruin of this ingenious Gentleman.⁵³

Of his poetical talent we have a specimen in *A Poem Upon the Death of Her Majesty Queen Mary, of Blessed Memory. Occasioned by an Epistle to the Author from Mr. J. Tutchin* (1695). Since this elegy was not licensed, Arber had no occasion to pass judgment upon the authorship, and the British Museum does not own the poem. Is this also by Dunton? It is difficult to think so. Surely the Athenian projector was not the man to conceal himself under anonymity on this propitiously melancholy occasion when poets big and little were straining themselves hoarse in Pindaricks, pastorals, and all the other known forms of elegy to express the national sorrow and to attract favorable notice from the great. It may seem strange that Dunton did not swell the chorus; but it would be more difficult to explain that he did take part but concealed the fact. This was not Dunton's habit. If Benjamin Bridgwater was the *bona fide* author of this elegy, in 1695, why should we assume that he was not the author also of a book published four years earlier under his name? The mere fact that Dunton laid claim to it may be thrown out of consideration. That he was dishonest about the book in some measure is certain, and it is not unlikely that he was wholly so. The indications are that most of *Religio Bibliopolae* was written for Dunton by this Cambridge hack and that the final touches had to be added by the publisher or some scribbler in his employ. By 1704 "Wine and Love" had done their work on this ingenious gentleman author and Dunton saw his way, though somewhat doubtfully, to annexing the book to his own credit. He hesitated for a time between ascribing it to the Society, which no longer existed, and arrogating entire honor to himself. In the end he adopted the bolder course. But had the original performance been forgotten? For fear that

⁵² *Graduati Cantabrigienses, 1659-1823*, p. 63.

⁵³ I, 77.

this ghost might arise to rebuke him, he complied with the truth merely to the extent of calling the first issue of *The New Practice of Piety* a second edition.

His reason for resurrecting the treatise, whether his or not, is obvious. At this point in his career he desired to put in a word for the moderate or occasional conformists—a very perilous undertaking as Defoe had discovered by writing *The Shortest Way* (1702). Defoe had come to grief with his misunderstood irony. Dunton adopted a safer course. By posing as a liberal and dedicating his book to Locke, he hoped to give his plea for religious toleration a note of complete disinterestedness. The catholicity of *The New Practice of Piety* was a mere shield for an attack on the intolerant attitude of the High Flyers towards the dissenters. With the exception of a few very slight changes in the original text, the revision of 1704 consists entirely in the addition of an introduction and a conclusion, both warmly denouncing the penal laws as an unreasonable interference with private judgment in the non-essentials of religion. The attack seems to have passed unnoticed. The Dedication prefixed to *Athenianism* announces a fourth edition, to be called *Dunton's Creed: or, the Religion of a Bookseller*; but so far as I can discover no evidence exists that the revised form was ever printed more than once.⁵⁴ On the other hand, the original *Religio Bibliopolae* was republished—in 1728, 1742, and 1790—but now without the name Benjamin Bridgwater. It was also translated into German (1737).

From the confessional intent of *The Life and Errors* (1705), composed while the author was evading the consequences of debt by a life of "solitude," we should expect a copious flow of penitential gloom. In order to confirm himself in his plans of amendment, the contrite debtor is habitually envisaging his winding-sheet in the darkness of the tomb. Solemnity of mood is more prominent still in parts of *The Whipping Post*, of the next year (1706). One division of this, "The Living Elegy: Or, Dunton's Letter, Being a Word of Comfort to his Few Creditors," attains a

⁵⁴ *The New Practice of Piety* was first entered May, 1704 (T. C. III, 397) as printed for S. Malthus. License for a second edition was obtained Feb., 1705 (III, 444) and for a third June, 1705 (III, 474) and also May-June, 1708 (III, 598). But these entries do not prove, necessarily, that the work was actually republished.

pathetic climax in a poem reminding Wesley and other creditors that even an insolvent debtor will be rescued by death. Nowhere else has Dunton handled the old theme so effectively. But neither the fear of the law nor contrite abasement for former dereliction had changed the leopard's spots. For his "Living Elegy in Verse" he was apparently indebted to three separate sources, only one of which I have identified. Bishop King's *My Midnight Meditation* reads: ⁵⁵

Ill busi'd man! Why shouldst thou take care
To lengthen out thy life's short Kalendar?
When e'ry spectacle thou lookst upon
Presents and acts thy execution.
Each drooping season and each flower doth cry,
Fool! as I fade and wither, thou must die.

The beating of thy pulse (when thou art well)
Is just the tolling of thy Passing Bell:
Night is thy Hearse, whose sable Canopie
Covers alike deceased day and thee.
And all those leaves which nightly fall,
Are but the tears shed for thy funerall.

This emerges from Dunton's hands uncontaminated and entire with only such exceptions as appear in the following extract:

Then crazy Dunton, why dost take such care
To lengthen out thy Life's short Calendar?
Each dropping Season, and each Flower does cry,
"John, as I fade and wither, thou must die."⁵⁶

Dunton's star had now set. When at the height of his success as a publisher and dealer, he had "abdicated" on the mistaken supposition that he had accumulated a competence. This premature retirement and his mistaken calculation that he should come into a fortune through his second marriage had reduced him to what he himself describes as the ignoble life of a scribbler. His mind was beginning to fail. Even when judged by his own low standard, Dunton's later religious works are of minor importance, most of them the pathetic efforts of a defeated man to regain his lost position. *The Hazard of a Death-Bed-Repentance* (1708) is

⁵⁵ *The English Poems of Henry King, D. D.*, ed. Lawrence Mason, Ph. D., 1914, p. 114.

⁵⁶ Included by Nichols, *Life and Errors*, II, 480.

a courageous attack on a funeral sermon preached by Dr. Kennet in honor of the Duke of Devonshire, a titled sinner notorious for his "adulterous life." To swell the size of the pamphlet to saleable proportions, the author added the dying utterances of Rochester and some other distinguished rake-hells and then attempted to resolve "that nice question," one of perennial interest to him, "How far a Death-bed-Repentance is possible to be sincere?" There is much religious material also in *Athenianism* (1710), the last voluminous production "writ with his own Hand." This is described on the title-page as "an *Entire Collection of all his Writings*, both in Manuscript, and such as were formerly Printed." The announcement is correct only in saying that most of the material had appeared before. In *An Essay on Death-Bed-Charity* (1723) he returns to his favorite topic. When Thomas Guy, the wealthy bookseller, bequeathed money for the founding of Guy's Hospital, tender consciences had scruples about the acceptance of the gift because of the testator's well-known failings of character. Dunton seized upon this and the similar case of Francis Bancroft to bring into question again all eleventh-hour repentance. The real purpose of his pamphlet was to expose the sinful conduct of Mrs. Jane Nichols, who had omitted her son-in-law John Dunton from her will and left most of her estate to charity. *Upon this Moment depends Eternity: or; Mr. John Dunton's Serious Thoughts upon the Present and Future State, in a Fit of Sickness that was judg'd Mortal* (1720?) contains a suggestion of the projector in his better days. This was to have been another thesaurus. Part I is described in the title as "A New Directory for Holy Living and Dying." Part II, "The Sick-Man's Passing Bell," promises: (1) "*God be Merciful to me a Sinner: Or, Dunton at Confession*, in which he discovers the Secret Sins of his whole Life"; (2) "*Dunton's Legacy to his Native Country: Or, A dying farewell*"; (3) "*A Living Man following his own Corpse to the Grave: Or, Dunton Represented as Dead and Buried, in an Essay upon his own Funeral*—To which is added (for the oddness and singularity of it) A Copy of his last Will and Testament—His living *Elegy* writ with his own Hand—And the *Epitaph* designed for his Tombstone, in the *New Burying Place*"; (6) "The Real Period of Dunton's Life." Only a small part of this huge threat is executed, only enough in fact to afford the

writer a slim apology for addressing an appeal to George I for patronage. This is the practical and melancholy purpose also of *Mr. John Dunton's Dying Groans from the Fleet Prison: Or The National Complaint* (1723?).

When the "great change" so frequently anticipated occurred in 1733, Dunton had lived long enough to see some very important developments in English literature, and he might reasonably have claimed at least a humble share of credit. Out of the rude embryo of the *Mercury* the periodical essay had come to full perfection between 1709 and 1714. As a specialist on death he had seen his judgment of public taste thoroughly vindicated in the success of more prosperous books than his but no less gloomy or dull. In this respect, as in others, he paved the way for the more fortunate. About the time he was producing *The Mourning-Ring*, his friend John Shower the clergyman brought out *The Mourner's Companion* (1692), and the next year appeared Thomas Doolittle's *The Mourner's Directory* (1693), both of which he must have regarded as rivals in his own special domain. A much more dangerous enemy had appeared three years earlier, William Sherlock's *Practical Discourse concerning Death* (1689). Eventually this rose above all opposition and became the great classic on death for readers of the eighteenth century. By 1751 it had attained its twenty-seventh edition. The only serious contestant was Charles Drelincourt's book, translated from French into English by D'Assigny as *The Christian's Defence against the Fear of Death*. Though translated as far back as 1675, it seems not to have been widely known until much later. A fourth edition was issued in 1701, a seventeenth in 1751. The publishers of this work managed to secure second place for it partly by exploiting Dunton's idea of printing books to be used as funeral gifts, as will be seen by examining any edition after the ninth (1719). Drelincourt had the advantage also, it may be added, of Daniel Defoe's skill as an advertiser; most of the eighteenth-century editions were provided with Defoe's *Apparition of Mrs. Veal*, which had been written to "recommend the perusal" of this book.⁵⁷ There can be no ques-

⁵⁷ John Norris's *An Effectual Remedy against the Fear of Death* (1733) is in itself a work of some consequence, but the author makes a point of recommending the greater work of Drelincourt (p. 48).

tion that as a dispenser of religious gloom Dunton had gauged his public well. He also lived long enough to see the morbid interest in death fully reassert itself in polite literature. With the publication of Parnell's *Night Piece on Death* (1721) the graveyard school of poetry had definitely begun. That most of Dunton's contribution was stolen is true; but as a compiler and publisher he had played a prominent part. It should be charitably remembered also that writers of pious books before his time and later had a very flexible code of morality. Thomas Jordan had stolen every line of poetry in his *Death Dissected* (1650). One of the ghastliest books of piety in Dunton's time was a forgery, by his friend George Larkin, entitled *The Visions of John Bunyan, Being his Last Remains, Giving an Account of the Glories of Heaven, and the Terrors of Hell, and of the World to Come. Recommended by him as necessary to be had in all Families* (1725).⁵⁸ Richard Steele did not escape the charge of having taken altogether too much of his *Ladies' Library* (1714) from Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*,⁵⁹ and Young deliberately appropriated from Farquhar the very pathetic incident of Narcissa's burial in *Night Thoughts*.⁶⁰ Dunton merely outdid the dishonest zeal of others in the cause of religion.

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⁵⁸ The example of capitalizing Bunyan's name had been set in a forgery called *Meditations on the Several Ages of Man's Life: Representing the Vanity of it, from his Cradle to his Grave. Adorn'd with proper Emblems* (1701).

⁵⁹ See *Mr. Steele Detected: Or, the poor and oppressed Orphan's Letters . . . Complaining of the great injustice done . . . by the Ladies' Library . . . 1714.* (By R. Meredith).

⁶⁰ Night III, Aldine ed., I, 41; Farquhar's *Sir Harry Wildair*, Act I, Sc. I. See Horace W. O'Connor, *Pub. Mod. L. Assn. of America*, March, 1919, Vol. XXVII, pp. 130-149.

SOME INFAMOUS TORY REVIEWS

BY WALTER GRAHAM

The perversion of literary criticism at the beginning of the nineteenth century, under the influence of political or personal bias, was not confined to Tory periodicals. Many of the most notable contemporary misjudgments of now famous authors appear in liberal organs like the *Edinburgh Review*, from the pens of writers like Hazlitt, Jeffrey, and Macaulay. Largely because of the prominence of these men, perhaps, much has been written regarding the reviews and reviewers of the *Edinburgh*. Jeffrey's limitations are well known today, and the reasons for his narrowness are sufficiently clear to students of the Romantic Period. Likewise Hazlitt and Macaulay have been discussed by a score of eminent scholars, until the rationale of their criticism has become widely understood. But the ineptitudes of Tory critics, written by a far less distinguished group of writers, have never been satisfactorily explained. To attempt a clearer exposition of infamous critiques which appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, the chief organ of the Tories, between 1809 and 1850, is the purpose of this paper.¹

To begin with, a few general misapprehensions must be corrected. Tory vituperation and the name of William Gifford have long been associated. As first editor of the *Quarterly*, he has been widely credited with a number of the more savage and unjust criticisms. But although he was undoubtedly responsible between 1809 and 1824 for the tone of *Quarterly* criticism, Gifford wrote few articles for the review himself. Southey also, probably because he was for many years the most noted reviewer on the staff, was generally regarded as a foremost malinger of his contemporaries. He did not deserve this reputation, for his articles—he almost never reviewed authors of importance—really erred greatly on the side of charity. His expressions of absurdly high opinion for such poets as Mary Colling, Lucretia Davidson, the poetess of Platts-

¹ Authorship of critical reviews in the *Quarterly Review*, during the first half-century, was taken from Murray's Register, the only certain authority. Unless otherwise specified, Roman numerals all refer to volumes in the *Quarterly*.

burgh, James Grahame and James Montgomery, indicate that Southey was much more interested in encouraging than in nipping genius in the bud. Neither Gifford nor Southey, then, can be held to any great extent responsible for the reviews, which, because of their truculent attacks on more or less inoffensive authors, have become a byword for critical blindness and vituperation.

Before discussing in detail some of the more notorious Tory reviews, one other important consideration must be noted. The *Quarterly Review* was above all else the defender of the Established Church, the palladium of privileged Aristocracy. Religion and the Law, the King and a narrow, orthodox morality, could not be forgotten. The *Edinburgh's* critical articles often contained political aspersions, and Jeffrey frequently formed his judgments on other than literary grounds. But it is true and natural that *Quarterly* reviewers showed a much greater inclination to partiality on matters affecting Church and Crown. Whatever tended to decrease general respect for the established order, the Church, the monarchical form of government, the laws, the King, and the landed aristocracy, was evil. Modified and varied by its applications, this was always the major consideration.

I

No review in the *Quarterly* has gathered to itself more notice than that by John Wilson Croker of Keats's *Endymion*. Keats, this new author, was a disciple of Leigh Hunt; and the name Hunt was anathema to every good Tory. Croker referred to the review of *Rimini*, which he is now known to have written, and said that Keats's style in *Endymion* was more unintelligible, almost as rugged, twice as diffuse, and ten times more tiresome and absurd than Hunt's. Keats had no meaning. Hunt generally had one. Keats merely wrote a line at random, and then indited another suggested by the rime. Yet Croker admitted that the youthful poet showed signs of genius, and also confessed that he (the reviewer) had not read the entire poem. Obviously, this was not literary criticism, as we now understand that term. A writer in the *Morning Chronicle*, October 8, 1818, called the review senseless, and several besides Shelley remonstrated on the folly of such an attack. For one of the motives which prompted it, we must look to the relations of Keats and Hunt. Moreover, to be fair to the re-

viewer who was so savagely unfair to Keats, it must be admitted that he exposed a few of the worst effects of Hunt's baneful influence on the young poet's style. Coinage of questionable forms, the language of swoons and kisses, and such phrases as "honeyfeel of bliss," which the youthful romanticist used to a ridiculous extreme, were derided, and with justification.

The review of *Endymion* is short and was much less damaging than has been generally believed. It was not nearly so scurrilous and personal as many that appeared in the *Edinburgh* or *Quarterly*—those in the latter on Hazlitt and Shelley, for example. It was merely stupid. Egregious failure to see any of the golden promise of Keats, was the most unforgivable thing about it. This was the more inexcusable, because the *Quarterly*, unlike *Blackwood's*, never in after years admitted its mistake. Probably, much of the notoriety this piece of so-called criticism received was due to Byron's *jeu d'esprit*, "Who killed John Keats?" and his "John Keats, who was killed off by one critique," which followed Shelley's drastic arraignment of the reviewer, in the preface and text of *Adonais*.² Certainly, the widely-credited fiction that the review killed Keats was started by Shelley. We now know that the "critique" had nothing to do with Keats's death or the progress of the disease which caused it. Indeed, he wrote to his brother George that the *Quarterly's* attack had done him real service—it had got his book "among several sets." He left no record of any such supersensitiveness as Shelley attributed to him; and the world has been too ready to forget that Keats himself and Shelley both admitted afterward the justice of a part, at least, of the censure.

II

The real target of Keats's adversaries was Leigh Hunt, who fairly gloried in his warfare with the Tories. Although Gifford pressed Hunt to write for the *Quarterly*, during its earlier days, in spite of his politics, the latter in his *Feast of the Poets*, 1814, made a ferocious attack on the Tory editor on account of his "inhumanity and servility." It is not to be wondered, then, that in 1816 Hunt's *Story of Rimini* was subjected to an assault from the *Quarterly*. Hunt, who had stigmatized Gifford's verse in the *Baviad* as lines

² Moore's *Life of Byron*, letter 419 and Shelley's letter to Gifford, *Prose Works*, iv, 188. Cf. Leigh Hunt, *Autobiography*, N. Y., i, 46.

of "complacent old phrases," such as any schoolboy might utter, was, in turn, assailed for his language. This was said to be not what Hunt advocated in his "absurd and ignorant" theory, but an "ungrammatical, unauthorized, chaotic jargon." The review of *Foliage* in 1818 was a similar attack.³ The reviewer railed at Shelley whom Hunt was said to admire. Part of the attack was directed at Hunt's systematic revival of epicureanism, his undermining of the influence of Christianity, his impure language and sentiment. For apparently the same reasons he was rabidly attacked in *Blackwood's*, especially in the well-known papers on the "Cockney School," by Lockhart. "Hamstead Hunt" was a "bad reckless, unbeliever." Here, as in the *Quarterly*, his name was constantly linked with that of Hazlitt. Hunt's own story in the *Autobiography* makes clear the political reasons for these attacks.⁴ That he lacked—in the minds of the Tory reviewers, at least, "sound principle and Christian humility," was another ground of disapproval. A touching conclusion to the paper on *Foliage*, was the final prophecy of a bitter doom for Hunt, and the pious wish that he might be converted. *Lord Byron and His Contemporaries* in 1828 brought the crowning attack on Hunt, by Lockhart in the *Quarterly*. The work was said to be filled with "dirty gabble"—the "miserable book of a miserable man." And after condemning Hunt for his political liberalism, Lockhart with consummate invective called him "one who could touch nothing which mankind would wish to preserve, without polluting it."⁵

III

The third prominent author of the period to feel the "merciless tomahawk" of the reviewers in the *Quarterly* was Shelley, who, as we have seen, was mentioned with Hunt in the *Foliage* review.

³ This led to the warm defense of Shelley's life in the *Examiner*, Sept. 26, Oct. 3 and 10, 1819.

⁴ *Autobiography*, i, 239.

⁵ Other references to Hunt are found in Russell's review of Hazlitt's *Round Table* (xvii, 157), and in J. T. Coleridge's review of *Laon and Cythna* (xxi, 460). In the latter, Shelley is compared to his friend and leader, Hunt, a "very vain man, with half-instructed, half-discontented spirit, unteachable, unaimable, querulous, and unmanly." In a review of Moore's *Life of Byron* (liv, 210), Lockhart digresses to attack Hunt again. And in another paper (xxxii, 211), he is called the most vicious of all styles of writing.

John Taylor Coleridge's review of *Laon and Cythna* was the first introduction of this poet to the *Quarterly's* inhospitable columns.* Godwinian lawlessness, atheism, and utter lack of moral scruples, were the evils which operated to reduce Shelley's rank as a poet. *Laon and Cythna* was "insupportably dull" and "laboriously obscene," of a truth, because Shelley would have men return to a state of life in accordance with the distorted ideas he had derived from *Political Justice*. Love in Shelley was not the highest form (the fulfilling of the law!); it was the lowest, most degraded kind, Shelley scorned repentance and faith, "the two principles upon which Christianity may be said to be built." Although he had slandered, ridiculed, and blasphemed "our holy religion," Coleridge generously made allowances for the sinner, pitied him, and recommended to him a study of the Bible. The reviewer supplemented this criticism with a glance at *Rosalind and Helen*—a "more vulgar, more unintelligible" production than the *Revolt*, and more impure in thought. Coleridge drew a dark picture of Shelley's ultimate condition on this earth, hinted that his private life was disgusting, and said finally, "So must it ever be with the downward course of infidelity and immorality." These two counts, added to that of Shelley's political sympathies with Hunt, were the bases of *Quarterly* criticism of his immortal works. A few of the "beauties" of the poems were mentioned, however,—“they resemble the later things of Southey!”

The second castigation of Shelley was equally unjust. It appeared three years later in W. S. Walker's review of *Prometheus Unbound*, which was called eloquent testimony to the fact that Shelley could write in a style neither he nor anybody could read—a style absolutely and intrinsically unintelligible.† The predominant characteristic of his poetry is frequent and total want of meaning. Walker, like Jeffrey, demanded clear conceptions—in other words, common sense. Shelley's "showy" verses contributed to the instruction of none. Sometimes, he gave up the unintelligible style for the ugly and impious. He gave his readers enjoyment of the charms of doggerel; for his poetry lacked music, the rhythm was harsh and inharmonious. "In the whole volume there is not one original image of nature, one simple expression

* **XXI**, 460, Apr. 1819.

† **XXVI**, 168, Oct. 1822.

of human feeling or one new association of the appearances of the moral world with those of the material world." Walker compared the incoherences of the poem to those of an itinerant Methodist preacher—and said Shelley influenced people as the preacher might (a criticism which must have been particularly unpalatable to the poet). Shelley's notions of poetry were fundamentally erroneous, for he thought reason and sound thinking were aliens to the muse. Poetical power can only be shown by writing *good* poetry, and Shelley had not done it. But Walker complained that there was more to resent than the poet's sins against taste and good sense. His flagrant offenses against morals, his "wanton, gratuitous impiety," and the fact that he went out of his way to revile Christianity and its author—these were the real transgressions of Shelley. Walker scoffed at his "beautiful idealisms" of moral excellence. He paraphrased the fine lines beginning, "The painted veil, by those who were, called Life," as evidence that Shelley's poetry was nothing more or less than "drivelling prose run mad." And he derided Shelley's declaration that his intentions were pure—discharging the "sacred duty" of exposing the character and tendency of his writings, because they were at war with "all that dignifies man, and all that man reveres."

Like the *Quarterly*, *Blackwood's* hoped Shelley would learn to fear God and honor the King, but from 1819 on it did not hesitate to proclaim him a true poet and one of the first order. *Maga* later branded Walker's critique in the *Quarterly* as infamous and stupid, declaring the reviewer a man of far less worth than Shelley, his falsehood and uncharitableness showing his intellect to be inferior. Apparently, the *Quarterly* group began to see that they were hurting themselves more than the poet; for when, about three years later, Shelley's fragmentary translation of Goethe's *Faust* came to Lockhart's attention, the *Review* no longer withheld praise.* One department of literature, Lockhart saw, had suffered a great loss in the death of this unfortunate and misguided gentleman. Great admiration was expressed for the merit of "these specimens." Shelley had a fine ear for harmony and a great command over poetical language. To be a distinguished original poet, he lacked little except distinctness of conception and regulation of

* XXXIV, 136, June 1826.

taste. Lockhart acknowledged Shelley's genius as translator, and quoted excerpts to illustrate it.⁹

IV

William Hazlitt, the doughty essayist, who wrote in the *Spirit of the Age*, and in the brutal *Letter to Mr. William Gifford*, sketches of the Tory editor, is the last of the four prominent figures who seemed especially marked out for *Quarterly* contumely. The savage assaults on Hazlitt are explained easily—first, on political grounds, and then on grounds of very human and very acrimonious personal feeling.

James Russell began the feud in a review of the *Round Table*.¹⁰ He classed Hazlitt with Hunt, who wrote some of the essays, and said he could not bother to distinguish between these gentlemen. The purpose in reviewing this "loathsome trash" was to fling Hazlitt back into "the situation in which nature designed that he should grovel." His criticisms of Burke and Pitt (quoted) were "beneath contempt," etc. etc. Political hostility is the informing spirit of this paper. That these essays were reprinted from the *Examiner*, was no doubt justification for this Tory assault.

Russell was probably the reviewer of the *Characters of Shakespear's Plays*, the next object of attack.¹¹ Again, the review was abusive in the extreme, and revealed little attempt to estimate the literary value of the work. The noble critical passage on Iago was called "slip-shod absurdity." The famous apothegm, "It is *we* who are Hamlet," was ridiculed. Johnson's "Preface" was defended from the strictures of Hazlitt, and called the most perfect piece of criticism since Quintilian. The few specimens Hazlitt selected proved his knowledge of Shakespeare and of the English tongue to be "on a par with the purity of his morals and the depth of his understanding." Toward the end of the review, the writer threw aside his mask, and denounced Hazlitt at "a patriot who was *not* a friend of his country, a poor, cankered creature,

* See one other reference to Shelley, LXXXII, 436. In the *Edinburgh*, Shelley was only noticed once—in 1824, when the posthumous poems appeared. *E. R.*, XL, 494.

¹⁰ XVII, 154, Apr. 1817.

¹¹ XVIII, 458.

"full of senseless and wicked sophistry"—one of a class of men by whom literature was disgraced, who carried on a trade in sedition.

Again, in July 1818, the *Quarterly* in a critique in the *English Poets* found Hazlitt making predatory incursions on taste and common sense, war on accurate reasoning and intelligible language. Hazlitt was a metaphysician. His definition of poetry included everything. He showed only an occasional semblance of connected thinking, so it was unnecessary to enter into any of the criticisms of particular poets—such was the trend of this article. This, of course, is not criticism, but vilification for political reasons. But "mercenary virulence and party spite" were to go unanswered no longer. In 1819 Hazlitt published his *Letter*, not only an irascible retort to the review in the *Quarterly* of his own works, but also, in part, a reply to the review of Hunt's *Rimini*. *Quarterly* politicians began to perceive that they had caught a tartar. The next article, therefore, that on the *Political Essays*, was a melange of political and personal vituperation, showered upon the Jacobin, the "insect of the moral world," whose powers do not extend much beyond "making some dirt and noise. . . ."¹² We have no desire to conceal the detestation we feel for the spirit that pervades his volumes," wrote the reviewer. He revealed the grounds of his animus pretty clearly when he quoted Hazlitt's condemnation of the Tories, and denounced this "forlorn drudge of the *Examiner*" as a slanderer of the human race. With much the same charity, Col. John Matthews handled *Table Talk*.¹³ He regarded reviewing Hazlitt, Hunt, and Hone as sacrificing the asses—an occupation which he compared with that of the Hyperboreans of old. Hazlitt he called a slang-whanger, that is—in American usage—"one who makes use of political and other gabble to amuse the crowd." The whole article is a general attack on Radicalism in politics; otherwise it does not greatly differ from previous treatments of Hazlitt. His connection with the *Examiner*, his championing Hunt's theories of language, his vagueness and "metaphysical" tendencies—these incited the Tories. After the *Letter* appeared, pure personal spite

¹² xx, 158, Nov. 1820. One of the few articles actually written by Gifford.

¹³ xxvi, 103, Oct. 1822.

must have played a large part in the reviews of the *Quarterly*. Hazlitt was a man marked for abuse of no ordinary kind. That Gifford was not the only one at fault in this disgraceful squabble, Hazlitt's biographer has well pointed out.¹⁴ When aroused, Hazlitt went to just as unfair extremes in his retorts as the writers for whom the Tory editor was held responsible. The primary and underlying cause of the quarrel, however, was not personal spite but politics. Chiefly because of political bias, the Tory critics failed to recognize the merits of one who soon took an assured position among the chief prose writers of his time.

V

Although Charles Lamb believed himself much abused by the *Quarterly*, his grievance has been and may easily be overstated. Lamb was very sensitive, and out of a slight no larger than a mole-hill he quickly made a mountain. No review of his work appeared before Gifford's resignation in 1824, yet four allusions were made to him upon which he enlarged with great feeling. Gifford, conforming to the execrable critical manners of his age, referred in 1811 to Lamb's comments on Ford's *Broken Heart* as the "blasphemies of a poor maniac."¹⁵ This cutting expression was Gifford's emphatic way of saying he did not for religious reasons approve Lamb's notes—nothing more. Gifford, it should be noted, did not call any names. That he referred to Lamb, was much more obvious to the reader then, of course, than today. Gifford little realized the bitter personal history of Lamb; and when the peculiar bearings of the savage remark were brought to his attention by Southey, he said he would sooner have given his right arm than have written it, had he known the facts. His correspondence shows his distress of mind to have been sincere. He said he believed Lamb to be a flippant scribbler who, in conditions of ease, amused himself by writing on any subject. Gifford was shocked

¹⁴ A. Birrell, *William Hazlitt*, N. Y., 1902, p. 147.

¹⁵ VI, 485, Dec. 1811. The exact words are, "The editor (Weber) has polluted his pages with the blasphemies of a poor maniac, who, it seems, once published some detached scenes of the "*Broken Heart*." This referred to Lamb's likening of the "transcendent scene" (the Spartan boy and Calantha) in imagination to Calvary and the Cross.

by what all must admit was a rather unusual comparison, and not choosing to attribute it to folly, because he had reserved that charge for Weber, he attributed it to madness. Gifford's phrase was more than unfortunate. It was unpardonable, whatever the critical tradition he followed. But it is only fair to notice that a writer in *Blackwood's*, seven years later, in an otherwise favorable review, still regarded the figure Lamb used as "ill-advised, impious, and irreverent—a passage that must shock every heart."

In 1814 Lamb was requested by Wordsworth to review the *Excursion*, obviously, so that it should receive friendly treatment.¹⁶ Lamb, as his biographer admits, had probably said many caustic things about *Quarterly* reviewers, yet he undertook this labor of love. And it is not impossible that he welcomed the opportunity to join the staff of the periodical which had done so well financially by his friend Southey. At least, the remarks of Gifford in 1811 did not deter Lamb from writing. When the review appeared, however, the author sent up a great cry to heaven and Wordsworth about the alterations Gifford had made. Lamb's letter to Wordsworth cites the alterations, most of them superficial and inconsequential. The review remained wholly favorable. Unfortunately, the manuscript was not preserved, so in this case we have only Lamb's complaints to judge him by. The worst charges he made were to the effect that Gifford "changed every warm expression to a nasty, cold one," and that more than a third of the substance was cut away here and there, so as to make absolute nonsense. It is difficult to discover any passages that are accurately described as "absolute nonsense," however, and certainly the main issues and criticisms are still in the style and manner of Lamb.

Lamb's third count against the *Quarterly* was due to a statement, in a review of Reid on nervous diseases in 1822, that an incident told in the *Confessions of a Drunkard*—referring to the inebriate experiences there chronicled in a very convincing way—was true to fact. Now Lamb did drink, and, as he confessed, at times carried it to excess. We know that Coleridge deplored Lamb's "unconquerable appetite for spirits."¹⁷ This fact was undoubt-

¹⁶ XII, 100, Oct. 1814. *Life and Works of Charles and Mary Lamb*, Lon. 1903, II, 228.

¹⁷ See the letter that has recently come to light, *Boston Transcript*, Jan. 26, 1918.

edly all that led the earnest advocate of total abstinence who happened to be writing this review to say, "which we have reason to know is a true tale." Yet Lamb, who had profited by allowing his imagination some liberty, made this conclusion of the reviewer (as far as can be seen, quite a natural one) the basis of another bitter complaint against the *Quarterly*.

Finally, Southey's paper on the progress of infidelity, in 1823, contained a reference to *Elia*, and an implication that the author was in need of sounder religious feeling. Lamb, who had listened to the hints of friends that this might hurt the sale of his work, wrote Southey a long public letter in the *London Magazine*, which took the latter wholly by surprise. Open controversy was started when the *Times* took Lamb's part and Christopher North in *Maga* took Southey's. A permanent breach between Lamb and Southey would probably have resulted, had not the latter written a tactful and magnanimous personal letter to the aggrieved essayist, and "melted away the mist" which was upon him,—as Lamb put it in his contrite reply. No proof is available that the sale of his work was in any way injured; the probability is that *Elia* was rather advertised. Lamb himself did not mention the matter again.

In this, as in the other instances, Lamb's grievances against the *Quarterly* seem to have been enlarged upon by his over-sensitive imagination. That their importance has been generally over-rated, is evident upon a close examination. Though this fact does not excuse them, only one of the slights was deliberate, and in this case, as we have seen, the nature of the figure which Gifford criticized and his ignorance of Lamb's personal history, must modify the severity of a final judgment. On the whole, it would not be fair to include Lamb in the small group of the more prominent men of letters in the Romantic Period who were badly used by the *Quarterly*. He was allowed to write a review, and received compensation for it. This may not be regarded as a supreme honor; yet contributors to the *Quarterly* were given liberal payment in those days, and several like Coleridge and Carlyle endeavored unsuccessfully to get on the staff. Whatever Gifford did to it, the critique of Wordsworth remained one of the warmest appreciations of the poet that had appeared up to this time. And if Lamb's friends continued to feel any resentment toward the

Review on his account, it must have been dissipated by the excellent appreciation of *Elia* by Henry Nelson Coleridge in 1835.¹⁸

VI

After the notorious review of John Keats, perhaps the best known of the early *Quarterly's* severe verdicts was that pronounced in 1833 on the *Poems by Alfred Tennyson*.¹⁹ Professor Lounsbury treated the matter at great length, and was inclined to think the reviewer (considered by him and by writers in general to have been Lockhart) had Tennyson's pert little squib on Christopher North in mind, and took it upon himself to punish the saucy stripling who had written thus against his "old friend and the foremost critic of the time."²⁰ But in view of the fact that J. W. Croker was really the reviewer, Lounsbury's case loses its point. No such motive for a review in the *Quarterly* seems to be needed, when we remember that an earlier volume had received most extravagant praise from the radical *Westminster Review*, in January 1831, and somewhat more just criticism twice from Leigh Hunt in the *Tattler*.²¹ Hallam's friendly article in the *Englishman's Magazine*, earliest of all, would not be likely to predispose the Tories to the new poet. But it is probable that North's expressed attempt to "save him from his worst enemies" the Cockney School, would be most likely to prejudice Lockhart and Croker against him.²²

At any rate, the review of April 1833 gave Tennyson a blow which his sensitive mind required a long time to recover from, however sanative the ultimate effect on his poetry. Most commentators on Tennyson have agreed that his ten year silence and the superiority of the poems of 1842 are largely due to this criticism. The *Quarterly* recognized the change for the better, and John Sterling was allowed to review the poems of 1842 very favorably.²³ While Wilson in *Blackwood's* continued to attack Tennyson until he no longer dared contradict the best critical opinion

¹⁸ LIV, 58, July.

¹⁹ XLIX, 81.

²⁰ *Life and Times of Tennyson*, New Haven, 1915, p. 207.

²¹ Numbers for Feb. 24 and 26, 1831.

²² *Blackwood's*, Feb. 1832.

²³ LXX, 385.

of the day, the editor of the *Quarterly* was glad publicly to recognize this new figure, who "represented his age" better than any poet within twenty years. Not all Sterling's verdicts will be accepted today, but they were all well-intentioned. St. Simeon, he declared no topic for poetry, and the "moralities" all decided failures. He showed that the second volume was much better than the first, liked the idylls best, praised the poet highly for his heroic Wordsworthian discipline (although admitting that the moral was often too obtrusive in Tennyson) and genial pictures of English rural life.

VII

Thomas Carlyle, whose essay on Chartism had been unacceptable to the *Quarterly* in 1839, was, a few months later, first reviewed in this periodical by William Sewell.²⁴ Unfortunately, Sewell was a clergyman of the Church, and the value of his critical judgments of the *Essays*, the *French Revolution*, *Sartor Resartus*, and *Chartism* (here lumped together for consideration) was grievously qualified by his desire to bring Carlyle more light and knowledge, and into a more definite understanding and profession of Christianity. Carlyle's "error of the heart" was, in Sewell's opinion, his unconsciousness of moral evil. The irritating assumption of a monopoly of moral and spiritual truth, so characteristic of the *Quarterly* reviewers, is nowhere more ridiculous than in this article. Sewell laments that Carlyle longs for truth when it is revealed in the teachings of the Established Church, that the problem of evil is so unsettled in Carlyle's mind, his failure to understand that Dissent has brought the country into the condition so vividly set forth in *Chartism*, his following after strange idols (i. e., his "heroes").

Again it must be remarked that such comment is not literary criticism. True literary verdicts cannot be expected from one who lamented Carlyle's failure to perceive the capacity of the Church of England for curing the social evils rampant in the England of 1839. Although Sewell did touch upon Carlyle's style once or twice, deprecate the German influence apparent in his work, commend his power to bring home the value of little things; and

²⁴ XLVI, 446, Sept. 1840.

although another writer in June 1847 praised *Sartor Resartus* lukewarmly for its genial humor, morality, and its "true" philosophy, *Quarterly* treatment of this author was woefully inadequate. The evident intentions of the reviewers were good, but the effects of their blundering efforts were worse than useless either to appreciate the value of his work or extend his reputation.

VIII

In the case of Macaulay, the grounds of Tory antipathy are obvious. Although Macaulay had in 1831 "smashed" (his own word) Croker's *Boswell's Johnson*, which was published by Murray, Milman, reviewing the *Lays of Ancient Rome* in September 1843, criticized favorably, no political prejudice being apparent. Milman hoped for something of more substantial nature from this promising author, and alluded to the rumor of a forthcoming history.²⁵ This was fair enough. But the first of the volumes of the *History* called forth in March 1849 a savage retaliation for Macaulay's abuse of Croker. The reviewer had to recognize Macaulay's talents; the entrainment of his picturesque, vivid, and pregnant execution could not be escaped. But as history, his narrative was poisoned with a rancor even more violent than the passions of the time—said the reviewer. Bad taste, bad feeling, and bad faith were on every page. Macaulay had produced no new fact, his style was filled with glittering common-places, he habitually perverted his authorities, he sneered at Tories and Churchmen, he gave pain to all friends of the Protestant Establishment. He was accused of unacknowledged borrowing from Mackintosh's *History of England* (1830-32), and a string of parallel passages were given for comparison. And the *Quarterly* predicted that although these volumes of Macaulay's would be devoured as all his others had been, they would seldom be reread, would hardly find a place on the historic shelf, nor ever be quoted on any question or point of English history. Trevelyan brands this review "a farrago of angry trash," and declares it did no harm except to set people reading Macaulay's essay on Croker's *Boswell*. The his-

²⁵ See *Croker Correspondence*, ii, 24-29, Macaulay writes, "I am going to dust the varlet's jacket for him in the next number of the 'Blue and Yellow.'" (*Life*, N. Y., 1877, i, 218).

torian, himself, asserted that Croker did him a real service, causing his work to be read by many who might not have noticed it otherwise.

IX

This perversion of criticism was carried to its logical extreme in 1848, in the section of a critique which treated *Jane Eyre*.²⁶ Admitting that this novel was one of equal popularity with *Vanity Fair*, Miss Rigby (later Lady Eastlake) found *Jane Eyre* written with genuine power, but stamped with a coarseness of language, laxity of tone, and execrable taste. Its popularity was said to show how deeply the love of illegitimate romance is implanted in our nature. The originality of Jane's proposal to Mr. Rochester, apparently quite overcame the reviewer. She declared the novelist had committed the highest moral offense possible, i. e., making an unworthy character interesting to the reader. The language and manners of Jane offended in every particular. She was a "natural beast." That was the great evil of the book. Jane exerted great moral strength, to be sure; but it was the strength of a heathen mind which was a law unto itself. She was proud and ungrateful. It pleased God to make her poor, and an orphan, yet she thanked him for nothing and thought she owed him nothing. Throughout the book was found a rebellion against the privations of the poor, which as far as the individual is concerned, was a murmuring against God's appointments. There was a proud assertion of the rights of man, for which Miss Rigby found no authority either in God's word or Providence—there was that pervading tone of ungodly discontent which was the most prominent and subtle evil pulpit and law had to contend with. "The tone of mind and thought which has overthrown authority and violated every code human and divine abroad, and fostered Chartism and rebellion at home, is the same which has also written *Jane Eyre*." Blinded by this rage of detraction, the reviewer pronounces the author "no artist." Charlotte Brontë recorded her opinion that the reviewer was "no gentleman." But her sister Anne was dead, and Emily was dying, when this article appeared, so she had less chance to dwell upon the injustice of it.²⁷

²⁶ LXXXIV, 51, a review of *Vanity Fair* and *Jane Eyre*.

²⁷ May Sinclair (*The Three Brontës*, Lon. 1912, p. 116) thought there were three hands in the review.

Thus, in the review of one of the greatest novelists to appear in the closing years of this half-century, was found another egregious failure of *Quarterly* criticism. And again, as in other cases, the fault was not from total blindness to literary power, fidelity to life, or true delineation of human character; but because the reviewer clung to the ancient traditions of the English aristocracy, believed that eternal Providence had ordered a gradation of social ranks, and assumed with Tory smugness that God had somehow deputized her (the reviewer) and others of the Elect to guard the morals of the country. Miss Rigby pointed out the highest qualities of *Jane Eyre*—pointed them out and objected to them. Aristocratic and religious prejudice again stood in the way of just literary criticism.

Excepting always the personal element involved, it is now possible to explain historically the signal deficiencies of the *Quarterly* in evaluating much of that splendid out-flowering of literary genius between 1809 and 1850. Little of its failure was the result of adherence to eighteenth century pseudo-classical traditions. The defence of Scott and Southey from Jeffrey's attacks, the activities of these Romantic authors in the *Quarterly* circle, their politics and the corresponding later Toryism of Wordsworth and Coleridge, as well as the championship of Byron by Murray's review, soon weakened any devotion to out-worn literary shibboleths based on the reputation of Pope and Dryden. Nor was personal animosity, though this frequently developed in the course of a literary feud, very largely responsible.

The rationale of *Quarterly* criticism is to be discovered in Tory reverence for the crown, loyalty to the ancient constitution of the state, the aristocratical principles, "the defence of property (the landed interests) from the people," and fidelity to the apostolical hierarchy of the Church of England. For these, the Tory critics sacrificed all writers who referred disrespectfully to the "Good King"; all who showed admiration for Napoleon and the French, or any recognized enemies of England; all who were known to have inclinations toward liberalism in political thought, or beliefs which operated for the subversion of the existing order; all who seemed to exalt the lower classes or to encourage the mob to seek equality with "their betters"; and (the largest class of all) whoever countenanced Dissent or Popery, or exhibited in his works signs of infidelity.

For these things Shelley, Leigh Hunt, Hazlitt, Charlotte Brontë, were immolated. They were condemned by the Tory reviewers—just as Hallam, Napier, Macaulay, and almost every important historian of his period was condemned; just as Senior, Ricardo, Malthus, Sadler, and almost every important economist; just as Cartwright, Bentham, Cobbett, O'Connell, Bright, Cobden, Russell, Brougham, and almost every reformer or agitator was condemned; just as William George Ward, Sidney Smith, Newman (in the end), and almost every religious leader whose influence seemed to be thrown against the Established Church was condemned. Partisan strife, although important at first, seems to have been, on the whole, an incidental matter; for Whig authors were frequently given friendly reviews, if the substance of their works was innocuous. But the true principle of *Quarterly* criticism was to denounce as evil and mischievous the work (and the character as well) of any writer, whose doctrines were set against the "ancient order of things, as established by our fathers."

But it is not fair to the *Quarterly* reviewers to recall their failures alone; for much of their work was good—and it seems as if their favorable and constructive criticism has been under-estimated in the century that has passed, with its working-over and refining of literary evaluations. The truth is that very many of the appreciations of Wordsworth and Coleridge, Scott, Southey, Crabbe, Byron, Lamb, Jane Austen, Maria Edgeworth, Thomas Moore, Campbell, Tennyson, Dickens, and Thackeray, and our own Washington Irving, seem sound today after the lapse of a century. Scott, Ellis, Whately, Lamb, Lyall, H. N. Coleridge, Henry Taylor, Croker when he was at his best (in other words, sincere), and Lockhart, were no mean critics. And the manner in which later students have endorsed or appropriated the pronouncements of these reviewers, is all the tribute needed to the soundness and value of their judgments. That there were weak brothers among them cannot be denied. That the critical dicta of the *Quarterly* were too often biased on account of political prejudice or moral apprehension, even he who runs may read. And that the loyalty of the Tory reviewers to each other and to their friends often led them into absurd and grotesque eulogy of works that have no value today, whatever vogue they may have had then, is unfortunate. But when all is said, the major part of their criticism is found

to be sane and appreciative; and the facts remain that Byron's great fame, Scott's immense popularity, Jane Austen's later vogue, and Maria Edgeworth's earlier success, all owed something to the helpful criticism and endorsement of the *Quarterly*.

If we can put ourselves back in the places of the Tory critics who abused Hunt and Hazlitt and Keats and Shelley, we must come to the conclusion that posterity has misjudged the reviewers almost as flagrantly as the latter misjudged the reviewed. Partisan prejudice was strong enough in that day to blind even the gallant and gentle Scott; for in advising Lockhart in 1825 to despise petty adversaries, he declared that to take notice of such men as Hunt and Hazlitt in the *Quarterly* was to introduce them to a world scarcely conscious of their existence. Moreover, it must always be borne in mind that the writers for the Tory oracle, like "Judge Jeffrey's gang," and the crew of *Maga*, were merely following the traditions of reviewers, observing the only critical manners they were acquainted with. Again, it is surely of some importance to remember that the ungentlemanly broils with Hunt and Hazlitt were both begun by the two authors, not the Tory reviewers. The attacks on Keats and Shelley and even Tennyson naturally followed, because of association with Hunt. Croker's trimming of Macaulay was only retaliation for the latter's earlier "smashing" review of Croker. Clearly, the faults of the *Quarterly* have been sufficiently dwelt upon. Like the unfortunate Croker, the *Review* of the early days is remembered by many readers for the four-page paper on *Endymion*, the attack on the callow Tennyson, or the castigation of Macaulay. But a few wrong sentences hastily given should not be allowed to outweigh many just verdicts in the courts of literary criticism.

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THE DAWN IN VERGIL

BY ARTHUR L. KEITH

The dawn appears so frequently in Vergil that a careful examination of his manner of using it may very well reflect some stylistic habits of the poet. In the *Aeneid* there are no fewer than twenty appearances of the dawn, in the *Georgics* four, and in the *Culex* only one but a very interesting one. These numbers show that the poet had an unusual fondness for the dawn. As his general practice is, he does not insist upon its precise and consistent definition, and if the final revision of his *Aeneid* had been made, there is no reason to believe that he would have removed any of the apparent inconsistencies found in its description. We note a few of these inconsistencies.

We may accept Aurora as the normal word for dawn. In about two-thirds of the examples, this is the word Vergil uses. But the poet makes no effort to distinguish dawn from Lucifer, the morning star, its herald or concomitant, or from the sun which it so closely precedes, or from the day itself. In 4, 6, Aurora is conceived as carrying the torch of Phoebus. In 5, 105, she rides in the sun-god's chariot, and is probably to be identified with the sun-god himself. A comparison of 4, 118 and 5, 65 shows in identical language Titan, the sun-god, and Aurora performing identical functions. Aurora and day may each drive away the stars, 3, 521 and 5, 42. In these broader aspects Aurora shares her functions with *sol* and *dies* and *lux*. As regards the mythic element of the chariot and horses, Aurora is not closely differentiated from *Oriens* and *Sol*. In one respect Aurora retains an individuality. She seems to get entire credit for the colors associated with dawn. The glowing red may be hers or she may impart it to the sea. Her couch is saffron or golden, she herself is golden-yellow as she rides in her rosy chariot. A different shade of red or perhaps a purple describes her chariot in 12, 77. Once in one of Vergil's earliest poems, *Culex* 44, Aurora is described as scattering the darkness with her rosy locks. This example is perhaps as close as the poet comes to Homer's picturesque epithet, *ροδοδάκτυλος*. In an unusual and portentous instance the dawn is pale, G. 1, 446.

Vergil nowhere dwells on the myth of Dawn but incidentally he shows its main features. She ushers in the day, she scatters light over the world, she reveals the works of men, she leaves the couch of Tithonus, she rides behind her horses. Her traditional connection with hunters and hunting may have contributed to her appearance in 4, 129. Most of these features may be traced back to Homer. In fact, many of his references seem to have been taken bodily from Homer. We need only compare *Aen.* 4, 129 with *Il.* 19, 1; *Aen.* 4, 584 with *Il.* 24, 695; and *Aen.* 4, 585 with *Il.* 11, 1. In this aspect Vergil is least original.

However, there is an element in his treatment of the dawn which is all his own. We may call it his subjective mood. This appears repeatedly and in various ways. The poet's response to the mood of the occasion is finally shown in 5, 739, where the dawn, usually kind, becomes cruel because a ghost must be returned to its proper sphere. The *pallida* of G. 1, 146 has an ominous sound reflecting the mood of the poet. A different mood prompts the use of *diligite* and *sacrum* in 8, 590-1, in the simile which compares the beloved Pallas with the morning star. The feeling is exhibited again in 11, 182, where the morning light, naturally kindly, appears to wretched men. The two moods become more evident through the intentional contrast.

The dawn brings to view the works and labors of men, *referens opera atque labores*, and is the natural time for the beginning of action. But it seems that the poet marks the appearance of dawn in more than a perfunctory way by his frequent use of *iam* and *interea*. He seems to be trying to make his readers see and feel the dawn as he did. He seems to feel that it is a significant hour for things to happen. That he frequently establishes a relation between the dawn and the occasion is most obvious. Servius quotes Asinius Pollio as observing that Vergil often in his descriptions of day used some word that was appropriate for the immediate occasion. It is impossible to deny the truth of this statement as a general principle though the examples cited by Pollio are absurd. He suggests that *extulerat* in 11, 183 is used here of the dawn because funerals and burials are about to follow. He would have found it difficult to apply this explanation to the same word used in 4, 119; 5, 65; and 8, 501. Servius, probably under the influence of Asinius Pollio, attempts an interpretation of his own on

12, 115. The fact that the horses of the rising sun breathe forth the light from their dilated nostrils (that is, showing great effort) he regards as appropriately indicating the beginning of a day of struggle. I doubt if Vergil concerned himself with so trivial considerations.

Fortunately, however, better examples are at hand for establishing the principle that Vergil's subjective or introspective attitude did influence him in his treatment of dawn. In 3, 521 he has deliberately chosen the hour of the glowing dawn in which to reveal to the Trojans the first sight of the promised land. The hills are dimly seen far away but it is the distance that lends enchantment. The shouts of the sailors as they salute the new land, the libations and prayers offered by father Anchises are all expressive of the mood of the occasion, and are in keeping with the spirit of the dawn as the poet conceived it. A similar case is found in 7, 25: 'And now the sea began to glow with beams of red and from lofty heaven the Dawn, saffron-robed, shone bright in her rosy chariot.' It is no mere accident that the poet has again chosen the dawn as the appropriate hour for giving Aeneas his first view of the Tiber river. Its position in Roman imagination and veneration is well known and the poet's mind shares in these feelings and inspired by them he has sought for the occasion a wealth of gorgeous details for his description of the dawn. It is but the appropriate preparation. The subsiding winds add to the solemnity of the hour. The birds of particolored plumage which lull the sky with their songs and fly here and there in the woods bring a suitable charm to the occasion. The poetic feeling could hardly be expressed more delicately than here.

The reader may not follow me so willingly in my next example but I believe the poet's characteristic mood is still there, though it manifests itself in a different way. In 2, 801 when it has become obvious that Aeneas must abandon Troy and the long night of misery is at an end, the poet says: "And the morning star was rising over the crests of lofty Ida and was ushering in the day." Now I believe it is far too commonplace to explain this appearance of the dawn as due to the poet's aim to justify Aeneas's departure before the glare of daylight reveals him to the enemy. We have been fully prepared for his departure for some hours. There is another motive here. The morning star brings relief against the

blackness of the past night and its horrors. It is intended, not too consciously of course, to serve as a beacon of hope for the future. It is as if the poet said that although the enemy held the city and rescue was no longer possible, yet the morning star gives hope of new opportunity and of new happiness. It is the hope of a promised land which, oddly enough, is brought to fruition under another and more glorious dawn. In a similar way Dido's dying despair is relieved by the picture of the rainbow goddess who descends from heaven on saffron wings trailing a thousand varied colors in the full sunlight.

It is this adaptation of dawn to the occasion that gives its description at Vergil's hands a measure of uniqueness. The dawn with its rosy and saffron tints may bring a beautiful coloring to the objects of earth, but it is no less true that the dawn itself is colored by the hues of the poet's mood.

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WHISTON AS A SOURCE OF BODMER'S *NOAH*

By C. H. IBERSHOFF

In several published articles I have already discussed certain sources of Bodmer's *Noah*. But I have by no means exhausted the subject of the surprisingly extensive literary borrowings in which Bodmer indulged for his biblical epic. In the present discussion I purpose to deal with his indebtedness, not to a poet, but to a prose writer.

William Whiston (1667-1752) was an English divine of scientific bent of mind who succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as professor of mathematics at the University of Cambridge. Some of his views received a certain praise from men of such eminence as Newton and Locke. And it will scarcely seem amiss to recall that the idea of absolute clerical monogamy, which he advocated, is permanently preserved in the following passage in Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*.¹

Matrimony was always one of my favourite topics, and I wrote several sermons to prove its happiness; but there was a peculiar tenet which I made a point of supporting: for I maintained with Whiston that it was unlawful for a priest of the Church of England, after the death of his first wife, to take a second, or, to express it in one word, I valued myself upon being a strict monogamist.

I was early initiated into this important dispute, on which so many laborious volumes have been written. I published some tracts upon the subject myself, which, as they never sold, I have the consolation of thinking were read only by the happy *few*. Some of my friends called this my weak side; but, alas! they had not, like me, made it the subject of long contemplation. The more I reflected upon it, the more important it appeared. I even went a step beyond Whiston in displaying my principles; as he had engraven upon his wife's tomb that she was the *only* wife of William Whiston; so I wrote a similar epitaph for my wife, though still living, in which I extolled her prudence, economy, and obedience till death; and, having got it copied fair, with an elegant frame, it was placed over the chimney-piece, where it answered several very useful purposes. It admonished my wife of her duty to me and my fidelity to her; it inspired her with a passion for fame, and constantly put her in mind of her end.

But Newton, Locke and Goldsmith are not by any means the

¹ Cf. Chapter II.

only ones who have given evidence of an acquaintance with Whiston's opinions. On the contrary, both in England and on the Continent his *Astronomical Principles of Religion* and his *A New Theory of Earth* were widely read and discussed in the course of the eighteenth century. As an indication of the widespread interest in these and other works of his it will suffice to state that Whiston is further referred to, favorably or unfavorably, by writers of such diverse talents and interests as Sterne, James Kirkpatrick, Patrick Cockburn, J. Collyer, Buffon, A. Kästner, Dusch, Wieland, Herder, Lessing, Goethe, Schönaich, and Heyne; also by Sulzer, Bodmer and others both in their correspondence and elsewhere.² The list could easily be expanded.

For Bodmer the two Whistonian works mentioned above proved a most welcome source, and eagerly did he seize upon some of the astronomical theories set forth within their pages.³ In the circumstances—quite apart from his penchant for literary borrowing—this was natural enough, since being himself deficient in astronomical lore and nevertheless desiring to account for the Noachian deluge in as plausible a manner as possible, he was perforce dependent upon such information as he could derive from others. Besides Whiston, I may add here, Newton and Sulzer furnished him with ideas in this particular matter.

Bodmer, like Whiston, makes the near approach of the comet the physical cause of the Flood by representing the earth as becoming involved in the comet's tail and atmosphere.⁴ Though this

² Cf. Sterne: *Tristram Shandy*, II, 9; Kirkpatrick: *The Sea Piece*, p. 137; Cockburn: *Enquiry into the Truth and Certainty of the Mosaic Deluge*, pp. 247 ff., 253, 299, 308 f., 311, 325, 332; Collyer's English version of the *Noah*, p. xv and elsewhere; Buffon: *Histoire Naturelle*, second edition 1750, vol. I, p. 66 and elsewhere; Kästner: *Gedicht von dem Kometen*; Dusch: *Vermischte Gedichte*, p. 238, note; Wieland: *Die Natur der Dinge*, v, 483; Herder: *Werke* (edited by Suphan), vol. 13, p. 471 and elsewhere; Lessing: *Schriften* (edited by Muncker), vol. 5, p. 207 f.; Goethe: *Werke* (Weimar edition), iv, 108; Schönaich: *Neologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 291; Heyne: *Werke* (exact reference has been mislaid).

³ Price in his *English-German Literary Influences* makes no mention of Whiston.

⁴ Whiston's view was attacked from several quarters, notably by Patrick Cockburn in his *Enquiry into the Truth and Certainty of the Mosaic Deluge* (London, 1750).

point is of sufficient importance to be referred to at the outset, I shall not here cite the corresponding English and German passages which deal with the parallel ideas, since I shall, a few pages further on, have occasion to return to this matter in another connection.

When in the *Noah*, page 192, we read:

Also sehet ihr diesen (so. Kometen), vielleicht des zornigen Gottes
Lange verordneten Knecht, der kommt den Erdball zu strafen,⁴⁴

we note the resemblance with the following passage in Whiston:⁴⁵

[The comets] seem fit to cause vast mutations in the planets, particularly in bringing on them deluges . . . ; and so seem capable of being the instruments of divine vengeance upon the wicked inhabitants of the worlds.⁴⁶

Among other factors it was, no doubt, such a note of confidence as we meet in a passage like the following that determined Bodmer to turn to Whiston for specific hints during the execution of the ambitious task which he had set himself as the author of the *Noah*. In the same work of Whiston we read:

Indeed the solution of this most remarkable phenomenon of an universal deluge, with its most numerous and eminent circumstances, as described in the Mosaic history, which till this age could no way be solved in a natural way . . . is now, I think, become so plain, evident, and certain from the phenomena of comets, with their atmospheres and tails, now fully discovered, that I own I cannot but be myself very much surprised and satisfied with it, and equally surprised and satisfied with that strong confirmation it affords to the sacred records, in one of the least probable, or most exceptionable branches thereof.⁴⁷

To the volume, I may here state, there is appended a chapter of some fourteen pages entitled *The Cause of the Deluge Demonstrated*. This, however, need not concern us at present, as we shall have occasion to refer to it later.

⁴⁴ Unless otherwise indicated the passages from the *Noah* are quoted from the edition of 1765.

⁴⁵ Cf. his *Astronomical Principles of Religion* (1717), page 23.

⁴⁶ It is the popular notion that comets are presages of evil which Bayle pronounced a remnant of pagan superstition. Cf. his *Pensées sur la comète*, Section LXXIX.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Astronomical Principles*, page 146 f.

Turning to Whiston's larger work, *A New Theory of the Earth*, of which Bodmer likewise availed himself, we come, on page 373, upon the following passage:

... if we consider ... that the outward regions of its [*sc.* a comet's] atmosphere are plain vapors ... and that withal such a comet is capable of passing so close by the body of the earth as to involve it in its atmosphere and tail for some time, and leave prodigious quantities of the same condensed and expanded vapors upon its surface; we shall see that a deluge of waters is by no means an impossible thing.

This passage left its imprint upon the following lines in the *Noah*. Sem is speaking:

Diese verheerende Flut liegt vielleicht in dem Schweife des Sternes,
Wenn er der Erd' jetzt nahe genug ist, so möcht er ihn öffnen,
Und das Gebirg und die Ebenen mit fremden Wassern bedecken.

(*Noah*, p. 200.)

A similar, likewise reminiscent passage reads:

Damals war jene Hälfte der Erd' unglücklich genötigt,
Nicht nur die Pyramide des neblichten Schweifs zu durchwandeln,
Sondern die Ufer der Atmosphäre des Sterns zu betreten.

(*Noah*, p. 228.)

Bodmer for these two passages not only accepted a suggestion from Whiston but, it is interesting to note, did so against a friend's positive advice as we shall now see.

On September 27th, 1749 Sulzer in a letter to Bodmer wrote: "Ich komme noch einmal auf Ihren *Noah*. . . . Neulich habe ich in Whistons *New Theory of the Earth* gelesen." And, to be sure, after referring to a certain passage therein he adds: "Da die Sache sehr wahrscheinlich gemacht wird, so hätte diese Sage Ihnen vielleicht auch dienen können."^a But later he cautions his friend thus:

Was den Kometen anlangt, so würd' ich Ihnen sehr davon abraten, wenn Sie nicht ein Gedicht schrieben; und auch in dem Gedichte selbst bitte ich Sie, nur nicht alles von Whiston anzunehmen. . . . Sie können . . . unmöglich den Kometen der Erde ganz nahe kommen lassen; denn wenn er *infra regionem lunarem* kommt, so muss er entweder mit der Erde in Einen Klumpen zusammengehn, oder er musz ein Trabant der Erde, oder

^a Cf. Körte: *Briefe der Schweizer Bodmer, Sulzer, Geszner*, p. 113 f.

diese ein Trabant des Kometen werden; die einmal etablierten Gesetze der Bewegung bringen dies notwendig mit sich.*

Though, as we have seen, Sulzer's well-meant advice was not heeded, his dissuasive letter itself, it is interesting to note, contributed suggestions to the following two passages in the *Noah*, first

Von weit entlegenen Welten
Kam auf dem Rückzug ein glühender Stern ins Reich des Arcturus,
Ging viel Kugeln vorbei, dann fiel er mit Meeren von Feuer
Auf den sündigen Erdball. In einen Klumpen gemischt,
Schleppt er ihn flammend mit sich auf seinem exzentrischen Pfade.
(*Noah*, p. 71 f.)

and secondly, the passage where Bodmer, referring to the struggle between the comet's atmosphere and the earth, says

mit Arbeit und Müh rang jedes von ihnen
Einen Pfad durch den andern, damit er unaufgehalten
Seinen verordneten Kreis in des Äthers Gefilden vollbrächte.¹⁰
(*Noah*, p. 230.)

On page 10 of the appendix to his *Astronomical Principles*, already referred to above, Whiston quotes from Halley as follows:

No comet has hitherto threatened the earth with a nearer appulse than that of 1680. For by calculation I find . . . that comet was not above a semidiameter of the sun . . . to the northwards of the way of the earth. At which time, had the earth been there, the comet would, I think, have had a parallax equal to that of the moon. . . . But what might be the consequences of so near an appulse or of a contact, or lastly of a collision

* *Ibid.*, p. 119 f.

¹⁰ In another letter dealing with the question of the comet (cf. *Briefe der Schweizer*, p. 124) Sulzer writes to Bodmer " . . . die Schweife der Kometen (sind) so subtil, dasz man gar die Sterne dadurch sehen kann," whereof there is obviously a reminiscence in Bodmer's

"und siehe! da stand der Komete
An dem Horizont auf
und hinter ihm flammten
Nordens Gestirne durch sein durchsichtig Geschlepp unverfinstert."
(*Noah*, p. 199.)

Thus, though Sulzer, upon reading the *Noah*, could not fail to note that his warning against certain ideas of Whiston had gone unheeded, he would nevertheless have the satisfaction of finding a number of his own suggestions incorporated in the epic. Cf. also note 12 below.

of these celestial bodies (which are none of them impossible) I leave to be discussed by the philosophers.

Here Bodmer found, apart from a general suggestion, also a specific one which, to suit his purpose, he modified as follows:

Als der Komet den Grenzen der Erde so nahe gekommen,
Dass er kaum seinen Durchschnitt von ihrer Kugel entfernt flog.
(*Noah*, p. 229.)

"The other main cause of the Deluge," Whiston writes in the *New Theory*,¹¹ "was the breaking up of the fountains of the great abyss, or the causing such chaps and fissures in the upper earth, as might permit the waters contained in the bowels of it, when violently pressed and squeezed upwards, to ascend, and so add to the quantity of those which the rains produced."¹²

In the *Noah* we come upon the following reminiscence of this passage:

in einer durchgängigen Sündflut,
Die der Herr aus den Kammern der Tief' in die Höhe gezogen,
Und mit den Wassern aus eines Kometen Schosze verstärkt hat.
(*Noah*, ed. 1752, x, 493 ff.)

In attempting to account for the "draining of the waters of the Deluge off the surface of the earth," Whiston declares:¹³ "As soon therefore as the waters ceased to ascend upwards through the breaches, they must, to be sure, descend downwards by the same." This passage Bodmer elaborates for his purpose as follows:

Durch die Künste der Allmacht, die ihm bekannt sind, geschahe,
Dass der gepreszte Busen des Erdballs sich dehnte, die Erde
Auf atlantische Säulen erhob, und tiefe Behälter
Innerhalb wölbte; die eingefallnen Schalen der Erde
Höhlten entsetzliche Becken, die Meere zu fassen
. die Erde
Tat unzählige Mündungen auf, um sie in die Klüfte
Einzunehmen, die durch ihr Eingeweide sich wanden.
(*Noah*, p. 312.)

¹¹ Cf. p. 376.

¹² We meet a somewhat similar passage in Sulzer's letter to Bodmer of January 26th, 1750: "Wenn Sie auch setzten, dass die Erde dort eingesunken, so können Sie das unterirdische Wasser mit heftiger Gewalt ausbrechen lassen." (Cf. Körte: *Briefe der Schweizer*, p. 125.) Sulzer's "dass die Erde dort eingesunken" probably suggested Bodmer's "die eingefallnen Schalen der Erde" in a passage cited below.

¹³ Cf. *New Theory*, p. 399.

Here the words of the last line "die durch ihr Eingeweide sich wanden" parallel Whiston's phrase above "contained in the bowels of it."

In one feature, however, Bodmer departs from Whiston. According to the *New Theory*, page 257: "The constitution of the antediluvian air was thin, pure, subtile, and homogeneous, without such . . . heterogeneous mixtures as occasion thunder (and lightning) . . . in our present air"; moreover, this homogeneity and tranquillity of the air, Whiston declares,¹⁴ probably continued "for the first five entire months of the Deluge." Not so in the *Noah*. Even at the beginning of the Flood Bodmer prefers to imagine the following elemental disturbances to have been present:

Öfters erhellte die tötlichen Schatten ein schlängelndes Blitzen,
Breit wie ein Strom and kreuzend vom Aufgang zum Untergang, Donner
Brüllten mit schmetternder Stimm. (Noah, p. 231.)

As I have stated elsewhere, Klopstock represents another one of Bodmer's sources;¹⁵ in this particular deviation from Whiston's conception of diluvial conditions I would see the influence of Klopstock, who in the *Messias* likewise represents the Deluge as accompanied by storm and thunder.¹⁶

For his treatment of the comet as the physical cause of the Flood Bodmer, as already remarked, seems to have drawn for certain suggestions also upon some of the writings of Newton. With this chapter of his literary indebtedness I hope to deal on another occasion.

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¹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 260.

¹⁵ Cf. my article *Bodmer and Milton* in the *Journal of English and German Philology* (1918), pp. 589-601.

¹⁶ Cf. the *Messias*, II, 28. I intend elsewhere to point out some of Bodmer's more important borrowings from Klopstock's epic.

UNPUBLISHED FRAGMENTS ON AESTHETICS BY
S. T. COLERIDGE

EDITED BY THOMAS M. RAYSON

These fragmentary essays on aesthetics are gleaned from a volume of Coleridge manuscripts¹ which the British Museum acquired from Ernest Hartley Coleridge in 1895. Nearly all of the material in the manuscripts was published by H. N. Coleridge in *Literary Remains*, but something which will be of interest to students still remains. Those shorter fragments which deal with literary criticism rather than aesthetics I hope to publish in the near future.

[I. *The Nature of Beauty*²]

Definition. The universal Condition of Beauty in the beautiful or beauty-exciting Object is, that the Form of this Object shall appear to be a product of an intelligent Will, not wholly or principally as intelligence, but as Living Will causative of reality: in other words, of Will in its own form as Will. Corollary. The Will is the proper productivity—or productive Power. Therefore the above Condition is implied in the Position—Every Form of Beauty outward and objective must be contemplated as a PRODUCT.

2. But Will may exist in a form in which the Intelligence is not only subordinate but latent—i. e. implied and to be inferred, but not evident. In this sense it is, that Life is a Will, a form of Will—and Spontaneity a function of living Will.—Corollary. The first is seen or felt with greatest facility or rather it is only seen with pleasurable facility when it exists in connection and combination with the second. Therefore every beautiful Object must have an association with Life—it must have Life in it or attributed to it—Life or Spontaneity, as an action of Vital Power.

3. The Beautiful, which demands the Spontaneous, forbids the arbitrary and as partaking of the arbitrary, the accidental. For the Arbitrary is an *exclusion* of Intelligence.—But the Will can not appear in its own form without Intelligence, contained tho' subordinated. Hence Life and Spontaneity will not of themselves but only as Secondaries, constitute the Beautiful.

¹ Egerton 2800.

² Egerton 2800, pages 67, 68, 70.

4. Hence, fourthly, the Beautiful excludes the distinct consciousness (which, n. b. is what we mean by the conscious Presence of the forms of the Understanding—for these are determined by a logical necessity—and likewise because in the process of the Understanding not an ultimate *end*, i. e. an end in which the mind is to *rest*—but *means* are considered—of course, therefore, not the Unity resulting but the mode of the conspiracy of the manifold to the One. But the direct Contrary is the character of the Beautiful. The Manifold must be melted into the One and in all but the lowest or simplest Products must be *felt* in the result rather than noticed—a beautiful Piece of Reasoning—not beautiful because it is understood as true; but because it is felt, as a truth of Reason, i. e. *immediate*, with the facility analogous to Life. In these instances, the Will is translucent thro' the Reason—There is a duplicity of Form which can only be rendered intelligible by the transparency of a ground color thro' another superficial coat. Elucidate by the sudden Light which the apprehension of a master thought will shoot thro' on a long Link of Reasoning—Ay, now—I see it, *all at once*. This is quite *beautiful*!—The same applies, when we speak of a beautiful piece of machinery—this we never do, till the whole process of the *Understanding* of it is completed, and the mind rests from its labor in the fruition of all. N. B.—Thus with the spirit as with the Body—Effort, Fatigue, are the accompaniments of one or more particular Faculties being exerted.

5. The case of the machine induces and requires another contradistinction of the Objective Beautiful. There must be a *fitness*, indeed, for to be unfit is to contradict Intelligence or Reason, which are to be *implied* not opposed—The trunk hides but does not contravene the Root—There must be a Fitness, but not a fitness to another Object; but a fitness to the *Subject*, i. e. the mind—and again not to the Subject in relation to this or that Constituent Power but to the total Subject, as shown in the first Lecture. Consequently, Fitness of means to other means or medial ends acts here negatively; it dare not be so absent as to be noticed as absent. Thus the absence producing a mental presentness.—illustrated by Cato's Omitted Image in the triumphal Procession.

6. But the fitness to the total Subject must not appear as the product of Design—and for this there are three Grounds. First, the Product would then be contemplated as a machine or tool—

second, because the Will would not appear in its own form, but in the form of the Understanding—and third and lastly, because (as will be more fully explained hereafter) there must be a double correspondency of the object, to the Subject producing as well as to the Subject in which the Idea is to be re-produced. Therefore, what is equal to A in the latter must be likewise equal to A in the former.—The conclusion is that Design must exist in the equivalence of the result, Virtual Design without the sense of Design. And this the Artist expresses by the term, Felicity, and the power of felicitous production generally is Artistic Genius. G—— [indecipherable] is a very *clever sort* of Artist—of that sort, namely, which is half-brother to the Artisan.

7. But there is yet another reason & this, the most important of all, it being indeed the Evolute [?] of all the preceding Conditions—The Fitness must not be a conspiracy of component but of constituent Parts, not of parts *put* to each other, but of distinct but indivisible parts growing out of a common Antecedent Unity, or productive Life & Will. It must be an *organic* not a mechanic fitness—Whatever is necessary for a clear & distinct Insight into the difference of an Organ from a machine, of a living muscle from a Rope, or of a Heart from a fencing Punch [?] is no less requisite to a full comprehension of the conditions of the Beautiful. And hence it is that the Automaton in his demonstration of the Human Frame has at once before him Instances and Illustrations of Artistic Beauty. Nothing can show more plainly the truth of No. I and II, namely the presence of *Will* as Will, of Life and Spontaneity in the beautiful, than this Fact. Nothing could tend more to confirm a former position—that every work of Fine Art is a Language, the essence of which is that it cannot be divided from the meaning (the *Mind*) it transfers, without *ipso facto* ceasing to be a Language—So here the Product is inseparable from the Productivity—for Life is so definable—and Beauty and Life then . . . [?]

The product, I say, indivisible from the Productivity, the Parts from each other and from the Antecedent productive Unity—As the whole is thus [?] alone the Counterfact of the One, the *Whole* must be everywhere present.

Love—We shall master the Idea of Love, when having assumed

that Love = Beauty + Interest, we find the solution of the following Problem.—

First, *Immediateness* being an essential and indispensable character of Beauty, and Immediateness and *Esse inter* being not opposites but *contraries*, how can they be united otherwise than by the destruction or suspension of the one or the other?

We must therefore discover, a Beauty that is not incompatible with an Interest. And at the same time an Interest not incompatible with Beauty.

Now these would be comprized in the problem generalized.

To find an Interest, i. e. a medium that is nevertheless immediate—

This [?] must be therefore—1. Whil[e] not partial, an interest of the whole Being [?]. 2. As such it must involve the potential as well as the actual. 3. The potential must even predominate (For so only can the Will appear as in its own form.—etc., etc., etc. But the result will be to reveal the close analogy of Love and Beauty, and thus at once to present the likeness and the distinction of the Lovely and the Beautiful.

In short, in whatever direction we look, as long as we place ourselves within the sphere of the Good, we discern nothing but balances with Life—& *living* Balances.

[II. *Solgar's "Erwin" 3]*

P. 27 [?] This strikes me like making difficulties for difficulty's sake. First, I do not admit the *Annäherungstrieb* to be an essential of Beauty; but on the contrary the equilibrium or suspension both of the *Annäherung* and the *fliehende*. There where the appearance is perfect, we stop: neither is Desire, no, nor even Love, the correspondent of *Beauty per se*, but *Complacency*. Secondly, the difference of the Sublime and Beautiful is a *diversity*. They are not *opposites*, like Sweet and Sour, admitting of all proportions of intermediates, but *contraries*, like sweet and bitter. In neither can I discover any *use* of *Trieb* or Impulse or Tendency. I meet, I *find* the Beautiful—but I give, contribute, or rather attribute the Sublime. No object of Sense is sublime in itself; but only as far as I make it a symbol of some Idea. The circle is

* Egerton 2800, pages 71-72.

a beautiful figure in itself; it becomes sublime, when I contemplate eternity under that figure—The Beautiful is the perfection, the Sublime the suspension, of the comparing Power. Nothing not shapely (*formosus: nam etiam musicę suam habet formam*) can be called beautiful: nothing that has a shape can be sublime except by metaphor *ab occasione ad rem*. So true it is, that those objects whose shape most recedes from Shapeliness are commonly the exciting occasions.—Beauty itself is perhaps a compound—or rather an Indifferential or Equatorial Point or Permanence and Progress, Identity and Alterity considered wholly in respect of *der Erscheinung*. Solgar has, I think, injudiciously begun with the highest, perhaps the non-existent. Had he begun with the lowest (for the argument is wholly analytical) he might perhaps have traced an ascent that would have presented the Beautiful as a varying harmony or union of the shapely and the Vital. Even Shapeliness in lifeless things,—as in crystals, metals, etc., approximates to the *lively*: and hence we call it beautiful, as in gems. In the living, where we *expect* Life, the more shapely (i. e. regular figures) would offend us—they would be not indeed deformed but yet enormous. Further, Deformity in the sense of *Disformity* is contrary to the Shapely: the Ugly to the Lovely. But Beauty has and can have no opposite. For it is the mid-point, and not a Pole.

Pp. 28 and 29, with all the doctrine of resistance to Fate & Nature, and the rest of the hyper-tragic histrionic Stoicism borrowed from late Theories of the Greek Drama, appear to me—Stuff Stuffless!—The Fearful or Frightful by itself is destructive of the Sublime, as I felt in the high mouldering steep earthy cliffs at Muddiford. P. 31. Solgar confounds an accompaniment of the Sublime with the Sublime itself. I know the feeling, he speaks of, right well; and it requires and deserves an investigation into its nature. The vividness of sense such as that sense is passing into sensation, when sense and sensorial activity has been suppressed and so accumulated—aided by the indefinite of the Sublime but not a component part.—In the following paragraphs I suspect it is a different feeling, arising out of the *Interesting* (in the *Liebliche*)—*est inter me et rem aliquid*.

Generally indeed I complain of the German philosophers (as we are most apt to complain of our dearest Friends)—of the Post-

Kantians at least—for the precipitance with which they pass to their own determinations of what the *thing* is, without having first enquired what the *word* means when it is used *appropriately*. Whenever I can convince a man that another term would express his meaning far more unexceptionally, the term used was not *appropriate*. But the rule is that the same word should not have heterogeneous or even disparate senses. Thus instead of asking, *Was Schönheit sey?* I would enquire what *Schön* properly meant—i. e. what men mean when they use the word *schön* in preference to any other epithet. A rose is a pleasing sight: and so to a hungry man is a Hogspudding. But a rose is beautiful,—*ergo*, beautiful means something else or something more than pleasing. The difference is not in the *degree*—for add to a keen appetite a long involuntary abstinence from animal food, and as particular predilection, the Hogspudding will become tenfold more pleasing without advancing a single step towards Beauty. In this way I would proceed with all the other phrases that are confounded with beautiful, because perhaps they join in some common effect or because they are often in juxtaposition, etc. till I had exhausted the meanings of these words, and of course, discovered that one meaning which the word, beautiful, and that word alone, peculiarized and expressed.—And this, if I mistake not, is the true Socratic method: assuredly that which best suits the Dialogue form, which only the analytic suits at any time, but this species of analysis, i. e. desynonymizative, best of all—it so naturally arises out of conversation. The synthetic, on the contrary demands the paidæutic continuous form. We want a classification of words sadly—into the universals as applying to all the acts of the human Being—2. the generals, subdivided into the sensuous, intellectual, moral, 3. the words appropriate to each particular sense, at least, to the imperfect, Taste, Smell, and the organized Touch, Sight, Hearing, etc., etc. Thus pleasure, ἡδονή, voluptas, could wiselier be appropriated to the senses, Joy, εὐφροσύνη, lætitia, to the Intellect. Bliss, Beatitudo, μακαριότης, to the Moral Being—True it is & not to be forgotten, that in reality there exists no such divisions—even in the sense of smell, and among Epicures of Taste, there may be found analogies of the higher senses. The smell of the sweet Briar has a fineness, one would *almost* call *elegant*, the Rose a *beautiful* odor—but then in so doing you have *organized* the sense

itself—Whereas the smell of the myrtle is a voluptuous smell, *properly*. Sir H. Davy has by long practice so organized the sense of smelling as completely to unsensualize it.—P. 38 Sölgar first leads Erwin into false positions, in explanation of a true position, and then deduces consequences from the former for the purpose of confuting the latter. Ex. gr.—*Die Siele* used as — *Ich*: whereas the arguments required no mention of Soul, but if of any, it must be the Soul of Nature. Besides, it is a sophism to unbeautify Beauty, because the sense Beauty unsustained *a tergo* as it were, by something nobler could not long sustain itself as the sense of Beauty—And yet, there are exceptions to this—as too frequently in the instance of eminent Musicians, whose Moral Being is injured by the exclusive attention to Beauty without destruction or apparent decrease of the sense of the Beautiful.

[III. *Taste* ⁴]

The same arguments that decide the question whether Taste have any fixed Principles may probably lead to the determination what those Principles are: First then, what is Taste, in its metaphorical sense? Or what will be the easiest mode of arriving at the same solution, what is there in the primary sense of the word, which may give to its metaphorical meaning an import different from that of Sight or Hearing, on the one hand, and of Touch or Feeling, on the other?—And this question seems the more natural because in correct Language we confine Beauty, which is the main object of Taste, to objects of Sight and combinations of Sounds and never except sportively or by abuse of words say a beautiful flavor, or beautiful Scent. Now the analysis of our senses in the commonest books of anthropology have drawn our attention to the distinction between the perfectly organic, and the mixt senses—the first presenting objects to us, as distinct from the perception, the latter as blending the perception with the sense of the object. Our Eyes and Ears—we are not now considering what is or is not the case really, but only what we are regularly conscious of, as appearances—our eyes most often appear to us perfect organs of the sentient principle, and wholly in action—and our Hearing is so much more so than the three other senses, and in all the ordi-

⁴ Egerton 2800, pages 76-77.

nary exertions of that sense perhaps equally so with the sight, that all languages place them in one class, and express their different modifications by nearly the same metaphors—the three remaining senses appear in part passive, and combine with the perception of the outward object a distinct sense of our own Life. Taste therefore as opposed to Vision and Sound will teach us to expect in its metaphorical use a certain reference of any given object to our own Being, and not merely a distinct notion of the Object as in itself, or of its independent properties—(From the sense of Touch, on the other hand, it is distinguishable by adding to this reference to our vital Being some degree of Enjoyment or the contrary, some distinguishable Impulse from Pleasure or Pain to complacency or dislike—while Feeling as opposed to Touch is too wholly passive, not sufficiently organic, not distinctly or necessarily referring to an Object without us—The sense of Smell indeed might perhaps have furnished a metaphor of the same import with that of Taste; tho' the latter was naturally chosen by the majority of civilized nations on account of the greater frequency, importance, and dignity of its employment or exertion in human nature. By Taste therefore, as applied to the fine arts, we must be supposed to mean an intellectual perception of any object blended with a distinct reference to our own sensibility of pain or pleasure, or vice versa a sense of enjoyment or dislike co-instantaneously combined with an appearing to proceed from, some intellectual perception of the object. *Intellectual*—for otherwise it would be a definition of Taste in its primary rather than its metaphorical sense—Briefly, Taste is a metaphor taken from one of our mixed senses, and applied to objects of the more purely organic senses, and of our moral sense, when we would imply the co-existence of immediate and personal Dislike or Complacency—In this definition of Taste therefore is involved the definition of [the] fine arts as being such whose chief and discriminative Purpose it is to gratify the Taste—that is not merely to connect but to combine and unite a sense of immediate pleasure in ourselves with the perception of external arrangement.

The great question, therefore, whether Taste, in any one of the fine arts, have any fixed Principle or Ideal will find its solution in the ascertainment of two facts—whether in every determination of the Taste concerning any work of the fine arts the Individual

does not, with or even against the approbation of his general Judgment, involuntarily claim that all other minds ought to think and feel the same—whether or no the common expressions, “I dare say, I may be wrong but this is my particular Taste” are uttered as an offspring of courtesy, as a sacrifice to the admitted fact of our individual Fallibility or whether they are spoken with an entire sincerity, not only of the reason but of the whole Feeling; with the same entireness of mind and heart with which we concede a right to every individual to differ from another in his preference of bodily Tastes and Flavors. If we should find ourselves compelled to deny this, and to admit that notwithstanding the consciousness of our liability to error and in spite [of] all these many individual experiences which may have strengthened this consciousness, each mind does not at the moment [?] so [?] far [?] legislate for all minds as to believe of necessity, that he is either right or wrong—and that if it be right for him, it is universally right, we must then proceed to ascertain whether the source of these phenomena is at all to be found in those parts of our nature, in which each intellect is representative of all and whether wholly, or partially. No person of Common reflection demands even in feeling, that what tastes pleasant to him ought to produce the same effect on all living Beings; but every man does and must expect and demand the universal acquiescence of all intelligent Beings in every conviction of his understanding from simple . . .

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MODERN ENGLISH ROMANTICISM

BY EDWIN GREENLAW

The announcement of a new history of modern English romanticism suggests a brief review of recent studies in eighteenth and early nineteenth century literature as a means of indicating not only what is being done but also some of the changes in points of view. The time is rapidly approaching when a re-examination of present conceptions of the history of romanticism will become necessary, whether the results of such examination take the form of a new history or of a syllabus for lectures. The groups devoted to the study of the eighteenth century in the Modern Language Association have already done much to clear the way, through their bibliographies, their surveys of work needing to be done, and their use of the principle of cooperation in research. Definitive studies of certain fields, such as Professor Havens's brilliant study of the influence of Milton, are available.

One turns, therefore, with keen interest to the announcement of *A History of Modern English Romanticism*, by Dr. Harko de Maar, of which the first volume, dealing with "Elizabethan and Modern Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century," has recently appeared.¹ Dr. de Maar promises that the second volume will trace the relation between medieval and modern romanticism in the same century, while successive volumes are to carry the story to 1914. While it is obviously unfair to prejudge a work planned on such an extensive scale, the first volume indicates that it is to follow conventional lines. Dr. de Maar shows through his bibliography and to some extent in his text that he is aware of new material; he makes a few additions to Professor Havens's list of poems in blank verse in the eighteenth century; he gives more attention to men like Croxall and Philips than we are accustomed to; but his conception of "Elizabethan" romanticism is the Spenserian stanza and Milton's blank verse. The book is largely, therefore, an amplification of Phelps and Beers, with large additions drawn from Cory and Havens. He insists, rightly enough, that the eighteenth century cannot be denominated "classical" and the nineteenth "romantic," and protests against the dominance of Pope and Johnson as sole representatives of all that was typical about eighteenth century literature. His first chapter even gives reason to hope that at last we should have recognition of the fact that classic and romantic traits are inextricably mingled not only in the literature of the century as a whole but in the work of individual writers.

But this promise is not borne out in the execution. We find no adequate conception of Elizabethan romanticism, yet a history of modern romanticism, rightly considered, must take into account the foundations in earlier literature, and particularly in the literature of the Renaissance. For better

¹ Harko G. de Maar. *A History of Modern English Romanticism*, Vol. I. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1924. Pp. viii, 246.

or worse, the genius of English literature is romantic, not classical; the eighteenth century "classicism," due to the influence of the new scientific spirit and of France, represents a deviation from fundamental characteristics of English literary genius; no history of romanticism can be adequate that does not take into account this fundamental fact. To limit the discussion of Elizabethan romanticism, therefore, to the Spenserian stanza is grotesque. Examples will prove the inadequacy of Dr. de Maar's treatment. A single chapter, and that a very brief one, is given to "The influence of Elizabethan Drama and the Elizabethan Sonnet on the Rise of Modern Romanticism." This chapter does not adequately treat even what Dr. Havens has found out about the sonnet in the eighteenth century, let alone any proper estimate of the significance of the facts thus brought forward. Of the significance of the Shakespeare problem in that century Dr. de Maar betrays not the slightest conception. Criticism is almost wholly ignored. Even the chapter on the "literature of gloom" is elementary and sketchy in the light of Dr. Potts's book on Gray's *Elegy*. The bulk of this first volume rings the old changes on Spenser and Milton, matters of form only, not of ideas. The book is deficient in philosophic grasp. It is content with a re-presentation of the old material on imitation. Now this matter of Spenser and Milton in the eighteenth century is important. It has been treated fairly well for Spenser by Dr. Cory and brilliantly, for Milton, by Professor Havens. Along with a multitude of other topics it must now be combined into a whole which shall interpret the literature and thought of a great century. In such an interpretation it will form but a part, and that, we think, not the most important. A scholar who professes to give us a history of modern English romanticism must be competent and willing to make a synthesis of all sides of a very complex problem. Whether Dr. de Maar can do this will be disclosed by his later volumes, but we must regretfully conclude that so far as the important influence of Elizabethan romanticism is concerned, he has fallen short of satisfactory interpretation.

One method of isolating the problems which arise in any treatment of the course and meaning of modern English romanticism is to review what is being done toward the clarification of existing knowledge and the addition of new material in certain fields. The present survey cannot take into account numerous important essays in the learned journals, or even all the books and monographs. A few are selected as typical, first of special problems in the study of eighteenth century literature; second, of certain comparative studies, linking England and the continent; and, finally, recent studies of one of the greatest of English romantic poets, William Wordsworth.

1. SOME SPECIAL PHASES

Excellent examples of the study of special topics are supplied by recent essays by Oliver Elton and Logan Pearsall Smith.^a The history of such

^a "Reason and Enthusiasm in the Eighteenth Century," by Oliver Elton,

a word as "romantic" is found in many places, in Professor Babbitt's *Rousseau*, for example, or in Dr. de Maar's new history. But the two essays now before us are more thorough, include more of the words that appear as counters in literary criticism, and define more clearly the terms, and with more philosophical grasp, than can be found elsewhere. Mr. Elton's essay, which contrasts "reason" and "enthusiasm" in the eighteenth century, is a defence of reason as the "critical spirit, whose working forms the stuff of intellectual history at all times." While the conflict between the two ideas is carefully traced through the eighteenth century, Mr. Elton insists that it is not dead history, for "the combatants live on under other names; they can perhaps never be reconciled, and neither can ever extinguish the other." Mr. Smith traces the history, through a longer period, of four words, "romantic," "originality," "creative," and "genius," closely associated with the intellectual and literary history of the eighteenth century. In them he finds mirrored the history of the romantic movement, and thus the expression of one of the most notable of English contributions to European thought. He points out examples of looseness in the use of the terms, proposes new terms in some cases, calls attention to the truth that "the phenomena of artistic production are still so obscure, so baffling, we are still so far from an accurate scientific and psychological knowledge of their genesis or meaning, that we are still forced to accept them as empirical facts. . . . The complete explanation of any fact is the very last step in human thought."

It is with definition, then, in some philosophical aspects closely related to the correct interpretation of the origin and nature of romanticism, that these two important essays deal. A different sort of definition relates to the work of a writer, or the history of a convention, or to the influence of a new body of legend and history. Examples of such definition of special phases of the period are found in several recent books.

We may begin with a book which at first sight appears to have nothing to do with romanticism, Dr. Houston's discussion of the humanism of Samuel Johnson.^a Yet one deficiency of conventional treatments of the romantic movement is that it is contrasted with a highly specialized "classicism" without due regard to the humanistic aspects of classical thought and literature. Dr. Houston's book is designed to correct that attitude toward Dr. Johnson which delights in anecdote and in the imaginative re-creation of a great personality while neglecting his intellectual eminence. It is based on a systematic survey of the writings of Johnson,

in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, Vol. X, pp. 122-136. Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1924. "Four Words: Romantic, Originality, Creative, Genius," by Logan Pearsall Smith. S. P. E. Tract No. XVII. Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1924. Pp. 48.

^a Houston, Percy H. *Doctor Johnson: A Study in Eighteenth Century Humanism*. Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1923. Pp. vii, 280.

whom the author regards as "the last in the succession of great humanists before the romantic upheaval, which he foreshadowed and strove to meet." To this end, therefore, chapters on his reading, his relation to classical and French criticism, and on his various writings, together with his relation to contemporary literary and social movements and his critical method, give us at once a digest of Johnson's thought and opinions and a valuable contribution to the history of English literary criticism. If the book is less interesting to read than some of those which deal largely in diluted Boswellism, it is more useful to the student in that it deals with Johnson's writings as a body of literature requiring serious analysis and appraisal.

Judged from this point of view, Mr. Houston's book merits unreserved praise. The development of the idea so capitably expressed by the subtitle is less satisfactory. If we are to think of Dr. Johnson as one of a great succession of humanists, it becomes of importance to inquire what conception of humanism the author holds and what were Johnson's relations to this succession. Dr. Houston's book leaves this subject curiously vague. Except for a few passages in the chapter on Johnson's reading we get a very inadequate view of any "succession," and Mr. Houston is concerned mainly with neo-classical literary theory. The passing of the older humanism, from this point of view, into what may be called a new scholasticism, is not fully brought out. Even such personal traits as link the great eighteenth century controversialist with the full-blooded, hard-hitting scholars of the Renaissance, are not stressed. His learning is more often asserted than proved. Mr. Houston seems to fear unduly the apparatus of scholarship; the "intellectual curiosity" which he ascribes to his subject is insufficiently illustrated. To take but a single example, Mr. Houston rightly holds that Johnson's notes to Shakespeare "would repay exhaustive study," but gives them "brief and fragmentary treatment." Yet it is not through the longer pieces alone, such as the *Preface* or the *Lives*, that we are to estimate either Johnson's learning or his intellectual curiosity, but through such hitherto neglected sources as the notes, his attitude toward textual criticism, and the sources of his attitude toward authority. Mr. Houston gives us some interesting information about Johnson's text of several Shakespearean plays; we could have had more of the same sort of minute study. We have a far clearer idea of the familiar neo-classic material in Johnson than we have of the extent and value of his learning. Mr. Houston gives evidence, if we take his book as a whole, of Johnson's antipathy to heroic plays, to Rousseau, to sentimentalism, and such topics, but these topics are treated in the conventional manner, not woven into clear relation to the fundamental topic of Johnson's humanism. "Neo-classicism" is not humanism.

As an example of a detailed study of a literary convention, we may cite Professor Reed's treatment of the antecedents of Gray's *Elegy*.⁴ Based

⁴ Amy Louise Reed, *The Background of Gray's Elegy: A Study in the*

on the older studies by Professors Phelps, Beers, and Reynolds, this new book supplies a more detailed study of poetic melancholy. The first chapter has to do with the seventeenth century conception of melancholy, differentiating Jonson, Burton, and Milton, for example, from the later conceptions. More attention than usual is paid to some of the philosophical aspects of the problem, such as the relation to pessimism, the influence of Lucretius, the political reaction following the Restoration, and elements of revolt against the philosophy of despair found in the writings of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. Later chapters discuss the development of the motif through the first half of the eighteenth century, leading to a treatment of the *Elegy* as the supreme melancholy lyric of the period as *Il Penseroso* was of the seventeenth century. Important conclusions of the book are that the literature of melancholy up to 1750 "included nothing which could be accurately described as romantic in the modern sense of that adjective," and that the great contemporary popularity of the *Elegy* was due not to its presentation of novel thought but to its expression of widespread popular feeling.

There has long been need for a first hand study of the Celtic influence in the eighteenth century, and this need has been competently met by Dr. E. D. Snyder.⁵ His book consists of chapters on the pioneers of the Celtic movement, Lewis Morris, Evan Evans, Thomas Gray, William Mason, and James Macpherson, followed by a series of chapters on the four decades 1760-1800. The antiquarian researches of Morris, transmitted by Evans, became the material for some of the poetry of Gray, and exerted even greater influence through Gray's scholarly interest in the subject. Macpherson, not a scholar, gave enormous impetus to the interest taken in Celtic lore in England and on the continent. All these matters are fully treated by Dr. Snyder, but such an outline does not do justice to the book, because around these greater names are grouped others, minor poets and imitators, who prove the wide-spread popular interest in the subject. Gray's *Bard*, as Dr. Snyder points out, grew enormously in popularity as the century passed; innumerable poems and papers on Celtic subjects mark the last forty years of the period; despite the small literary value of much of this material we see in it proofs of the extent to which people were reaching out for new subjects, new moods, new forms of verse, all preparatory to the brilliant period ushered in by the publication of the *Lyrical Ballads*.

From studies of humanism, melancholy, and celticism, we pass to a detailed biography of a man notable for his relations to greater men of the eighteenth century and for the way in which he reflects the intellectual interests and life of the average person of culture of the period. Professor Draper's study of the life and works of William Mason presents

Taste for Melancholy Poetry 1700-1751. New York, Columbia University Press, 1924. Pp. x, 270.

⁵ Snyder, Edward D., *The Celtic Revival in English Literature 1760-1800.* Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press, 1923. Pp. x, 208.

clearly and thoroughly such a conception.⁶ Numerous errors in previous biographies are corrected; proper attention is given to Mason's accomplishments outside the field of literature; his relations with Gray, his ecclesiastical career, and his work as a dramatist, musician, and painter are given much more detailed treatment than in any previous biography. The book, moreover, is pleasantly written in spite of somewhat over-elaborate documentation.

2. COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Miss Purdie has put students of comparative literature in her debt through her excellent edition of five essays significant in the rise of German Romanticism.⁷ These essays, first published in 1773, were written by Herder, Goethe, and Möser, and were combined with a translation of an Italian essay by Frisi. Besides critical and explanatory notes, the book contains a useful introduction surveying the influence of Ossian in Germany, with the history of early German Shakespeare criticism, and material supplementary to the essays by Goethe and Frisi on German and Gothic art and architecture. National spirit is apparent in all the essays, and forms one differentiation between this early romantic movement in Germany and the corresponding movement in England. Herder's essay on Ossian, also, is important for its emphasis on folk-song and its relations to the ballad movement marked in England by the publications of Bishop Percy. The little book, *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* is regarded by its editor as a manifesto marking the inauguration of a new school of literature; its importance is thus akin to that of the *Lyrical Ballads*. The essays are not reprinted because of literary value, but as materials for the study of the history of ideas. Together, they constitute a noteworthy manifestation of the Romantic spirit, "which is a wider thing than nationalism, or medievalism, or any one path of a particular movement in a given period." As such, the essays, with the editor's useful introduction and notes, require the attention of students of the history of modern romanticism.

The beginnings of romanticism in Germany are studied from a somewhat different point of view in Mr. Montgomery's book on Hölderlin.⁸ In Hölderlin's case the romantic impulse came not from Ossian and folk-poetry but the classics. Mr. Montgomery prefaces his book by a chapter on the revival of Greek studies in the German universities—the work of Gesner in the early eighteenth century, the influence of the ideal of the

⁶ Draper, John W., *William Mason: A Study in Eighteenth Century Culture*. New York, The New York University Press, 1924. Pp. xvi, 397.

⁷ Purdie, Edna. *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst*. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1924. Pp. 196.

⁸ Marshall Montgomery, *Friedrich Hölderlin and the German Neo-Hellenic Movement*. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1923. Pp. viii, 232.

Golden Age, and the educational philosophy which sought to make young Germans into young Greeks. Geisner laid emphasis on Horace, on art, and on content rather than on style. Lessing sought a real understanding of the classics, opposing the French theories. His treatment of these and other similar topics shows that Mr. Montgomery's book is less a biography of Hölderlin than a contribution to the history of classical learning. The long chapters on Homer are admirable essays; they illustrate what might be done with a survey of some great literary personality, for example Shakespeare, as an influence on eighteenth century culture in England, and thus show one of the fundamental weaknesses of all histories of English romanticism. The treatment of the Homeric criticism by Mr. Montgomery is linked with the famous Ancients-Moderns controversy, and the accounts of Barth, Gottsched, the influence of Fenelon, Du Bos, and other French critics, prepare for a thorough study of German criticism in the last half of the century from Klopstock to Hölderlin and including Lessing and F. A. Wolf.

Mr. Montgomery does not deal with Hölderlin's classical interests until he has reached almost the end of his book. Hölderlin's college training is outlined; he did not gain in the university or in later studies any philosophical command of Greek; he took no interest in Wolf's famous *Prolegomena*. Yet Mr. Montgomery's feeling toward his subject is apparently more sympathetic than that of Professor Babbitt, who sees in Hölderlin only a disciple of Rousseau, seeking emancipation from traditional control in his infatuation for "godlike Nature." To Mr. Montgomery, Hölderlin's bent was philosophical, and these philosophical interests included, in the course of his development, the study of Stoicism and the Lucretian philosophy.

We pass now from studies in early German romanticism to two books which deal with a hitherto neglected field, the influence of Italy on early romanticism in England and on the continent. The first of these, a study of Italian landscape in eighteenth century England, by Professor Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring of Vassar, is a contribution of the first importance.* It disposes completely of the idea that until the dawn of romanticism the eighteenth century was not interested in natural beauty. With Professor Robertson's study of the background of romanticism, it proves the extent of the Italian influence on the movement. It gives new content to the discussion of the relation of poetry and painting in the eighteenth century.

Dr. Manwaring's material, which is very extensive, is presented with admirable clearness. Her study is chiefly devoted to consideration of the influence of Claude and Salvator Rosa, though other painters are not neglected. English interest in landscape at the opening of the eighteenth century, the regard for the pictorial arts throughout the period,

* Manwaring, Elizabeth Wheeler, *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England*. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925. Pp. xii, 243.

English knowledge of Claude and Salvator, the influence of Italian landscape on English poetry and prose, and such topics as gardening and the cult of the picturesque are the topics which lead up to the closing chapter on "Italian Landscape and Romanticism." The numerous illustrations add to the value of the book. Though a work of extended and exact learning, it is of absorbing interest to any student who wishes to correct the partial and imperfect views of literary history in the eighteenth century which are characteristic of the conventional treatises. Dr. Manwaring rightly holds that no definition of romanticism can fairly exclude the feelings with which the English in the eighteenth century regarded the work of the Italian landscape painters. Even with Dryden and the *Spectator* this interest was already manifest. Understanding of art was an essential element in the culture of the well bred Englishman from 1740 on. Italian paintings, or copies of them; innumerable imitations by English artists; the attempt to reconstruct, in English landscape gardening, something of the romantic charm of Italy; the prints and scrapbooks which polite society collected; the conscious effort by major and minor poets to express in descriptive verse their love of romantic landscape—all these are matters of first importance to him who would understand the foundations of English romanticism. The significance of the book, which can certainly not be left out of account by any future historian of the period, is admirably summed up in one of the author's concluding sentences:

If at the last of the century—beginning with Cowper—there came poets and painters who cast aside the Claude-glass and found beauty in hedgerows and corn-fields, and in Hampstead and Mousehold Heaths, it was because of a long training in seeing landscape pictorially,—a training which of necessity began with the most elaborate and heightened forms of landscape, with the richest and most obvious appeal, and on the most vast and impressive scale.

The influence of Italy on the foundations of romantic thought is treated from a different point of view in Professor Robertson's *Studies in the Genesis of Romantic Theory in the Eighteenth Century*.¹⁰ With the position expressed in the concluding sentences of the book we are in hearty agreement. Professor Robertson warns against the prevailing tendency to classify and schematize, particularly as shown by the conventional treatment of so-called classical and romantic authors and literary movements. In the eighteenth century, as in other times, "nature makes no leaps; and the progress of human ideas, far from being a geometric progression, is an infinitely complicated organic growth, where one thought passes into its antithesis imperceptibly like a dissolving view." Thus romanticism may be regarded as a daughter of the Renaissance. "The antagonism of classic and romantic thought, by which we are inclined to

¹⁰ Robertson, J. G., *Studies in the Genesis of Romantic Theory in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press, 1923. Pp. viii, 298.

set much store, has, indeed, a strangely insubstantial basis, when it is examined closely. To understand, not the antithesis of classicism and romanticism, but their synthesis, is the way progress lies."

To such a synthesis, Professor Robertson's book is a contribution of the first importance. It is a careful survey of Italian critical thought, from the period of the Arcadians and the reaction against the scorn expressed for Italian literature in Bouhours' *Manière de bien penser*, to the great work of Muratori, Vico, and the influence of these men in Germany, and, less certainly, in England. The whole movement is related to the quarrel between Ancients and Moderns; it issues in the triumph of the Moderns and the declaration of the freedom of the imagination from the reason. It is a chapter in the history of the human spirit which leads to a better understanding not only of what was going on in England during the eighteenth century but of the great movement which culminated in Goethe and Schiller and the romantic revival in Europe. In it Italy is shown once more to be the pioneer in modern thought; her critics and thinkers prepared the way, as in the Renaissance, for the new renaissance of the imagination that was to produce an intellectual awakening scarcely less significant in the history of mind than the great awakening of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Although Professor Robertson is concerned mainly with literary criticism, one gets a very clear idea from his book of larger relationships. The sharp divergence, in the seventeenth century, between the immense fruitfulness of Italian science and the decadence and sterility of Italian literature and criticism; the increasing influence of Bacon and Descartes on Italian thought; the survival, in certain eighteenth century Italian thinkers, of something of that all-round intellectual eminence that had distinguished Leonardo in the earlier Renaissance and Bruno in the later period—these topics find illustration in the book quite apart from discussions of the unities and of other literary quarrels. Conti, who spent some time in England, was a friend of Newton; Maffei, too, was interested in the Royal Society and was a scientist of note. Bacon's influence on Vico was immense, as is proved not only by the *De antiquissima Italorum sapientia* but by the greater *Scienze Nuove*. This "new science," which included philology as the science of humanity, seeking the foundations of civilization in language, mythical beliefs, primitive poetry, proceeded to develop a cosmic theory in which the creative force of the imagination was recognized. If Vico, like Bacon in his passionate, mystical universal philosophy and in the unfortunate circumstances of his life, illustrates the survival, or the permanence, of the intellectual force which had given Italy leadership in the Renaissance, other men treated by Mr. Robertson are scarcely less interesting for other reasons. Martelli's *L'Impostore* (1714) is perhaps the high water mark of the genre to which Dryden's dialogues on the drama also belong. Muratori's *Della perfetta poesia italiana* (1706) expressed the new liberalism in advance of Addison, Burke, and Du Bos; in its view of the relation of the imagination to poetic truth, as well as in its scholarly method of research and its vigor-

ous interpretation of history, the book is much more than a vindication of Italian literature against the criticism of Bouhours. In Gravina, too, this liberal tendency is traced. His learning in the field of jurisprudence, to which he adapted Cartesian principles, his enormous industry, the variety and intensity of his intellectual curiosity, recall, once more, the universal scholar of the Renaissance. He sought for the "reason of poetry," *della ragion poetica*, which deals with what he calls the essence of things; Professor Robertson looks upon him as the first to formulate the aesthetics of Cartesianism.

Detailed discussion of the work of these and other Italian critics of the two centuries is followed by chapters on possible influences on French, Spanish, English, and German criticism. Professor Robertson makes out a better case for Germany than for France, which was hostile, or for England, which was less clearly acquainted with the movement, or Spain, still dominated by *gongorismo*. But he has written a book of absorbing interest, which can by no means be neglected by any student of comparative literature.

3. THE NEW WORDSWORTH

This tendency toward a re-examination of the critical and philosophical background of the romantic period is nowhere more marked than in the study of Wordsworth. Professor Winchester's agreeable volume, *Wordsworth and How to Know Him*, was published in 1916. The book was of the conventional type, vague and slight in its treatment of Wordsworth's early period, full and solemn in the account of the last forty years of the poet's life. The point of view was colored by the conception of "the good Mr. Wordsworth," lineal descendant of the "Daddy Wordsworth" of the nineteenth century tradition. It is inaccurate in quotation, the chronology of the poems and any idea of the development of the poet's mind or the spiritual crises through which he passed are neglected; the *Prelude* is casually mentioned, not studied; "there was not a drop of Byronic blood in him"; Godwin and Rousseau are not mentioned in the Index. Professor Winchester's title has something of the ironic in that his book appeared in the same year as Professor Harper's biography, which broke new ground in its departure from the tradition of the Wordsworth family and Professor Knight. Five years later Professor Harper published his account of Wordsworth's French daughter, and M. Legouis his supplement to an earlier treatment of Wordsworth's youth. Since 1921 each year has seen some new publication, books and monographs that have completely revolutionized our thought of the great poet. Four of these books will be treated here, in illustration of this new point of view.¹¹

¹¹ Legouis, Emile, *Wordsworth in a New Light*. Cambridge (Mass.) Harvard University Press, 1923. Pp. 44. Beatty, Arthur, *William Wordsworth: His Doctrine and Art in their Historical Relation*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, 1922.

M. Legouis' book is a lecture which gives the substance of material previously published by him and by Professor Harper on the Annette Vallon episode. Here the point of view is the relation of the affair to Wordsworth's early life. M. Legouis cites passages from Wordsworth's poetry about his earlier "shocks of young love-liking" in Westmoreland and at Lake Como; tells briefly what is known of the meeting with Annette, finds the story disguised in "Vaudracour and Julia"; accounts for the separation of the lovers through political turmoil in France, and finds in such poems as "Guilt and Sorrow," "The Ruined Cottage," "The Mad Mother," "The Thorn," and "Ruth," evidences of how the poet gradually freed himself from his remorse by uttering it. The mysterious episode told darkly in the Lucy poems, a recollection of an earlier love affair, illustrates in another way how the poet's thought turned definitely from his French love and prepared the way for his union with Mary Hutchinson. Before the marriage, however, there was another visit to Annette and a final parting.

M. Legouis tells his story with sympathy, regretting, as who does not, the foolish suppression of the documents for so many years by the poet's family. But he does not see in it more than that touch of the Byronic blood which Professor Winchester denies to Wordsworth. The true significance of the new light on Wordsworth is brought out in two books which do not tell the story but use it indirectly as a suggestion for a careful study of the period 1790-1807, the most important part of Wordsworth's life.

These books, by Professor Beatty and Mr. Garrod, written quite independently, constitute the most important study of Wordsworth's early period and the development of his philosophy that we have. Both writers dwell on the evidence supplied by the poet's own works. Mr. Garrod depends almost exclusively on this evidence, and on the poetry rather than on the prose, while Mr. Beatty's thesis is that a study of the poetry combined with the prose proves a much larger indebtedness to earlier English philosophical writings, particularly those of Hartley, than has heretofore been supposed.

The essential difference between the two studies is that while Mr. Beatty sees a consistent and steady evolution of Wordsworth's thought, Mr. Garrod dwells on the failure of his poetic inspiration after 1807. This waning poetic power Mr. Garrod attributes to the departure of the keen vision, "eyes and ears," which had been his chief source of strength. He studies acutely the evidence in Wordsworth's poetry of the succession of moods, partial views of life, through which the poet passed: an earlier period in which the French Revolution molded his thought, tinged with Rousseauism but not to any such degree as M. Legouis postulates; the

Pp. 284. Garrod, H. W., *Wordsworth*. Oxford University Press, 1923.

Pp. 211. Potts, Abbie Findley, *The Ecclesiastical Sonnets of Wordsworth*. Cornell Studies in English, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1922. Pp. x, 316.

Godwin period, utterly different in its individualism, its conception of society as the great anarchy, its hatred of contract theories and of war; and the great period ushered in by the *Lyrical Ballads* and ended in 1807. How Wordsworth passed from the Godwin sterility to the fresh clear confidence of the *Lyrical Ballads*, the revolution in his thought evidenced when "Guilt and Sorrow" and the "Borderers," for example, are placed alongside "Tintern Abbey," Mr. Garrod does not explain. Mr. Beatty, on the other hand, passing more lightly over the period 1790-1797, explains the change as not due to Dorothy, or to his gradual but complete break with Annette and all that she had represented in his life, but to his study of English philosophy.

We may see clearly the difference between Mr. Beatty and Mr. Garrod if we compare the interpretations of the great *Ode* given by the two scholars. To Mr. Garrod, the break, in thought as well as in the interval of time, between the first four stanzas and the end of the poem, is a sign of perplexity and consciousness of waning powers. Between 1802 and 1806 Wordsworth passed through another of his spiritual crises. The doctrine of reminiscence, ultimately Platonic, is really from Coleridge who got it from Fenelon. This doctrine Wordsworth *believed*, not in Plato's sense of supplying a theory of the origin of knowledge, but as a "romance of sensation." In the last stanzas, Mr. Garrod believes, we find the poet's hope that through reminiscence, this visionary gift of youth may form the source of new experience not inferior in depth and clearness. But Mr. Garrod does not think that Wordsworth had, in this, more than a hope, destined, as his later poetry proves, not to be fulfilled. The *Ode* closes the two volumes of 1807 and marks the end of the inspired period; Wordsworth no longer saw clearly. Mr. Garrod draws upon the *Prelude* (especially XII, 272-286) to prove the poet's fear of the loss of his poetic vision; "Wordsworth had the sense that the *Ode*, great as it is, was great in a somewhat fruitless fashion; that, philosophically, it failed." In *The Happy Warrior* and in other places, he recurs to the idea of drawing on the visionary experience of childhood as a source of strength in age.

Now with much of this Mr. Beatty is in implicit agreement. The difference is that he sees not failure but progress in the change. "Eyes and Ears" to Mr. Garrod is the symbol of the strength of Wordsworth as a poet; to Mr. Beatty it means merely the first of three periods. These three periods, childhood, youth, and maturity, simple observation, simple ideas, and complex ideas,—Mr. Beatty derives from English sensational philosophy. All three stages are referred to in the *Ode*, as in *Tintern*, but the last stanzas of the *Ode*, instead of being a half-hearted attempt to secure something from the impending ruin, constitute an orderly and triumphant development in his philosophy. Like Mr. Garrod, Professor Beatty depends on the *Prelude* for evidence, but he also draws on the letter published in the *Friend* in 1809, the tract on Cintra, and other prose.

No brief outline can do justice to these remarkable books. The differ-

ences between them are chiefly differences in emphasis. To Mr. Garrod, Wordsworth as poet is the more important; to Mr. Beatty, Wordsworth as a philosopher. Both agree on the change after 1807; they place different values on the change. It should be said, also, that the two books correct many misconceptions of Wordsworth: his mysticism, for example; his sentimental Rousseauism; the idea of his debt to Germany. To Mr. Beatty he belongs to the Bacon-Hobbes tradition, not the Rousseau tradition. In all this is implicit criticism of the views of Professor Babbitt and M. Legouis. This criticism has weight because it is based not on selected passages, or on one period of Wordsworth's development, but upon a careful study of the whole body, or very near the whole body, of Wordsworth's work. And as for Mr. Garrod, it is a pleasure to welcome to the study of English literature a classical scholar capable of applying to modern poetry the methods of study long given to the ancients. "I can not see," he says, "why there should be so great a pothor about understanding every word of Homer or Virgil, and, in literature so much nearer to us, a conspiracy of careless reading."

With the book by Dr. Potts, a critical edition of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, we pass to Wordsworth's later period. In her introduction, Dr. Potts holds that the sonnets are important elements in that development of Wordsworth's genius which corresponds to his own conception of "the course of human life." She dwells on Christopher Wordsworth's theory of the "continuous stream of identity" which flowed from the earliest to the latest poems. The Sonnets, therefore, represent his mature reflection on church and state; they set forth a conception of justice revealed in a spiritual State binding together the living and the dead; the interpretation of the progress made by collective minds must be a slower process than in the case of an individual soul. Thus Wordsworth's theme, in the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, differed in important respects from the themes of Milton and Dante, and yet was akin.

The editor supplies full information on the history and development of the cycle; discusses the MSS, with a detailed study of MS F., which she believes to be a copy by Mrs. Wordsworth of an early draft of the sonnets; and gives a full account of the structure of the cycle. A list of variant readings, a large body of notes, and a bibliography, complete this very useful book.

The Johns Hopkins University.

RECENT LITERATURE

An event of importance to students of Tudor **NICHOLAS GRIMALD.** poetry is the publication of Dr. Merrill's edition of the poems of Nicholas Grimald.¹ Grimald, almost forgotten today, was in his lifetime widely known as a scholar, was a contributor to *Tottel's Miscellany*, a pioneer in the practice of the sonnet and of blank verse, a teacher of rhetoric and literature and a man of importance in the development of the new Tudor poetry; while as a translator from the classics and the writer of two Latin plays he has still other claims on the literary historian. Dr. Merrill's book contains a biography which corrects many errors in preceding accounts of Grimald and also supplies much information on the history of learning in the period. It contains, besides the minor poems and sonnets, Grimald's large contributions to Latin literature in England, including *Christus Redivivus* and *Archipropheta*, with English translations. The Prefaces to the two Latin dramas discuss sources and influence.

Mr. Gaselee's new book comes at a time when **MEDIEVAL LATIN.** interest in medieval Latin is experiencing a great revival, largely through the work of an extremely active group of scholars.² The book contains selections from a wide variety of sources, including inscriptions, the writings of Petronius, St. Ambrose, Gildas, Bede, Asser, Walter Map, with Goliardic poems attributed to Map, down to Tebaldeo, and, for good measure, the Cambridge Doctor of Divinity's Profession of the eighteenth century, and quite un-medieval writers like Baudelaire, Lord Dufferin, and the Abbot of Einsiedeln. Mr. Gaselee thus does not limit us to historical records, charters and religious pieces; the book is truly an anthology. Introductions and notes for the several pieces are interwoven most delightfully with the text; a quite unusual amount of attention has been given to typographical matters, the beauty of the book being thus a powerful incentive to reading.

Seven lectures by the late Professor W. P. Ker are **THE ART OF** collected in an interesting volume under the title "The **POETRY.** Art of Poetry."³ The first lecture gives the title to the volume; it is a meditation based on a passage in Drummond of Hawthornden on the curse of Babel that makes difficult the transposition of poetry from one language to another, and the way in

¹ L. R. Merrill, *The Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald*. Yale Studies in English, LXIX. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1925. Pp. vi, 463.

² Stephen Gaselee, *An Anthology of Medieval Latin*. London and New York, Macmillan and Company, 1925. Pp. xii, 140.

³ W. P. Ker, *The Art of Poetry*. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1923. Pp. 160.

which, nevertheless, the spirit of poetry has many times outwitted the demon. Other lectures deal with Shelley, with *Samson Agonistes*, Romantic Fallacies, Pope, Molière, and Matthew Arnold. Milton's tragedy, he says, was written because he was driven by the strength of his own genius to write it. "Till that was done he had not uttered himself to the full." Professor Ker holds that Milton felt that in *Paradise Lost* he had wasted much of his strength; that he was not content with *Paradise Regained*, although in it he had broken away from seventeenth century "quaintness" and the conception of poetry written in accordance with a preconceived ideal form. He writes his Greek tragedy "because his thoughts have come to be perpetually bent on the tragic idea." The lecture on "Romantic Fallacies" is a protest against some misuses of the term "romantic," with many definitions and illustrations.

The vast acquaintance with books and the pungent personality of Mr. Saintsbury characterize the collection **THE ART OF CRITICISM**. of his essays now published in four sumptuous volumes.*

It would be impossible, save by reprinting the tables of contents, to indicate the full scope of the volumes. Three of them deal in the main with English literature, and most of these with the period 1789-1860. The fourth volume contains essays on French writers. Of the English essays, more deal with prose than with poetry; there are many references to literature prior to the beginning of Mr. Saintsbury's special period, but he has no systematic treatment of earlier English literature; the only exceptions are the essays on Milton, Shakespeare, and the Grand Style, and, for foreign literature, on Dante. From Crabbe and Hogg, who open the first volume, to the essays on the English Novel in the third, we cover a considerable number of major and minor writers and works. All these essays are marked by Mr. Saintsbury's downright expression of his personal opinions, by the constant evidence of his acquaintance with his subject, and by the flavor of his style. Most of the subjects are purely literary, and they find impressive epilogue in the essays on "Twenty Years of Reviewing" and the admirable defence of the classics in the address on "The Permanent and the Temporary in Literature"; but we are thankful also for the two essays on the Cookery of Grouse and Partridge, and for the vigorous and sensible essay against so-called spelling reform.

There has long been a need for inexpensive reprints of rare Elizabethan and Jacobean tracts and fugitive pieces, and it is therefore a splendid service that Mr. **BODLEY HEAD** **QUARTOS**.

G. B. Harrison and his publishers are rendering through the new series called "Bodley Head Quartos."† They are delightful

* *The Collected Essays and Papers of George Saintsbury*. New York, E. P. Dutton & Company, 1923-1924. Four volumes.

† The Bodley Head Quartos, edited by G. B. Harrison. Published by

little volumes, with brightly colored jackets that invite possession. The volumes already published include some of the most interesting pamphlets by Greene, Nashe, and Dekker, pieces usually inaccessible except in the larger libraries and almost never come upon in dealers' catalogues. Harvey's letters and the sonnets about Greene; Jonson's *Discoveries* and the famous *Conversations with Drummond*, and the first quarto of *Hamlet*, are items sure to be appreciated by students. The books are accurately and exactly reprinted from the best early editions, there are numerous old wood-cuts, and Mr. Harrison has supplied brief but useful introductions. For private students of Elizabethan literature, for collectors who desire carefully edited reprints of rare books printed in something of the antique style, and for college and public libraries, the books in this series will prove sources of profit and joy. Not since the days when Professor Arber began to publish his *Garner* and the *English Scholar's Library* have we been so favored, and these books are far more pleasant to own and to handle than the earlier ones.

Paul Studer and E. G. R. Waters have published
AN OLD FRENCH READER. through the Oxford University Press an *Historical French Reader*, a collection designed to show the

development of French language and literature from the earliest times to the Renaissance. The book contains sixty-five selections, arranged chronologically, and, for the period 1100 to 1400, in two divisions representing the standard literary language and the chief regions of northern France. Some selections are repeated from Dr. Paget Toynbee's *Specimens of Old French*, now out of print. There is no general introduction, but the selections are so edited as to give the necessary background; there are excellent brief bibliographies, critical textual notes, and a glossary.

TWO A new issue (the seventh edition) of Halliwell's
DICTIONARIES. *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* has been published by E. P. Dutton & Company. The two volumes are combined into one, containing nearly a thou-

E. P. Dutton and Company, New York. Volumes issued: *The Thirde and Last Part of Conny Catching; A Disputation Betweene a Hee Conny-Catcher and a Shee Conny-Catcher*, by Robert Greene; *Fourre Letters and Certaine Sonnets, Especially Touching Robert Greene*, by Gabriel Harvey; *Kind-Hartes Dreame*, by Henrie Chettle, and *Nine Daies Wonder*, by William Kemp; *Discoveries*, and *Conversations with William Drummond*, by Ben Jonson; *Groats-Worth of Witte*, by Robert Greene, and *The Repentance of Robert Greene*; *The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke, 1603*, by William Shakespeare; *The Wonderfull Yeare*, by Thomas Dekker; *Daemonologie*, by King James the First, and *Newses from Sootland*; *The Blacke Bookes Messenger*, by Robert Greene, and *Outhbert Conny-Catcher*. *Pierce Penilesse, His Supplication to the Divell*, by Thomas Nashe; *The English Romaine Lyfe*, by Anthony Munday.

sand pages. The same publishers have issued a revised and enlarged edition of Walker's *Rhyming Dictionary of the English Language*. The revision of this famous aid to poets has been done by Lawrence H. Dawson. Modernized spellings and definitions, and the addition of over twenty thousand new words are features of the book, which of course will supersede the older editions.

More inclusive than Dr. Billings's Guide in the number of **MEDIEVAL** romances it treats, and more detailed than Wells's *Manual ROMANCE*, in the amount of information given about the Middle English romances, is Professor Hibbard's *Mediaeval Romance in England*.^{*} Dr. Hibbard treats the sources and analogues of the non-cyclic romances, thus omitting the Arthurian cycles. One reason for her undertaking, she tells us, is the amount of intensive work done on the individual romances and the lack of any comprehensive effort to summarize the results. As a digest of problems and suggested solutions, with selected bibliographies which bring the record down to recent months, this book will be extremely useful. Each romance is treated under the headings "Versions" and "Origins." The Index, a very valuable feature of the book, lists the principal motifs and incidents as well as other matters.

Students of the early history of English lyric poetry **TROUBADOURS** will be interested in Mr. H. J. Chaytor's book on the **IN ENGLAND**. influence of the troubadours on English poetry.[†] Mr.

Chaytor discusses the conditions under which the English lyric was evolved, the taste for minstrelsy, the society entertainers brought over by the Normans, the growth of French as the second language, and the manner in which Provençal influence was introduced. While Mr. Chaytor is careful to make clear his judgment that direct influence cannot be proved, he gives much evidence to show that it was probable. In the second chapter the interest of the troubadours in English politics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is traced. The third chapter discusses similarities between English and Provençal lyrics in rimes and stanzas, and in the use of the motifs and conventions of love poetry. Many features of the Provençal *canço* are wanting in M. E. lyrics: the psychology of love, the elaborate similes, the idea of love as a service, etc.; but the facts that M. E. poets show high technical skill in rime and metre, that there are many resemblances in motif and genre, and that the commercial and political relations between England and southern France were very close, lead to the conclusion that a powerful influence, direct or indirect in its operation, passed from Provence to England. The troubadours were less influential in England than in Italy and Spain, but "any history of English stanza-forms is obliged to take Provençal lyric poetry as its starting point or to remain incomplete."

^{*} Laura A. Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England*. New York, Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1924. Pp. viii, 342.

[†] H. J. Chaytor, *The Troubadours and England*. Cambridge University Press, 1923. Pp. 164.

The new book on *Horace and His Art of Enjoyment* by Professor Elizabeth Haight of Vassar (E. P. Dutton & Company, 1925) is an interesting treatment not only of the poet's life and work but of his times as well. Such captions as "The Making of a Poet," "Life in Rome through Horace's Eyes," "Country Days," and "Feeling for Nature" illustrate the method of approach.

Both collectors and students of seventeenth century literature will rejoice in Geoffrey Keynes's new *Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne*, published by the Cambridge University Press in 1924. The frontispiece is a fine reproduction of the panel belonging to Mr. Francis Wellesley; it is an extremely interesting likeness of Sir Thomas, and the panel also contains the only known portrait of Dame Dorothy Browne. Mr. Keynes has arranged his material according to the individual works, including chapters on Selections, Biography and Criticism, and the Sale Catalogue of Browne's Library. The appendices treat imitations of the *Religio*; forerunners and imitators of *Vulgar Errors*; the work of Dr. Edward Browne; Simon Wilkin; lists of libraries, and list of printers, booksellers, and publishers 1642-1923. There are numerous facsimile reproductions of title pages, several reproductions of pages from MSS, and a fine reproduction of an oil portrait of Wilkins.

Hard upon the appearance of Mr. Chambers's monumental work on the Elizabethan drama comes an equally important dramatic history of the Restoration and eighteenth century. Mr. Nicoll has published two volumes, carrying the story to 1750.* The first volume, which is devoted to the period 1660-1700, breaks new ground in its interpretation of the material at first hand. Mr. Nicoll shows a clear comprehension of the difficulties in subject matter and interpretation, and we think that he has met these difficulties with great skill. It is necessary to take all the documents into account, not merely a few; to pay no attention to protesting moralists, and at the same time to avoid uncritical enthusiasm; and to remember, and make clear in his writing, that the people for whom these plays were written were but a small portion of the population of a single city. Lack of proportion, therefore, would be fatal. The audience and its influence on the drama, the theatres, the actors, are subjects of a lengthy and admirably written introduction. Under "tragedy" Mr. Nicoll discusses Elizabethan and foreign influences and the whole mass of material, with a large number of new items and far more accurate observation than in any preceding history. A long passage deals with tragedy and opera. In the realm of comedy, Mr. Nicoll claims for Wycherley and Congreve a place "alongside of the French master," Molière; Restoration comedy was of three types: Jonsonian, Shakespearean, and plays of Spanish

* Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama, A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama*. Cambridge University Press, 1923, 1925. Pp. 397, 431.

intrigue; the school of manners was not confined to the court of Charles, but extended into the eighteenth century. A large and extremely useful part of the book is devoted to a detailed history of the playhouses, a history of the stage, and a handlist of Restoration plays more comprehensive than any heretofore available.

The second volume is planned and executed on the same generous proportions. The first adequate bibliography of early eighteenth century drama is supplied; the text and bibliography include not only regular comedies and tragedies but also pantomimes, masques, Italian opera, and French farces, and the productions at the smaller playhouses as well as those of the great patent theatres. In this volume, as in its predecessor, Mr. Nicoll takes into account the essays and monographs of British, American, and continental scholars, so that one result of his work is a new synthesis of the research of recent years in addition to his own thoroughgoing examination of the material. The history, therefore, is not a mere repetition, with added details, of the older works; it is a new work, destined to have immense influence not only on our knowledge and interpretation of eighteenth century literature but on future investigation.

An extended notice of the scope and plans of this series, with comment on the books that first appeared, was published in this journal in October, 1924. At this time it is only necessary to record the names of the new volumes, with brief notes on contents.*

Four of the volumes deal with important ancient philosophies. Mr. Stocks, in *Aristotelianism*, devotes his time mainly to an account of the life and works of the master. He reminds us that the school founded by Aristotle at Athens lasted nearly nine centuries, a longer period than has yet been attained by any modern university. The influence of the philosophy is treated only in an "Epilogue," but this is a very good introduction to a vast subject. In his book on Stoicism, Mr. Wenley explains the political and social changes which attended the philosophy not only in its origin but throughout its career in the ancient world; he tells "the story of Stoicism" and how it answered new conditions; the chapter on "Some Stoic Dogmas" prepares for "Sequel," which is a treatise on the

* Our Debt to Greece and Rome. Editors: George Depue Hadzsits and David Moore Robinson. Published by Marshall Jones Company, Boston. New volumes: *Stoicism and its Influence*, by R. M. Wenley; *Aristotelianism*, by John Leofric Stocks; *Homer and his Influence*, by John A. Scott; *Ancient and Modern Rome*, by Rodolfo Lanciani; *Sappho and Her Influence*, by David M. Robinson; *Mythology*, by Jane Ellen Harrison; *Architecture*, by Alfred Mansfield Brooks; *Roman Private Life and its Survivals*, by Walton Brooks McDaniel; *Platonism and its Influence*, by Alfred Edward Taylor; *Aristophanes: His Plays and His Influence*, by Louis E. Lord.

recurrence of Stoic ideas and the pervasive influence of the theory from the beginning of the Christian era to the present. Mr. Wenley finds Stoic influence in Telesius, Campanella, and Bruno, and in the development of Renaissance individualism. Mr. Taylor's account of Plato and his influence is unique in that he begins with the Platonic tradition, treating the influence of the philosophy down to the seventeenth century. The feature of this chapter is its denial of the doctrine of a long continued enslavement of the mind to Aristotle, which Mr. Taylor holds to be little more than a myth. If there was any such "subjugation" it was limited to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; Dante was the first Aristotelian among men of letters, and Rabelais ridicules the scholastic perversion of the philosophy. The Platonic idea of science is treated in similar fashion; first, the statement of Plato's position, followed by some account of the continuance of the tradition. So too with the doctrines of knowledge, in which Augustinian Platonism is contrasted with the scholastic tradition developed from Aristotle by Thomas and Albert, who, however, had a truer idea of natural science. Other chapters deal with "Rule of Life" and "Theology." The entire book is purely philosophical, and is written for readers with some acquaintance with the subjects and terms of philosophy. The chief defect, from the standpoint of letters, is that no treatment of the enormous influence of Platonism on world literature, especially from the times of Ficino, is to be found. Miss Jane Harrison's treatment of Mythology follows the lines already developed by this well-known scholar in her earlier books. The book explains Hermes, Poseidon, and other ancient deities on the principle that the god is to be stated in terms of his worshippers. Thus Poseidon is the idolon of a people of fishermen, horsemen, bull-rearers, seafarers; he is to be connected with the Minotaur of Crete, with the story of King Minos masking as a bull, and with Theseus. There are no ancient gods, Miss Harrison holds; there are ancient reactions, emotions, activities, embodied in representations. So mythology is pre-history, and may be confirmed by archaeology.

Another group of books deals with more literary subjects. Here belongs the treatise on Aristophanes by Mr. Lord, who gives a straightforward account of the origins of Greek comedy and of the theatre, the Athens of Aristophanes, the dramatist's reaction to the events that occurred through an eventful period, and the continuation of the influence of his writings on subsequent times. It is an introductory sketch, designed mainly for those who know little about the dramatist or the Greek theatre. Mr. Scott has given us a most entertaining treatment of Homer. He holds that the poems were produced by one man; that they do not represent a complete civilization; that there are no nature myths or allegorical elements, and no moral teaching or other ulterior purposes. The poems are simply imaginative, ecstatic, poetic creations. The history of Homeric translation is briefly told. The outline of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* presupposes acquaintance with the poems; it leaps from one topic to another inconsequently but always with advantage. High praise, also, is merited by Mr. Robinson's book on Sappho, despite the author's on-

slaught on conventional views of the lady's life and work. Interwoven in the story are many quotations showing direct or indirect influence of Sappho on modern poets; some excellent translations are by Mr. Robinson himself. The chapters on her influence on Greek and Roman literature, on Music and art, and on American literature, illustrate capably how the idea of the series is grasped by Mr. Robinson. Most of the book is filled with evidence of the pervasive and continuing effect of this teacher of singing and dancing who really thought of her poetry as illustrative material for work that was her primary interest. It should be added, also, that Mr. Robinson has added greatly to the charm of his book through the numerous illustrations.

The last group is made up of books that treat various aspects of life and activity apart from philosophy and literature. Such a book is Lanciani's account of ancient and modern Rome. The places and scenes familiar to the ancient world are still in use. The Romans were incomparable architects and engineers. The site of Rome, the efforts to overcome malaria and filth diseases, the hospitals, the water supply, the houses and palaces, even the sky-scrapers, and the parks, gardens, libraries, summer resorts—such is a partial list of topics treated in this singularly fascinating book by a master of the subject which he treats. Mr. McDaniel's treatment of Roman private life is spirited and interesting but is addressed to the general reader, not to the specialist. Mr. Brooks discusses architecture in one of the best books of the series. It is not an enumeration of buildings, copies or restorations of Greek and Roman architecture, but an analysis of the "incentive to the perfection of beauty and utility which the study of Greek and Roman architecture cannot fail to give." There are of course descriptions of famous buildings, clearly and simply done, but all is from the point of view of this search for perfection in beauty and utility.

Another series of great interest and variety has **"THE BROADWAY TRANSLATIONS."** now so far progressed that we are able to estimate its scope. Upwards of thirty volumes of the Broadway Translations are now at hand.¹ Many of them are translations of classical works, ranging from fairly accessible authors like Ovid, Theocritus, and Plautus, to writers less easily come upon in

¹ "The Broadway Translations," New York, E. P. Dutton & Company. Volumes issued: *A Book of Characters*, compiled and translated by Richard Aldington; *Bandello's Tragical Tales*, translated by Geoffrey Fenton; *Simplicissimus, The Vagabond*; *Laclos's Dangerous Acquaintances*, translated by Richard Aldington; *Esquemeling's The Buccaneers of America*, with an introduction by Andrew Lang; *Gesta Romanorum*, translated by Charles Swan; *Suetonius*; *Sappho*, translated and edited by C. R. Haines; *Aksakov's Chronicles of a Russian Family*; *Martial's Epigrams*; *Celestina*, translated by James Mabbe; *Alciphron*; *Travels of Baron Münchhausen*; *Cyrano de Bergerac*; *Count Lucanor*; *The Girdle of Aphrodite*; *Montesquieu's Persian Letters*; *Ovid's The Lover's Handbook*; the

inexpensive form. Some of these volumes are admirable supplements to such series as "Our Debt to Greece and Rome" and "The Library of Greek Thought." Mr. Mitchell, in his spirited preface to Petronius, refers to the need for greater emphasis upon the classics as "a storehouse of ideas, experiments, and social discoveries." The *Satyricon*, thus presented, is capital reading; it is also valuable documentary material. So, too, the Alciphron is of interest not only as one of the four Greek masterpieces that anticipate, as Mr. Wright points out, nearly every type of the modern novel; it is also a sort of *Spoon River Anthology* with characterizing letters in place of epitaphs.

Many of these texts have extremely valuable introductions, such as Mr. Halliard's translation of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, which includes a short but highly suggestive discussion of English hexameters, with illustrations, in the text, of the author's theories. The edition of Martial contains a new translation begun by J. A. Pott and completed by F. A. Wright. Mr. Wright's *Poets of the Greek Anthology* is a study of several groups of minor poets who represent aspects of ancient life not easily found elsewhere. Besides the minor poets of the Alexandrian school, there are examples of the work of a group of women poets, and of Syrian and Byzantine groups including Meleager of Gadara. The translation of Sappho, by C. R. Haines, may be used in conjunction with Professor Robinson's new book.

Students of the history of fiction find in this series a wealth of material. For the ancients, we have Alciphron, Theophrastus, Heliodorus (in Underdowne's translation of 1587), and others. For later times Fenton's Elizabethan translation of Bandello; a group of travel books from Münchhausen and Cyrano to the *Buccaneers of America*; and a group of French writers of fiction such as Laclos, Voltaire, Prevost, and Mme. de la Fayette, supply a library of fiction. Folk literature and other aspects of literary history are represented by such well-known books as the *Gesta Romanorum*, the "Epic of the Beast," Tyll Owlglass, together with books more difficult to find elsewhere, such as *Simplicissimus* and the extremely interesting collection of Buddhist Birth Stories. The translation of these Jataka tales, from the Pali text, by T. W. Rhys Davids, is prefaced by an extended introduction with an appendix giving the history and migration of the tales. Students interested in Buddhist matters will also be grateful for the "mysteries" performed in Tibetan monasteries.

This brief notice does not do justice to the immense variety of literature

Satyricon of Petronius; The Poets of the Greek Anthology; Voltaire's *Zadig*; Three Plays of Plautus; Three Plays of A. V. Lunacharski; *The Epic of the Beast*; The *Idylls* of Theocritus, with the fragments Bion and Moschus; Heliodorus (Underdowne's translation); *Master Tyll Owlglass*; *The Princess of Cleves*; *Utopia*, with Campanella and the *New Atlantis*; Three Tibetan Mysteries; French Comedies of the XVIII Century; Buddhist Birth Stories; *Manon Lescaut*.

included in this important series. Many of the books, such as the translations of Bandello, Ovid, More, Montesquieu, and the *Book of Characters*, will doubtless find places in courses in literary history. Others will appeal to the specialist or the general reader. All of them are printed in attractive form; these handsome volumes will be an ornament to any private library and a source of entertainment to a wide variety of readers.

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